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AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

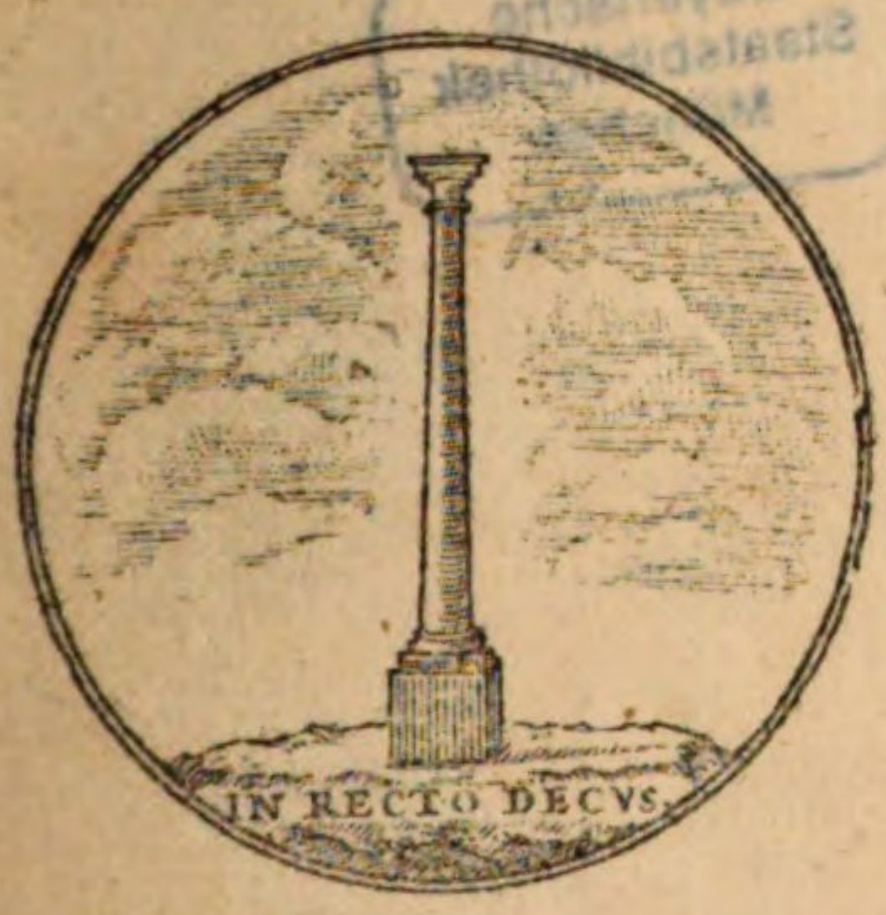
WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. VI.



LONDON:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

MDCCXLVII.

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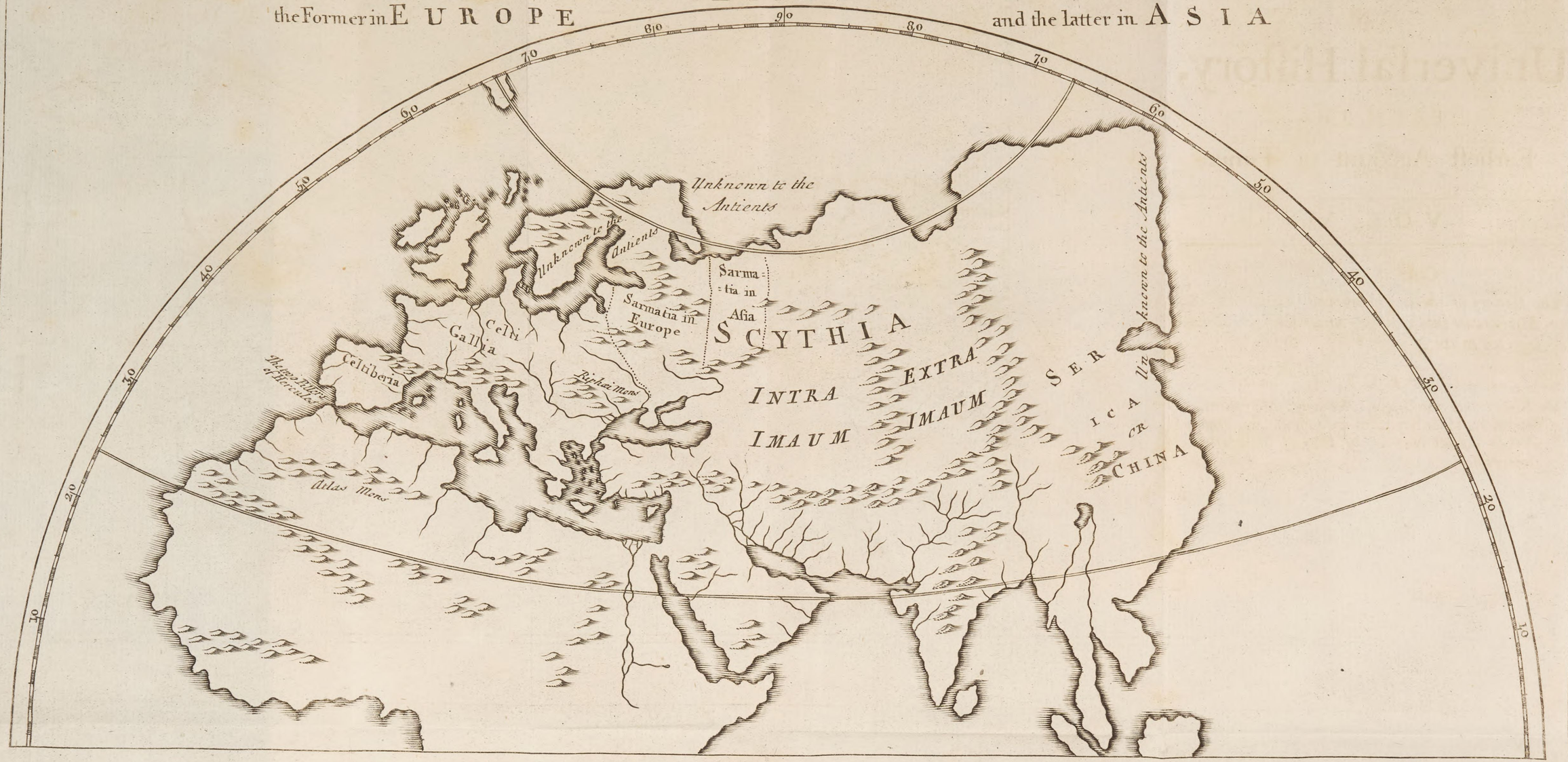
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MDCCXLVI.

A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the CELTES *OR* GOMERIANS and SCYTHIANS the Former in EUROPE and the latter in ASIA



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AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

VOL. VI.

CHAP. XII.

The History of the Scythians *and* Gomerians, *their Migrations into* Europe, *under the several names inserted in the Margin* *.

SECT. I.

An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians *and* Gomerians, *considered as two distinct Nations, by Way of Introduction to their History.*

THESE two nations make so considerable a figure in ancient history, in so many different parts of the world, and under such variety of names, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by ancient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from *Gomer* †,

* viz. *the former of* Scythians, Celto Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, &c. *the latter of* Gomerians, Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, *and* Celtiberians.

Celtes *and* Scythians *descended from* Japhet.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 375. & seq.

the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*. This laſt we have alſo proved to be the eldeſt ſon of *Noah* *, and to have received this peculiar bleſſing from his father, that *God would enlarge his borders* [a], upon which account *Moſes* obſerves immediately after, that the *iſles of the Gentiles*, by which is underſtood *Europe*, *were divided by, or amongſt his poſterity* [b]. This perhaps is what induced *Beroſus* and thoſe who have followed him, to make ſuch deſperate haſte to ſettle *Gomer*'s children in *Italy*, *Aſturia*, *Biſcay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even ſo early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no leſs ſanguine, have ventured to bring *Gomer* into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Aſkenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden*, or *Denmark* [c]. Theſe premature and precipitate migrations ſtand ſufficiently confuted by their palpable impoſſibility [d] (A), were there nothing elſe to diſprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that thoſe patriarchs never came out of *Aſia*. On the contrary, we find their deſcendants making a conſiderable figure in that cradle of the world, and ſettling themſelves as near as they conveniently could to one another, till ſcantineſs of room, want of paſturage, ſome accidental diſcords, or ſome other reaſons, obliged them to branch out further on all ſides towards *Europe*, and northern *Aſia*, whilſt the deſcendants of *Shem* and *Ham* enlarged their territories in their ſeveral allotments, in the ſouthern parts of *Aſia* and *Africa*, as we have already ſeen in their ſeveral hiſtories.

To make the ſame appear the more clearly with reſpect to the ſons of *Gomer*, let us now take a ſhort retroſpect of their firſt ſettlements in *Aſia*, their migrations thence into *Europe*, their ſucceſſive ſtations before they came into thoſe parts in which they ſettled themſelves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which ſome of them returned again into *Aſia* in

* See Vol. I. p. 265. [a] GENES. ix. 27. [b] Ibid. x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 258. & ſeq. [c] PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. [d] Vid. int. al. RAWL. hiſt. p. i. c. 8. ſect. 3. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & ſeq. PEZRON. ubi ſup.

(A) Nothing indeed were more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe that they ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, before the general diſperſion at *Babel*; and if immediately after, how little time ſoever be allowed for the building of that ſtupendous fabrick, the remainder will be vaſtly too ſhort for a migration of ſome thouſands of miles, thro' woods, foreſts, and deſarts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for ſo far Sir *Walter Rawleigh* has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted; and it were ſtill more monſtrous to ſuppoſe that they could come into *Europe* by ſea, with ſuch a numerous retinue, ſo long before any thing of navigation, even by coaſting, was known.

proceſs of time, when they gave names to countries, cities, mountains and rivers, which have cauſed ſuch a confuſion in ancient hiſtorians, for want of rightly diſtinguiſhing between thoſe two diſtant epochs and migrations. This circumſtance makes it very neceſſary, to examine, in the firſt place, whether the *Scythians* and the *Gomerians*, properly ſo called, were originally the ſame, or two diſtinct nations. Without ſuch a previous inquiry, we ſhall find their names, countries, and exploits ſo confuſed, that it would be next to impoſſible to ſettle their geography, or underſtand their hiſtory with any ſatisfactory clearneſs.

We have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point *, which ſeems chiefly to be owing to theſe two cauſes. 1. That none of the ſacred hiſtorians mention theſe two nations by any other names than that of their progenitor [c]; and, 2. That prophane authors have been ſo confounded by their variety of names, migrations and exploits in ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, as well as *Europe*, and particularly by the affinity of thoſe names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not eaſy to know whether they ſpoke of the ſame nation, under different names, or of two diſtinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have moſt egregiouſly confounded them, by aſcribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to diſcover when they ſpeak of the *Scythians*, and when of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. At leaſt it is evident that *Herodotus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Juſtin* [f], to name no more, have called the *Scythians*, who remigrated into *Aſia*, by ſome names, and attributed ſome actions, and places to them, which, upon cloſer examination, are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. An accurate ancient geographer tells us [g], that the old *Greek* hiſtorians gave the name of *Scythians* and *Celto Scythians*, to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain that a conſiderable part of them were properly *Celtes* or *Gomerians* [h]. And in the ſame book he adds, that thoſe people who inhabited beyond the *Caſpian* ſea, which ſhould be the *Scythians*, were by the ſame *Greek* hiſtorians, called ſome *Sacks*, and others *Maſ-*

* Vol. I. p. 375. & 377. [c] Vid. int. al. Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3, 6. [f] See Ptolom. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. Herodot. lib. i. c. 73. 103. & 4. c. 49—52. Justin. lib. i. c. 8. & ſeq. [g] Strab. Geogr. lib. xi. p. 349. & 352. [h] Vid. Genebr. ſub A. M. 1949. Lewis's Introduct. in Hiſt. Britain. cap. iii. Peloutier. ubi ſup. Jun. in Geneſ. x. 2.

ſagetes, though the former of theſe names, at leaſt, belonged only to the *Celtes*, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

For theſe reaſons, many learned men have choſen to reckon them as one people branched out into that variety of names and characters under which they are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory. Notwithſtanding which, and the ſilence of the ſacred books, *Joſephus*'s authority has been more univerſally received both by ancient fathers, and modern authors; who affirms the *Celtes* or *Gauls* to be deſcended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Maggog*, his next brother [i]; and we think very juſtly too. As to the firſt, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of it; for beſides the teſtimony of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, we have this undoubted proof, that notwithſtanding all the various denominations, which they have undergone, and which ſeem rather to have been given to them by other nations, than aſſumed by themſelves (B); they have ſtill preſerved their original

[i] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Vid. Hieron. Theodoret. & al. in Geneſ. x. 2. Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 38. Rawl. ubi ſup. p. 1. c. 8. ſect. iv. Jun. Le Clerc. Patric. in Geneſ. x. 2. Pezron. ubi ſupra. c. iv. & al. mult.

(B) By theſe names we mean, not only thoſe which were a palpable corruption of their original one, ſuch as *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, *Cammerians*, and the like; but thoſe of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, *Galatians*, *Titans*, *Sacks*, and perhaps alſo thoſe of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celtiberians*, and ſome others; all which, if we may gueſs at them by their etymons, ſeem, at leaſt the greateſt part of them, to have been given to them, ſome out of compliment, and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt, and in revenge for their incurſions, plunders, and conqueſts. Thus the word *Celtæ*, in *Greek* κελται, or κελτοι, ſignifying horſemen in *Homer* and *Pindar*, might be given on account of their expertneſs in horſemanſhip(1).

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of *Gaul* from the *Celtic*, in which both ſignify a warlike man. *Bochart* conjectures that they were called *Gauls* and *Galatians* from the redneſs of their hair (3).

That of *Titans*, may either allude to it, as it was a name of the ſun, whoſe etymon can no where be ſo appoſitely found as in the *Celtic*, in which *Ti* or *Ty*, ſignifies a *Houſe*, and *Tan*, or *Taen*, *Fire*, and both together, *The houſe of fire*. Some however fetch it from the *Celtic Tit*, which in that as well as in the *Hebrew*, ſignifies duſt or dirt; ſo that Τιτανες ſhall ſignify the ſame as *terrigenæ*, or children of the earth or dirt. This laſt etymon, if admitted, may be ſuppoſed to have been given them in ſcorn, and to imply the baſeneſs of their

(1) *Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Cæſar. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *Not.* 3. (2) *Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap.* 3. (3) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 6.

original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or descendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day, in all those countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preserved; which is therefore called *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, that is, the language of *Gomer* [k].

To all this we may add the concurrent testimony of *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, or rather *Charax*, *Mela* and others, who mention them under the names of *Comarians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and such like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of *Gomerians* [l]. We have likewise the authority of some ancient fathers, who agree that *Gomer* was the father and founder of the *Gomerians*, called afterwards *Celtes*, *Galatians* and *Gauls* [m]. And if all this be not enough to prove the *Celtes* to be derived from *Gomer*, we shall add another pregnant argument out of *Cluverius*, who proves that the ancient *Celtic* nation, which according to him included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic*, and other northern isles, did all speak the same language [n], which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg*, or the language of *Gomer*, which had been universally preserved among all his descendants, as we shall shew more fully when we come to speak of their language and history. To all these we shall

[k] Lluid, Pezron. Lewis, & al. ubi supra. [l] Ptolom. lib. vi. c. 11—13. Mel. ubi supra. Plin. lib. vi. c. 16. Dion. per. v. 700. [m] Hieron. tradit. hæbr. in Genes. Eustat. Com. in examer. Isidor. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. Zonar. Bed. & al. [n] Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6, & seq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & seq.

their origin, as that of *Sacks*, which signifies thieves and plunderers, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of *Celtiberians*, or inhabitants of *Celtiberia*, or *Spain*, might be designed to distinguish those *Celtes* on that, from those of this side the *Pyrenees*, as we shall have further occasion to shew in another note. For thus we find *Gallia* or *Gaul* divided into *Cis* and *Trans-alpina*, and the word *Iberia* seems derived from the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic* *Iber*, which signifies *over*(4); and thus *Spain*, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, because authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them square with their own hypotheses, as they were ignorant of the *Celtic*, from which it is most natural to derive them, as shall be further proved in due time.

(4) *Vid. Cluver. lib.* ii. *c.* 3.

add at the bottom ſome authentic monuments, which the warlike deſcendants of *Gomer*, and his brethren, have left in their various ſettlements, which ſtill more corroborate what we have ſaid concerning their origin, migrations, and ſettlements (C).

WERE we all as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, with reſpect to theſe two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain-head, and to diſpel that obſcurity which we find in ancient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the *Gomerians*. However, we are not without ſome additional proofs to the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who affirms them to be deſcended from *Magog* above-mentioned, and in which he hath been followed by many of the fathers, and by a great number of moderns °. For firſt, we find ſome ancient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers *Meſhech* and *Tubal* in the neighbourhood of his brother *Gomer*, in the regions of leſſer *Aſia*, where they planted themſelves after the diſperſion (D). Secondly, as they ſpread themſelves towards *Eu-*

° HIERON. AUGUST. EUSTAT. THEODOR. BED. JOSEPH. BEN-GOR. Judæi ſer. omn. JUN. BOCHART. RAWLEIGH. MUNST. HEYLIN. PATRIC. & al. innum.

(C) Thus the *Gomerians* left their name to the *Albanian* mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleaſant plains of *Phrygia*; and to a city of this province, which in *Pliny*'s time was ſtill called *Cimmeris*, *Aſkenas*, *Gomer*'s ſon gave his to the *Sinus Aſkanicus*, to a lake and river of the ſame name; and in the leſſer *Phrygia*, to a city and province, and to the *Inſulæ Aſcaniæ*.

From *Riphath*, another of his ſons, we have the *Riphean* nation and country, ſince called *Paphlagonia*, and from *Togarma*, his youngeſt ſon, whom the *Greek* verſion calls Θογαμα and Τογγαμα, the *Trogmans* or *Trocmans* of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*; all theſe the reader may further ſee in the learned *Bochart* (5).

In like manner *Magog*, *Meſhech*, and *Tubal*, whoſe bands are joined together by the prophet (6) have left their names to ſeveral countries, bordering upon thoſe of *Gomer*; as *Magog* to the *Gogarens*, *Meſhech*, or, as he is called by the ancients, *Moſoch*, to the mountains *Moſchici*, between *Colchis* and *Armenia*; and mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*; as the reader may ſee it further proved in *Bochart* above quoted.

(D) Of this kind are the provinces of *Mongog* or *Mongug*, *Congigo*, *Gigwi*, and ſome others; and the cities of *Gingui*, *Angui*, *Gorgangoi* and *Goigui* in *Tartary* †.

(5) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. *& ſeq.* *Rawleigh*, *Heylin*, *Perron*, *& al. Vid. & ſup. Vol. I. p.* 375. *& ſeq.* (6) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 1. † *See Bochart. ubi ſupra. & al. ſup. citat.*

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rope, and *Gomer*'s deſcendants turned towards the northweſt, ſo thoſe of *Magog* may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have ſpread themſelves toward the north-eaſt into both *Scythias*, where we find ſome plain footſteps of their progenitor, beſides the name of *Mogli*, which was that of the ancient *Moſcovites* and *Tartarians* (E); and ſeems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, the ſons of *Magog*. To theſe we may add, Thirdly, That there is ſcarce a nation under heaven that ſo fully anſwers the warlike, bloody and dreadful character, which the ſcriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythians*; upon all theſe accounts therefore we hope we may venture with *Joſephus* to derive them from that patriarch.

HAVING thus far cleared the way, and diſentangled, as much as poſſible, the intricacy of ancient authors concerning theſe two nations, we ſhall now proceed to add ſomething of

(E) Accordingly, we do ſcarcely find any part of *Europe* in which ſome of theſe are not mentioned by ancient geographers and (7) hiſtorians, under the names of *Gomerians*, *Cymbrians*, *Celtes*, *Celtiberians*, *Celto Syrians*, and ſuch like, as we ſhall more fully ſee in the ſequel.

As for *Iberia*, or *Spain*, *Joſephus* doth indeed affirm, that it was firſt peopled by the *Thobalines*, or ſons of *Tubal* or *Thobal*, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth ſon of *Japhet* (9). On the other hand Sir *Walter Raleigh* thinks it more probable, that it was firſt inhabited by the *Africans*, who did from thence conceive ſuch fondneſs for it, that they have been ever ſince ſtriving from time to time to regain it (10). But we ſee no reaſon for preferring either of theſe opinions to the concurrent teſtimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add that the ſurname of *Celto*, given to that province, and that of *Celtiberians* or *Celto-Iberians*, to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the *Celtes* were the firſt peoplers of it, eſpecially if we conſider that the name of *Iberia* ſignifies in the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*, over, or on the other ſide, as we hinted in a former note. So that the *Celtiberians* might mean only the *Celtes*, on the other ſide the *Pyreneans*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe on this ſide (11).

It is likewiſe more natural to ſuppoſe, that the warm ſituation of *Spain*, might invite the *Celtes* thither from the more northern climates of *Europe*, than that the *Africans* could go thither ſo early by ſea; unleſs we can ſwallow the ridiculous *Spaniſh* tradition, which makes *Tubal* to have croſſed over thither, and to have built the town of *St. Vaal*. which is ſtill ſtanding at this day (12).

(7) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* i. *c.* 7. *Ptolom. Geogr. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. *et* 13. *et alib. Mela. lib.* i. *c.* 2. iii. *c.* 2. *Cæſ. Comm. c.* i. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* 16. *Strab. D. Sicul. et al.* (8) *Ant. lib.* i. *c.* 7. (9) *Geneſ.* x. 2. (10) *Hiſt. chap.* 8. *Sect.* 3. *et ſeq.* (11) *See above Note B.* (12) *Hiſt. of the world, ubi ſup. Sect.* 4.

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their different migrations from *Asia* into *Europe*, which will still give further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember that we formerly settled *Gomer*, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of *Phrygia*[p]: *Askenaz* his eldest son, or, according to the *Armenians*, *Togarmah* his youngest, or, it may be, both of them, in *Armenia*; and *Riphath* the second son in *Capadocia*; or, in some province, in the neighbourhood of *Phrygia*[q]. For the condition the young world was then in, would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds[r]. And even when they began to spread themselves further and wider into *Europe*, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the *Gomerians*, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and so quite up to *Spain*, whilst the *Scythians* or descendants of *Magog*, moved to the right eastward, towards *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, as far as the borders of *Cathai*, if not beyond.

THUS was all *Europe*, and the far greater part of *Asia*, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, that is, from the utmost parts of *Spain* to *Scythia Europeana*, eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of *China*, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 10th degree west, to the 8th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the artic circle.

UPON the whole then, it appears, that the first rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as descended from the elder brother, tho' the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the universal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted that their progenitor was *Gomer's* younger brother. *Scytharum gens antiquissima* was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary,

[p] See before Vol. I. p. 376. & seq. & BOCHART. ubi supra. l. iii. c. 8.

[q] Vid. EUSEB. Loc. Hebr. ubi sup. sect. vi.

[r] See RAWL. Hist.

and

and we hope that our readers are ſo by this time, we ſhall reſtore it to its right owners the *Celtes*, who claim it on account, not only of their elderſhip, but much more on that of their ſuperior merit; as will appear more fully from the hiſtory of both.

SECT II.

The Hiſtory of the CELTES, *under the names of* GOMERIANS, CYMMERIANS, CYMBRIANS, CELTES, GAULS, GALATIANS, TITANS, SACKS, &c.

Celtes *give their name to* Europe.

WE have already ſpoken of the migrations of theſe ſons of *Gomer*, from *Aſia*, into *Europe*, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the laſt ſection; wherein we obſerved their regular progreſs from *Phrygia* their firſt ſettlement, through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gaul*, *Italy*, till they had ſpread themſelves to the utmoſt borders of *Spain*. In this large *European* tract it was, that having fixed their boundaries between the *Scythians* and themſelves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, or rather under ſeveral conſiderable kingdoms; inſomuch, that mention is made of them in ſo many parts of *Europe* by ancient geographers and hiſtorians, that *Ortelius* took the name of *Celtæ* and *Celtic* to be the general name of all that part of the world; and a map which he made of ancient *Europe* bears this title accordingly, *Europam, ſive Celticam, veterem, ſic deſcribere conabatur Abrahamus Ortelius.* Though *Ptolomy* might have led him to a better ſcent, who ſays, that this part of the world was called *Celtic* from the people that firſt inhabited it †. For it is plain from hiſtory, that there was hardly any country in it that was not inhabited by ſome of them; though thoſe who ſpread themſelves on both ſides the *Rhine*, and thence towards the ſouth and weſt, as far at leaſt as the *Pyrenees* and the *German* ocean, were the moſt famous of all, and in proceſs of time gave all that country, or others for them, the name of *Gallia*, and *Galatia*, whilſt themſelves did retain their own antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians* [a]. As for thoſe of *Cymerians*, and *Cymbrians*, &c. which ſeem only a corruption of that, it is obſervable, that it was given to none of the *Celtes*, but thoſe who inhabited the more northern regions of

The various names of the Celtes.

† Quadripartit, lib. 2. [a] See PEZRON. Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2.

Europe,

Europe, above the *Euxine* ſea, and the north of the *Danube*, where they were leſs known and intermixed. Thus that part of *Germany* now known by the name of *Holſtein* was called *Cymbria Kerſoneſus*. The names of *Titans* and *Sacks* were given only to thoſe of leſſer *Aſia*, ſo that they ſeem to have been only known in this part of *Europe*, by thoſe of *Celtes* and *Gauls* (A). The name of *Galatians*, γαλαται was given them alſo by the *Greeks*, but it is plain it meant the ſame with *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them deſcended from the ſame father, namely *Gomer* [b]. It was not however in this tract of ground that they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already ſignalized their names in ſeveral parts of both the higher and lower *Aſia*, where it is likely they began very early to be governed by ſeveral valiant princes of their own, and this is the reaſon that we find the name of *Gomerians*, and *Gomarites*, as well as thoſe of *Sacks* and *Titans* in thoſe parts among ancient geographers, which names were afterwards changed to that of *Celtes*, after their ſpreading themſelves into *Europe*, as will more fully appear by the ſequel [c]. But thoſe early exploits are ſo intricate, ſo darkly and differently related, and built ſo much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely upon them. At the moſt, it is plain, that theſe *Aſiatic* conqueſts did not remain long enough in their poſſeſſion, to deſerve a place in the geography of their country.

Their territories.

[b] Comp. Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 7. Eustat. Comm. in Examer Hieron. tradit. hæbr. in Geneſ. ix. Isidor. Origin. l. lx. c. 2. & Pezron. ubi ſup. [c] Vid. Ptolom. Strab. Mela, & al.

(A) *Cæſar*, in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of *Celtes* to themſelves, whilſt the *Romans* did give them that of *Galli* or *Gauls* (1), not knowing in all likelihood that they both ſignified the ſame thing in the old *Celtic*, namely warriors (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give ſome other ſenſe of theſe two names, as they are fetched from other languages; and indeed there is nothing more eaſy than to find in all languages ſuch likeneſs of ſounds as *Gauls* and *Galli*, *Celtes*, and κελται, though of ſuch different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At leaſt thoſe are the moſt likely to be the trueſt, which are derived from the language itſelf, unto whom the name belongs; excepting however ſuch of them as we obſerved there, were given in contempt, and by way of reproach, as that of *Sacks* or robbers. But here it is certain that the *Celtes* made too great a figure in the world long before *Cæſar*'s time, to have been called *Galli*, in deriſion.

(1) *lib.* 1. (2) *Vid. Pezron, Ch.* il.

Thoſe

Thoſe exploits will be beſt reſumed in the hiſtory of thoſe nations with whom they had to do; whilſt we confine their territories at preſent within thoſe limits of *Europe*, in which we can ſpeak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

It is not eaſy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the *Celtes* from the *European Scythians*, for the reaſons given in the laſt ſection. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At preſent we ſhall only obſerve that the former extended from the *Danube*, their ſuppoſed boundaries, to the fartheſt part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reaching at leaſt three degrees from eaſt to weſt, that is, from that famous river to cape *Feneſtre*. It was bounded on the ſouth by the *Mediterranean* ſea, and weſt and north-weſt by the weſtern and northern ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to the *Hyperborean* or frozen ſea, or only to the *Baltic*, we preſume not to ſay. The laſt however ſeems moſt probable, for reaſons we ſhall give in the hiſtory of *Scythia*. For it is probable they did not advance towards *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the other more northern regions, till they found themſelves too ſtreightned in the more pleaſant climates of the ſouth; which did not happen in all likelihood till many centuries after their migration into *Europe*. However, it is certain that in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, not only they, but alſo the northern iſlands of *Britain*, *Ire-*

Geography

(B) We muſt not however omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the *Jews* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies againſt them from the north quarters (3), he ſeems to intimate that there were ſtill ſome of the deſcendants of that patriarch ſettled in ſome of the northern parts of higher *Aſia* even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is, till ſome years after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when they made that terrible irruption into *Paleſtine*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find *Ptolomy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Gomarians* as two diſtinct nations, though originally the ſame; the firſt with *Chamara* their ſuppoſed metropolis, in *Bactria* along the ſouth banks of the river *Oxus*; and the latter a little further north in the province of *Sogdiana* (4). *Mela*, though he differs ſomewhat from *Ptolomy* in their ſituation, doth agree in placing them in the northern provinces of *Aſia* (5), where we may have occaſion to viſit them again in the ſequel of this hiſtory, as well as the *Sacks*, another branch of the *Celtes*, whom *Strabo* (6) places a little farther weſtward in *Cappadocia* along the ſouth coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea.

(3) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 6.
(4) *Ptol. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. *&.* 12.
(5) *Lib.* i. *c.* 2.
(6) *Lib.* xi. *p.* 352.

land,

land, and even *Iceland* were inhabited, and made part of the *Celtic Gallia*. Accordingly *Cluverius*, though he hath reduced its extent within narrower bounds than *Ortelius*, makes and proves it to have contain'd the countries of *Illyricum*, *Germany*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and the *Britiſh* iſlands; and adds, that they had all the ſame language, though ſplit into various dialects, and made but one large nation, though divided in proceſs of time into a great multitude of tribes †. However, we find it greatly dwindled in *Cæſar*'s time; who ſays it only contained the three provinces called *Belgium*, *Aquitania*, and *Gallia*, properly ſo called *. So that *Germany*, *Illyricum* and *Spain*, were already diſmembred from it, as well as the weſtern part of *Italy*, where we ſhall find them ſeated from the earlieſt times. As for the ſouthern iſlands on the *Mediterranean*, ſuch as *Sicily*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, and others, we need not doubt but they were much ſooner peopled than thoſe on the northern ocean, as will be farther ſhewn in the ſequel.

So conſiderable was the *Celtic* nation, even in *Auguſtus Cæſar*'s time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur, and ſhrunk into more narrow limits, that it contain'd no leſs than ſixty great people, diſtinguiſhed by the names of cities or diſtricts, according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* ſays 64[d], but this is nothing to *Joſephus*, who reckoned the number of theſe nations about 315[e], or to *Appianus*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greateſt part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they muſt have made before that time, may be gueſſed by that notable expedition they made into *Italy*, in the time of *Tarquin* the elder, that is, almoſt 600 years before Chriſt, when *Belloveſus* having penetrated through the *Alps* with a numerous army, did in a ſhort time invade a great part of *Italy*, called from them *Gallia Ciſalpina*. For this and their ſucceeding exploits againſt that province, and their conqueſt of its metropolis, we may juſtly look upon it as part of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* territories, though we ſhould grant it to have been originally peopled by ſome other nation, than the deſcendants of *Gomer*. But this doth not ſeem to us to be the real caſe, for though we have already ſufficiently diſcountenanced the fable of *Beroſus*, who brings *Gomer* into *Italy* ſo ſoon after the flood; yet it is much more likely that his deſcendants were the firſt that peopled it, with the reſt of *Eu-*

† Antiq. Germ. l. i. c. 2. & ſeq. ad 8. * Vid Bell. Gal. ſub. init. [d] Annal. l. 3. [e] Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 16. [f] Vid. Reynecc. ap. Rawdey hiſt. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2.

rope,

rope, it being impoſſible ſo fine a country ſhould eſcape them in their progreſſive migration; than to ſuppoſe that either *Kittim* the ſon of *Javan*, or his deſcendants were got thither before them. To make this ſtill more probable, we muſt remind our readers of two things, namely, that the *Umbrians*, juſtly ſuppoſed a tribe of *Gomerians*, the name only corrupted by length of time and place (C), are by many antient authors eſteemed the moſt antient people in *Italy* *. And *Pliny* in the place laſt quoted tells us, that when the *Hetrurians* entred that country, and made war againſt the *Umbrians*, they deſtroyed 300 of their cities; which proves that they muſt have been there a conſiderable time. Our next obſervation is, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by other antient hiſtorians to have been the deſcendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes* †. And if it be ſo, it will be more reaſonable to believe that theſe *Gauls* or *Umbrians* had already paſſed the *Alps*, and ſettled themſelves in *Italy*, long before *Saturn*'s time, ſince we find that he made no ſcruple to go and take refuge amongſt them, and was courteouſly received by them; than to imagine that the country was inhabited by the ſons of *Javan*, or, as others pretend, that the *Arcadians*, their ſuppoſed deſcendants, could come thither ſo early by ſea; they who are only famous for their paſtoral life, and were conſequently ſo unac-

* Florus lib i. c. 17. Plin. l. iii. c. 14. Dionys. Halic. l. i. c. 8. com. Serv. in Virgil. † Solin. ex. Boch. Isidor. & al. ap. Pezron. c. 10.

(C) A late accurate author hath taken a vaſt deal of pains to ſhew not only that the *Celtes* had no other limits than thoſe of *Europe* †, but likewiſe that all the *European* nations were originally of the *Celtic* extract. More particularly the *Spaniards*, *Portugueſe*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Scandinavians*, *Britains*, *Picts*, *Scots*, *Iriſh*, the *Allobroges*, *Alpenines*, *Liguri*, *Umbrians*, and ſeveral other *Italic* nations, as well as ſundry others that were ſeated in *Ruſſia*, *Salmatia*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, &c. * We ſhall refer our readers to the author for the proofs of what he aſſerts, they being too many and copious for a work like this. But from the whole aggregate of the beſt antient teſtimonies quoted by him, we may ſafely agree with him, if not that the *Celtes* were the firſt inhabitants of all theſe *European* tracts, at leaſt that there is not one of them to be met with in antient hiſtory which was not inhabited by ſome of them from the earlieſt times. And this is what we ſhall in the ſequel find farther occaſion to prove when we come to the antient hiſtory of all thoſe nations in due courſe.

† *Pelentier hiſt. des Celtes, l. i. c. 3.* * *Ibid. c. et. ſeq.*

quainted

quainted with navigation (D). If ever therefore either of these did posſeſs themſelves of *Italy*, as ſome have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and ſome intricate teſtimonies from antient authors, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greateſt part of the *Celtes* out of it over the *Alps*; and this may be the reaſon of their making afterwards ſo many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

Plutarch indeed ſpeaking of the *Gallic* or *Celtic* nation, tells us thas ſome of them paſſing over the *Riphean* mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern ſea, the extreme or nothern parts of *Europe*, whilſt others remained in the ſouth parts, between the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps* [g]. Where he adds, that having taſted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, they marched over the *Alps*, under the conduct of a malecontent, named *Arron*, and conquered thoſe territories, which had been till then held by the *Tuſcans*. But the name of *Celtiberia*, by which *Spain* was antiently known, and that of the *Celtic* promontory, now *Cape Feneſtre*, or *Finiſter*, the utmoſt verge of *Spain*, weſtward, on the one hand, and of *Gallia Togata*, or *Ciſalpina*, on the other, including near one third part of *Italy* [h] weſtward, ſhews nothing leſs than their having confined themſelves within the limits of thoſe two ridges of mountains (E).

[g] In vit. Camill. [h] Vid. PTOLOM. ubi ſup. MELA. lib. iii. 1, 2. CLUVER. PEZRON. ub. ſup. PELLOUTIER. hiſt. des Celtes. l. 1. c. 2. & al. 3. & alib. paſſ.

(D) We need not obſerve further to our readers, how fond the *Arcadians* were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations, and how much they valued themſelves for their aſſumed name of *Aborigines* every where. Whether the *Celtes* did take that of *Tytans* or Τιτᾶνες, one ſignification of which is almoſt of the ſame import with that of *Aborigines*, or Γηγενεις *Terrigenæ*, out of the ſame oſtentation, we would not venture to affirm, after *Pezron*, ſeeing it is capable of another ſignification, as we ſhewed in a former note. We may ſay in general that the etymons of the various names of *Italy* are manifeſtly forced, as *Latium* from *lateo*, to be hid, becauſe *Saturn* ſheltered himſelf there, and *Italy* from the *Greek Ætolia* or the *Arcadian Elatus* (7).

(E) We could further confirm this, by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, *&c.* both in *Spain* and *Italy*, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which being plainly of *Celtic* origin, do ſhew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we ſhall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(7) *Reynecc. ubi ſup. Camden. Heylin. et al.* (8) *De his vid. Wott. Archeol. Lluid. lexic. Cambrobrit. Hic. lexic. Sax. Breerew. de orig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. ſeptent. Lewis hiſt. Mag. Brit. Pezron. ubi. ſup. et al. mult.*

It

It is likely that our author either knew nothing of these *Celtic* names, or if he did, that he thought the *Celtes* had been only the invaders of those two provinces, rather than the first inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have shewn by this time to be at least the more probable of the two.

UPON the whole then, the antient territories of the *Celtes* extended themselves east and west, from the head spring, *Ister* or *Danube*, which divided them from the *European Sarmatia* (F), quite cross *Europe* unto *Cape Finister*, and the streight of *Hercules* now *Gibraltar*, and contained the following provinces, namely *Iberia*, now *Spain* and *Portugal*; *Gallia*[i] or *Celtogalatia*, now *France*, with the low countries; *Germany* as far as the *Danube* eastward, and *Denmark* northward; *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, since *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and *Lombardy*, and the *Gallia Cisalpina*, or *Togata*, containing that part of *Italy*, now *Piedmont*, the dutchies of *Milan*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, &c. and the republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, besides the southern and northern Islands of *Europe*, which we have lately had occasion to mention.

THESE extensive territories, had however been very much curtailed long before *Julius Cæsar*'s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the *Alps*, and *Pyrenean* mountains, from east to west; by the *Mediterranean* on the south; and by the *Rhine* and *British* ocean on the north and north-east. In *Cæsar*'s time we find it still lessened by all that tract, which lies between *Geneva* and the *Alps*, which had been some time before added to the *Roman* empire, over and above the *Gallia Cisalpina* lately mentioned, which they had invaded in *Tarquinius Priscus*'s time, and advanced almost as far as the middle of *Italy*. This *Gallia*, thus curtailed, was called *Comata*. *Cæsar* divided it into three nations, namely *Belgæ*, *Aquitani* and *Celtes*, or *Gauls*[k] (G). But by this time a great part of the *Celtic* territories had been dismembered from it; as *Spain*, which had passed from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*; the *Gallia*

[i] *Vid.* POLYB. lib. iii.

[k] Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 1.

(F) *Cæsar* in his commentaries says much the same thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the *Ister* hath its spring in the land of the *Celtes*, and traversing the *European* regions, enters obliquely into the borders of *Scythia*.

(G) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the custom of the *Romans*. Thus we find also the *Gallia Citerior* called *Togata*, from the long robes, and the *Ulterior* or *Transalpine Braccata* from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(9) *lib.* ii. *c.* 4. *& seq.*

Narbonenſis, which was become a province of the *Roman* empire[1], and included all the ſouthern provinces of *Gallia* along the *Mediterranean*, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*: this laſt contained at leaſt *Gaſcony*, *Languedoc*, *Provence* and *Dauphine*. Nevertheleſs, theſe three diviſions were far from being all that the *Celtes* had left in *Europe*, though *Cæſar* has made the moſt of them in his account of that war (H). Other diviſions of *Gallia*

[1] Bell. Gallic. lib. iii. c. 20.

(H) By which diſtinction it is plain, that he ſpeaks only of the *Gallia* which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* nation, which ſtill ſpread themſelves vaſtly further, at leaſt towards the north; and therefore when he comes to explain himſelf, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of thoſe three nations, it appears that he goes no further than his own conqueſts (10), ſo that it ſhould ſeem as if he had affected to compliment himſelf with the ſubduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the *Celtes*, ſo famous both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the ſame oſtentation that he ranks, for inſtance, 16 people under the name of *Belgæ*; of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the *Gauliſh* hiſtory, but which did take up only about one third part, or the north part of *France* and the *Netherlands*.

The ſame may be ſaid of another third, *viz. Aquitain*, among which he reckons twelve diſtinct people, making up in all the *Gallia Armorica*, ſo named from the *Celtic* word *Armor*, which ſignifies thoſe countries which are upon the ſea coaſt; this province was afterwards called by the *Romans Aquitain* from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at moſt the weſtern provinces of *France* from the river *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, to the *Pyrenees*, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the *Celtæ*, to whom *Cæſar* tells us the *Romans* gave the name of *Gauls*, their country extended only north and ſouth from the *Ligeris* or *Loire* to the *Sequana* or *Seine*, and eaſt and weſt at moſt, from *Burgundy* to *Low Britanny*, including the *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, part of which laſt was already under the *Romans*. But how ſhort did all theſe three come of the *Celtic* territories, when ſome authors tell us that they extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* quite to the *Scythians* (13)? When another tells us that all the inhabitants on each ſide the *Rhine*, were ſtill called *Celtes* (14)? ſo that all that were on the other ſide of that river were out of the boundaries of the *Gallia Belgica*, and much more ſo out of thoſe of the other three. Whether or no this *Gallia Celtica* was ſo called, and its inhabitants *Celtes* in *Cæſar*'s time by way of excellence above the reſt, as the province of *Holland* is commonly taken for all

(10) *Vid. Godvin. annot. in Cæſ. Comm. ibid.* (11) *Vid. Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 17.
(12) *Comment. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *et alib. Camil. vid. et Mel. Cluver, et al.* (13) *Diodor. l.* v. *c.* 9. *Plutarch. in vit.* (14) *Dio. Caſſ. l.* xxxix.

the

Gallia which were made by *Auguſtus*, and other *Roman* emperors (I), after the conqueſt of it, will be beſt ſeen in the *Gallic* hiſtory we ſhall give in a future volume.

SEAS

the ſeven, and whether or no the other *Celtes* were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain that the three *Gallic* provinces which he ſubdued, one of which only he diſtinguiſhes by the *Celtic* name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(I) This may, perhaps, be thought a proper place to have ſpoken of the iſles of *Great Britain*, both as they were firſt inhabited, and are ſtill in ſome parts by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, which laſt name, as well as the antient language of that nation, is ſtill preſerved amongſt them, eſpecially in the north part of *Wales*. But as they make ſo great a figure in antient hiſtory from their firſt being planted by ſome colonies of that nation, their hiſtory will be better referred to another book, wherein we ſhall reſume that of the weſtern and northern empires according to our firſt plan of this work.

However it will not be amiſs to hint ſomething here concerning the name of *Britain*, which has been confounded by *Camden* and others with that of *Gomro*, as if they had both belonged to the ſame people; for it is certain that the former is only to be found among the *Britains* in *France*, who call themſelves *Brithoined*, and are as great ſtrangers to the name *Gomro*, as the *Gomros* or *Welſh* are to that of *Brithained* or *Briton*. It ſeems therefore that thoſe antiquaries have too lightly rejected the ſtory of *Brutus* coming into *England* and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conqueſt that part was afterwards called *Britannia* or *Britain*, which *Camden* and his followers will have to be derived from *Brit* painted, and *Tain* region; becauſe the *Britains* painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the *Romans Picts* or *Painted*.

It doth not appear at all probable, that if the *Britains*, who went out of *England* into *France*, had been the ſame with the *Gomros*, or antient inhabitants of *Britain*, they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other deſcendants of *Gomer* did ſo pride themſelves in, for the nickname of *Britained* or *Painted*; much leſs that they ſhould have quite obliterated the former, which was ſtill ſo carefully preſerved by their neighbours. But if the *Trojans* were themſelves a colony of the *Gomerians* or *Welſh*, as a modern author ſeems to have nearly proved (15); and theſe after the deſtruction of their city, came under *Brutus*, or *Trotus* as he is called by *Vitus*, and by others *Brito*, and from him they were called *Britains*, and invaded a conſiderable part of this Iſland; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the *Gomeraes* or *Welſh*, and the *Brithained* or *Britiſh*, which laſt is objected by the antiquaries againſt the probability of the firſt.

(15) *Lewis Introd. in hiſt. Britan. c. iv. et lib. ii. c. 24.*

SEAS of note were the *Mediterranean*, the weſtern, *Britiſh*, and northern ocean, and the *Baltic*. Their principal lake in theſe territories is that of *Geneva*, which is upwards of twenty miles in length, and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableneſs inriches both the city of that name, and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of *Serviere*, in high *Dauphine*, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the *Alps*, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much ſmaller at 8 or 9 miles diſtance, and is calculated to ſtand near half a mile per-

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but alſo more reaſonable to ſuppoſe with Sir *John Price* (16), that theſe iſles were at firſt peopled by the antient and warlike *Gomerians*, than by the conquered and fugitive *Trojans*; for who can think that they ſhould have been ſo long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the diſperſion; for ſo long at leaſt it was before the latter can be ſuppoſed to have come from *Troy hither*, by which time the others had ſpread themſelves all over *Europe*. And is it not alſo more probable that theſe gave it the antient name of *Albion*, which in their language ſignifies white, from the whiteneſs in which the *Cliffs* of *Dover* appeared clad from the other ſide of the water, than that it received it from *Albion* the brother of *Borgion*, the ſon of *Neptune*?

We may may add, that *Beroſus* and thoſe who have followed his ſteps (17) have given us a liſt of 20 kings of the *Celtes* who reigned in *Gaul*, and the greater part of them alſo over the *Gomeros* on this ſide the water, before *Brutus*. The reader will ſee by the following liſt of their names how ſeveral *Cantons* of *Gaul* might probably receive theirs from them, as *Longobards* from *Bardus* and *Longus*, their fifth and ſixth monarchs. *Gallia Narbonenſis* from *Narbo*; *Lugdunenſis* from *Lugdus*; the *Belgic* from *Belgius*; the *Allobroges* from *Allobrox*, &c. they run as follow: 1. *Samothes*, by others called *Dis* and *Diſcelta*. 2. *Magus*. 3. *Sarron*. 4. *Druis*. 5. *Bardus*. 6. *Longus*. 7. *Lucus*. 8. *Celtes*. 9. *Galates*. 10. *Narbon*. 11. *Lugdus*. 12. *Belgius*. 13. *Jaſius*. 14. *Allobrox*. 15. *OEgyptus*. 16. *Paris*. 17. *Olbius*. 18. *Galates* II. 19. *Namnes*. 20. *Franicus*.

It is true, this liſt ſeems rather to be that of the princes of ſeveral cantons of the *Celtes*, than a regular ſucceſſion of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one ſole monarch. Nevertheleſs as they reigned either in *Gaul* or *Britain*, long before this *Brutus* (ſuppoſe him to have come from *Troy*, as will be further ſeen when we come to that part of our hiſtory) the moſt that can be ſaid of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the *Gomros*, its *original* inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire further weſtward, where they have continued ever ſince.

(16) *Deffen's hiſt. Brit. et auct. ab eo citat.*

(17) *Vid. Vitus Baſinſt. hiſt. Brit. lib. i. not* 25.

pendicular

pendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or ſending out more water than a very inconſiderable ſtream, ſcarce ſufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, otherwiſe called *Apennine*, which are of great length, and of ſo prodigious height, that they are always covered with ſnow of incredible hardneſs. The latter were ſuppoſed by *Livy* and others to have been called *Apennine* from *Hannibal Penninus*, but much more probably from the old *Celtic* word *Pen*, a head, by reaſon of the exceeding height and whiteneſs of them. So that *Apennine* may be only a contraction of *A Pen Ghwin*, white heads, as the word *Alps* may be derived from the *Celtic Alp* or *Alb*, white.

THE chief rivers are the *Iſter*, which runs into *Scythia*, and empties itſelf into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Rhine*, which ſprings from the mountains of *Switzerland*, and runs through *Germany* and *Holland* into the *Britiſh* ſea. The *Seine*, *Loyre*, and *Garonne*, of which we have lately had an occaſion to ſpeak, as they divided the *Gallia Celtica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitana* from each other. The *Durius* now *Duero*, which deſcends from the mountains of *Sirra* in *Aſturia*, into the *Atlantic* ocean at *Oporto*. The *Tagus* or *Tajo*, which croſſes great part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and falls into the ſame ocean below *Olyſipon* or *Liſbon*. The *Anas* now *Guadiana*; the *Bætis* or *Tarteſſus* now *Guadalquivir*; theſe two empty themſelves in the gulph of *Cadis*. The *Iber* now *Ebro* which deſcends from the ſame mountains of *Sierra*, with the *Durius*, but taking a contrary courſe from it, runs eaſtward into the *Mediterranean*, and empties itſelf into the gulph of *Valencia*. The *Rhodanus* or *Rhoſne*, which hath its ſpring from the mountains of *Switzerland*, but deſcends a contrary way, and croſſing the lake of *Geneva*, runs through the ſouth part of *France*, and empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* about *Marſeilles*; the *Padus* or *Po*, and *Adeſis* now *Adige*, which deſcend the former from *Piedmont*, and the latter from *Switzerland*, and fall at a ſmall diſtance from each other into the gulph of *Venice*. Of all which as well as the mountains, lakes, *&c.* above mentioned and others of leſs note we ſhall not now make further mention, but refer the further deſcription of them till we come to ſpeak in courſe of theſe kingdoms and countries to which they belong. All that needs be added here on that head is, that the greateſt part of the names of theſe and of other ſmaller rivers are certainly of *Celtic* extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus *Garunna* from *Garw*, rough, expreſſes its great rapidity. *Rhodanus* from *Rhedog* to run ſwiftly, implies its ſwift courſe. *Arar* now *Saon* is ſo called from its ſlowneſs, its deſcent into the *Rhoſne* being ſcarce perceptable. *Durius* or *Duiro* from *Dour*, water or river, whence

the names of a great many cities and towns ſituate near the water-ſide ended in *Duro* and *Durum*. Thus likewiſe the names of counties and diſtricts which ended in *Tan*, or *Tain*, and in the *Latin Tania*, as *Aquitain*, *Britain*, *Luſitania*, &ce. are formed from the *Celtic Tan* and *Stan*, a region [m], and imply the country of waters, of the *Britons*, and *Luſians*, which laſt were a *Celtic* people from whom came the *Portugueſe*. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains and other ancient names which are palpably of the ſame extraction, concerning which the curious may conſult the authors above named [n].

NATURAL and artificial rarities in ſo ſpacious a field would take up too much room in this hiſtory, and are ſo well known to the curious, that we think they may be ſafely omitted, ſuch only excepted as have an immediate relation to ſome remarkable facts that may occur in the courſe of this hiſtory, when we come to reſume it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the *Littus Lapideum*, otherwiſe the *Campus Lapideus*, or ſtony ſhore or field above a mile in length upon the coaſts of *Gallia Narbonenſis* or *Languedoc*, where *Hercules* is ſaid to have fought the giant *Albion*, the ſon of *Neptune*; which place is ſtill called by the inhabitants *Les Craux*, from the multitude and largeneſs of ſtones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the *Celtic Craig* or *Craic*, which ſignifies rocks or ſtones [o]. We ſhall have occaſion in ſeveral of the ſubſequent chapters, particularly in our deſcription of *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Ireland*, to take notice of a great number of thoſe ſtony works, ſome of which are of a ſtupendous bigneſs as well as ſtructure, ſuch as particularly our ſtone henge in *Wiltſhire*, and others of the like nature; all which, both from their names, and other concurrent teſtimonies, will be proved in the ſequel to have been of *Celtic* extract, and concerning which we ſhall endeavour to offer ſome more probable conjectures, than any we have hitherto met with among our antiquarian retailers.

[m] Vid. CAMDEN. Brit. LEWIS introduct. in hiſt. Britan. PEZRON. antiq. lib. iii. ſub voc. tan. & alib. [n] Vid. et Hiſt. Delphinat. Lugdun. 1498. [o] Vid. LEWIS Introduct. in hiſt. Brit. c. iv. ROWLAND Mona. antiq. & al. ſup. citat.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning and trade of the ancient CELTES.

THO' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their deſcent being, as we have ſeen, from *Gomer* the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, in which reſpect they outgo the *Egyptians*, *Phrygians*, and even the *Scythians*; yet it muſt be owned that our knowledge of their government, laws, religion, *&c.* comes vaſtly ſhort of the two firſt, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the ſlowneſs and length of their migrations into *Europe*, where we find them firſt ſettled into a ſpacious and regular polity. A late antiquary [a] hath indeed attempted to prove that upon the diſperſion of *Babel*, *Gomer* or his immediate deſcendants did preſently enter into *Armenia*, thence into *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, till at length, under the conduct of *Acmon*, and afterwards of his ſon *Uranus*, two warlike princes, they ſpread themſelves further, and ſent their colonies from leſſer *Aſia* even into *Spain*. *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, or *Teutat*, were their three next ſucceſſors; and it was this laſt, according to our author, who ſettled the *Gomerians* then called *Titans* in *Europe*, into a regular government, gave them laws, and there they changed their name into that of *Celtes* and *Gauls*. According to this ſyſtem then this *Gomerian* polity muſt have begun about the time of *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father, or even of *Nahor*'s, if *Maneus* be admitted to have been, as ſome hiſtorians think, the father of *Acmon*; tho' *Saturn* was the firſt who took the title of king.

ALL this our author brings proof for, from ancient authors, and in a letter to the abbot *Nicaiſe*, doth diſplay a noble and elaborate plan of *Celtic* antiquities, which, had he lived to have finiſhed, might have afforded us a much greater number of others, but he died before he could complete the work, and the plan itſelf, curious as it is, being both too copious and liable to exceptions, to be inſerted here, we ſhall find a proper place for the hiſtory of thoſe princes, ſince deified by a great part of the world; for the preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that nothing is more likely than that their government was originally monarchcial as well as that of other nations, ſince we find it in the ſame form even in *Cæſar*'s time, when they had ſpread themſelves all over *Europe*. Only by that time they

[a] PEZRON. antiq. Na. Celt. paſſ. & ch. 15.

had ſo far altered the form of their gouernment, if we may believe that hiſtorian, that inſtead of one monarch they were divided into a number of petty kingdoms, and did not yield the abſolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatned with invaſion from a common enemy [b]. This is further confirmed in part by another hiſtorian [c], who tells us that the *Cimmerians*, or northern *Gomerians*, being invaded by the *Scythians* their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whoſe diſagreement about the defending or abandoning their country occaſioned the loſs of it, as well as the lives of thoſe who reſolved upon oppoſing the invaders. It is indeed hard to conceive how ſo warlike a nation, extended over ſuch large tracks of ground, and in ſuch a difference of climates, ſhould continue long under one head, without ſplitting itſelf into ſeveral kingdoms; ſo that it is rather a wonder to find that they preſerved ſo much of their ancient affinity and gouernment in *Cæſar*'s time, as to unite themſelves under one head in caſes of common danger.

Their Gouernment.

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their ſovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary abovementioned, that *Mercury* did poliſh and give them laws, and by others [d], that *Samothes*, otherwiſe called *Dis*, and *Diſcelta*, a man of ſingular learning and wiſdom, and the firſt founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and diſcipline which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue, but in the *Phœnician* character; and that the *Greeks* did borrow the latter from the *Celtes*, when they re-entered *Aſia*. The miſtake of theſe authors in affirming that he wrote in *Hebrew* and retained that tongue above all other nations, the deſcendants of *Heber* excepted, may be eaſily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the *Celtic* and it, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak; and as to his uſing the *Phœnician* character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, ſince it was the moſt univerſal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the ſame with the *Samaritan* or ancient *Hebrew*. The reader may ſee what has been heretofore ſaid upon that ſubject †. It is added that he was therefore called the *Saturn* of the *Celtes*, and that their learned men, ſuch as their divines and philoſophers, were called from him *Samothei*. But if ever he wrote ſuch a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footſteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be men-

[b] Comment. l. 6. & al. [c] HERODOT. l. iv. c. ii. PEZRON. ubi ſup.
[d] Vid. LEWIS hiſt. Brit. cap. 2. & auct. ab eo citat. † See before Vol. II. p. 347. iii. p. 212. & ſeq. & notes.

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tioned here. However as they very much deviated from the ſimplicity of their brethren the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be ſuppoſed to have been without ſome for the preſervation of property than their warlike genius could be without martial diſcipline.

THE *Curetes* of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by, and afterwards the *Druids* and *Bards*, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all cauſes whether criminal or civil, and their ſentence was reckoned ſo ſacred, that whoever refuſed to abide by it, was by them excluded from aſſiſting at their ſacred rites; after which no man dared converſe with him, ſo that this puniſhment was reckoned the moſt ſevere of all, even ſeverer than death itſelf.

THEIR religion was very like that of the *Scythians*, that is, they neither built temples nor reared ſtatues to the deity, which they eſteemed ſo derogatory to it, that they even demoliſhed them wherever they could, planting large ſpacious groves inſtead of them, which being open on the top and ſides, were in their opinion more acceptable to the divine and unconfined being which they adored. In this their religion ſeems to have been juſt at firſt, and not unlike that of the *Perſes* and diſciples of *Zoroaſter*, of whom an account will be given in its proper place. They only differed from them in making the oak, inſtead of the fire, the emblem of the deity, in chuſing of that tree above all others to plant their groves with, and attributing ſeveral ſupernatural virtues both to its wood, leaves, fruit, and miſeltoe, all which were made uſe of in their ſacrifices and other parts of their worſhip. At leaſt this is what appears to have been the notion and practice of their immediate deſcendants the ancient *Gauls* and *Germans* on each ſide the *Rhine*. But after they had adopted the idolatrous ſuperſtition of the *Romans* and other nations, and the apotheoſis of their heroes and princes, they came to worſhip them much after the ſame manner: As *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies thunder: *Mercury*, whom ſome authors call *Heus* or *Heſus*, probably from the *Celtic Huadh*, which ſignifies a dog, and might be the *Anubis latrans* of the *Egyptians*. But *Mars* was held in the greateſt veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. It will not however be eaſy to reconcile the greateſt part of theſe *Celtic* deities with what *Pezron* ſays of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel. In like manner we find the *Cretans* at once worſhiping *Jupiter*, and ſhewing his ſepulchre at the city of *Gnoſſus*; for which reaſon, whilſt *Calimachus* calls them liars for forging a tomb for that god, others, eſpecially the chriſtian fathers, juſt-

Religion.

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ly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How theſe gods, or at leaſt their names came to be adopted by other nations, will be ſhewn when we come to ſpeak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour loſt to inquire what other rites beſides thoſe already mentioned the *Celtes* had before they deified their Kings; but ſince then, we find them very much adicted to all kind of ſuperſtition, divination, aſtrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their *Curetes*, ſince known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). Theſe were,

(A) The *Curetes* were among the *Titanic Celtes* what the *Druids* were afterwards among the *Gauls*, and were had in the ſame reverence and eſteem, inſomuch that the education of *Jupiter* was committed to them, and *Cres* one of his ſons was of their ſociety. It is not eaſy to trace their original; and *Strabo*, exact and learned as he was, doth not ſeem to be ſatisfied with all he has ſaid about them (1). Their name of *Curete* ſeems derived from the *Celtic* word *Curo*, to ſtrike or beat one thing againſt another, whence the *Greek* κρυω by the tranſpoſition of a letter, which ſignifies the ſame. And this ſeems to have been given them on account of their ſtriking their ſhields with their javelins, which an ancient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noiſe and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the *Druids*, as ſome pretend (3), we will not determine. If the *Druids* were exempt from that duty, they muſt have been different from the *Bards*, who though in all other reſpects of the ſame order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and muſical compoſitions. Upon this account it is that theſe *Bards* are affirmed by *Cæſar* (4) to have been the inventers of muſick and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king *Bardus*, whom *Beroſus* affirms to have reigned over the *Gauls* and *Britains*, or *Cymbri* (5), from whom they were called *Bards*.

The *Druids* ſome think were ſo called from *Beroſus*'s *Druys*, the 4th king of the *Celtes*, a man of uncommon learning for thoſe days (6); but we think with *Camden* that *Pliny*'s is far more probable, who thinks that they were ſo called from the *Celtic* and *Greek* word *Dros* or *Droſs*, an oak (7), which tree was held ſo ſacred by the *Celtes* as well as *Scythians*, that they performed moſt of their religious rites near ſome large oaks, if not in oaky groves, and offered no ſacrifice without ſome leaves of that tree. As we ſhall ſhew more fully in their hiſtory.

(1) *Geogr. lib.* x. (2) *Apollod. Bibl. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *ap Pezron.* (3) *de Bell. Gall. vid. et Lewis hiſt. Brit. c.* v. *Pezron. c.* xiii. *Heylin et al.* (4) *Bell. Gall. l.* vi. (5) *Vid Caius ant. Cantab. Perion. Baſinſtok.* (6) *Nat. hiſt. lib. vid. Camden, Lewis, Pezron.* (7) *Vid. Caſ. ubi ſup. ex Beroſ. et Cæſar Com.*

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as *Cæsar* tells us [e], the performers of sacrifices, and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. They also instructed youth in all kind of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue, and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteeming them to be too sacred to be committed to writing. *Learning.*

OTHER more common subjects, such as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and especially before a battle, all these were couched in elegant verse, and recited, or rather sung by them, upon all proper occasions. Tho' even these were also kept from vulgar eyes, and either committed to memory, or if to writing, the whole was a secret to all the laity; the latter seems indeed the most probable if what *Cæsar* hints be true, that those poetic records were increased in his time to such a bulk, that it took up a young *Bard* near 20 years to learn them by heart. *Diodorus*, speaking of the *Celtes*, tells us farther, that these poets used to accompany their songs with instrumental musick, such as that of organs, harps, and the like, and that they were had in such veneration, that if any army was engaged in battle, if one of these poets or *Bards* appeared, both sides immediately ceased fighting, so that their fury gave way to wisdom, and *Mars* to the muses. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets, as well as poets, so that it was thought dangerous as well as injurious to disobey what they supposed came from their gods.

THESE prophetick philosophers kept academies, which were resorted unto by a great number not only of their own youth, but even of other countries, insomuch that *Aristotle* says, that their philosophy passed from thence into *Greece*, and not from *Greece* thither [f]. *Diodorus* quotes likewise a passage out of *Hecateus*, which is not less curious, and in their praise, *viz.* that their *Druids* or learned had some kind of instruments by which they could draw distant objects nearer, and make them appear larger and plainer, and by which they could discover even seas, mountains, vallies, *&c.* in the moon, which shews that they must have made some great progress in that sort of learning above other nations. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality [g]. But a *Roman* historian [h] makes no scruple to call their religion an impious

[e] De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12. [f] Ap. LAERT. de vit. Philos. c. i. [g] See VITUS BASINSTOC, CAMDEN, LEWIS, & al.
[h] SUETON. in vit. Claudi.

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Cruel customs.

one, and as such to have been forbidden by *Augustus*, and abolished by *Claudius*. *Lucan* is no less severe against them; and tho' this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the *Romans* bore to them; yet it must be owned that they adopted in process of time several barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than those of any other animals [i]. And *Diodorus* tells us of another inhuman custom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters, which was done by killing some of their slaves, or some prisoner of war, if any they had, with a scimetar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

But though they resembled the *Scythians* in some of their barbarous customs and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their pastoral life. They did indeed anciently live much the same wandering life, carrying their families in large waggons, and ranging from place to place in search of conquest, pleasure, or pasture for their numerous flocks, on the milk and flesh of which they chiefly lived, except such venison as they killed, and fruits which they found growing wild, for they were then above minding any thing of agriculture, and when they came to it in time they commonly left the care of it to their wives and slaves. But these degenerated much sooner than they, and from the plainest and simplest life, suffered drunkenness and luxury to to creep in amongst them, and came in time to build fine houses, towns and cities, which last they fortified and adorned with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. They were upbraided likewise by the *Romans* with following the oldest law in the world, which ever gives to the strongest what the weaker cannot defend [k]. This they not only acknowleged and gloried in, affirming that the gods always favoured those who had the best right, but retorted with great justice against the *Romans*, who though they pretended to disown the doctrine, yet made no scruple to follow the practice. And indeed so greedy were they of conquest and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with such strength and fury, that nothing could withstand them. And so sudden and violent were their onsets, that like fire and storm, they drove all before them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people [l]. As for the prisoners they took in war, they commonly sold them to

[i] Mela. lib. iii. c. 2. [k] Vid. Plutarch. in vit. Camil.
[l] Id. in vit. Mar. Vid. & Strab. Tacit. Dio. Herodian. Mela & al.

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their great men, who made ſlaves of them, and appointed the moſt ſightly of them for their retinue. Inſtead of the skins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more ſavage *Scythians*, theſe choſe to adorn themſelves with their ſpoil. They wore gold rings and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dreſs, as we have had occaſion to hint a little higher.

Warlike diſcipline.

We have alſo obſerved that they were expert horſemen, ſo that conſidering their martial genius and diſcipline, their cavalry ſeldom failed of doing execution. They were no leſs famed for their armed chariots, and their dexterity in managing of them. In other reſpects we do not find that they had any thing but what was common to almoſt all other nations, and ſo ſhall ſay no more of them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and ſcimetars, daggers and bayonets; they had likewiſe ſhields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the ſame manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged.

Incitements to valour and bravery.

As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the buſineſs of their poets to record the actions of thoſe that ſignalized themſelves, in ſongs and ſtories which were afterwards ſung at their games, and other ſolemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had ſuch an effect upon them, that they choſe to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than to be made priſoners.

Superſtitious cuſtoms.

It was alſo their cuſtom, before a battle, to obſerve the moon, and if poſſible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not ſo much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a ſuperſtitious belief that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the *Lacedæmonians*. They uſed alſo, like other nations, to conſult their prieſts or augurs upon all emergencies, but eſpecially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, theſe prieſts uſed to march before them with ſongs and dances, and muſical inſtruments, till the onſet was begun; but if their augury proved otherwiſe they gave ſuch heed to it that nothing but abſolute neceſſity could prevail on them to fight. Their martial laws uſed likewiſe to be couched in verſe, and ſet to ſome warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions, ſo that their very youth were verſed in them, and knew the theory of military diſcipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They ſeem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inſpire them with a deſire of conqueſt and glory, and to cheriſh the warlike temper for which they have been ſo fam'd in hiſtory.

How much their valour was dreaded both by the *Romans* and other *European* nations, will be ſeen in ſome ſubſequent chapters, and we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this, that they ſignalized themſelves no leſs in *Aſia* both before and ſince their migration into *Europe*.

Language. THEIR language, which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak of, was the old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, and, almoſt the very ſame that is ſtill preſerved by the *Welſh*. This has been ſo fully proved by numberleſs antiquarians, that we ſhall content ourſelves with referring our readers to them, without entering into ſo ſpacious and intricate a field[m], and that it was univerſally ſpoken through *Europe* and beyond, except that through length of time and diſtance of place, and intermixture with the *Scythians* and other nations, it had ſplit itſelf into a great variety of dialects, which ſtill retained the plain marks of their original mother, is no leſs plain from the authors above quoted, the laſt of whom hath given ſeveral flagrant proofs, which we are however obliged to paſs by in a work of this nature, and which may be ſeen in the place laſt quoted. We ſhall only add that even the *Galatians*, who were, as hath been lately hinted, ſettled in leſſer *Aſia* ſo many centuries before, are affirmed by St. *Jerom* to have ſpoke the ſame language with the inhabitants of the province of *Triers*, or *Treves* †, which was then a mixture of old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*; and was not confined to *Triers* but common to *Gaul* and *Germany*; but that city is only mentioned by that father, as being in his time the metropolis of *Gaul* in which he had made ſome abode, and where he had had an opportunity of informing himſelf about the nature of the antient language. Neither need we wonder that the *Gallo-greeks* ſhould retain the old *Celtic* ſince they were deſcended from them, and eſpecially if we conſider how fond and tenacious the whole *Celtic* nation was of it. And indeed thoſe who are beſt acquainted with it will readily own, that no tongue, either antient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this *Gomroeg*, and that though it muſt be ſuppoſed to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German* in proceſs of time, yet it retains ſtill ſo much of the admirable ſimplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and conſtruc-

[m] De his vid. CAMB. Brit. Joach. PERION. orig. ling. Celt. BRIERW. inquir. in orig. ling. LLUYDD DAVIES & ROBERT. Gram. WOOTON, HICK, lexic. LEWIS & PEZRON, ubi ſup. HOTOMAN franco Gallia c. 11. p. 20 & al. mult. vid. & BOCHART geogr. ſacr. p. 1. l. i. c. 41. ad fin. & PELLOUTIER ubi ſup. c. 5. † Prefat. in comm. in Epiſt. ad Galat. vid. accet. ſup. citat. et gloſſar. Celt. in collect. Leibnitz, tom. ii. p. 81. & ſeq.

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tion (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the same tongue from which the other languages above named, and even the *Arabic*, seem to have sprung (C). The only wonder in all this would be, that the *Gomerians* should be the only people that have preserved their own in such purity, whilst the *Jews*, and all other nations have suffered theirs

(B) With respect to the *Hebrew*, we refer our readers to what has been said of it in the history of the *Jews* *, and it would be endless to enumerate in how many instances the *Gomroeg*, now the *Welsh*, doth imitate it. We shall however give our reader some few instances of it by way of specimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The *Gomroeg* is so near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary (8) who was master of both, has given the learned world a specimen of a considerable number of phrases out of the *Old Testament*, which are so alike in both, that they seem to have been originally the same, and their difference to be only owing to distance of time and place, and other such like causes, by which a language is naturally altered. It distinguishes cases like the *Hebrew*, not by different terminations as the *Greek* and *Latin*, but by prepositе articles: 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according the preposition, adverb, pronoun, or article, it is affixed to, giving it sometimes a harder, sometimes a softer sound, more for the sake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aspirations and gutturals, which are more or less dense like those of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, as *Car*, he loves; *Cari*, thou lovest; *Carà*, I love; *Carwn*, we love; *Caruch*, ye love; *Carant*, they love.

With respect to their genious, it is strong, masculine, very poetical and figurative, and though, perhaps, more thro' corruption than primitive orthography, it seems harsh in the pronunciation by reason of its vast number of consonants, yet when put into verse, and spoke with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the *Hebrew*, very soft, melodious, and musical.

(C) This is indeed what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed also by historical facts (9). But we dare not be so sanguine as he, in so delicate a point, lest we should be thought to write rather the panegyric than the history of that antient nation and tongue.

Here however the reader may find the most rational account for that surprizing affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *High-Dutch*, and some other *European* and *Asiatic* languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, with-

* *See before Vol.* iii. *p.* 209. *et seq.*

(8) *Ch. Edward's specimen printed An.* 1675. *vid. et Lloyd Gram. et al.*

(9) *Pezron. Ant. ling. Celt. pas. et part* 3.

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theirs to be corrupted, and blended with thoſe of their neighbours, and eſpecially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the formers having ſtill preſerved themſelves from foreign conqueſts and bondage, chuſing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries ſtronger by nature, and leſs tempting to a conqueror, than to ſubmit to their yoke? and as this at once inſpired them with an over-weening value of themſelves, and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preſerving them from ſuffering their original tongue to be corrupted by thoſe of their neighbours?

Poetry. It were labour loſt to endeavour to find what their antient poetry was, in which their *Curetes* and *Druids* recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reaſon for mentioning it here, is to obſerve that theſe poets were their only hiſtorians, and their tongue abounded, like the *Hebrew* and other eaſtern ones, with bold allegories and figures, as we obſerved in the laſt note; this might probably enough adminiſter matter ſufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been ſince ſtuffed, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew when we come to ſpeak upon that head.

Muſic. As to their muſick, of which we have already hinted ſomething under a former head, they are ſuppoſed to have brought it from *Crete*, where having found an iron mine on mount *Ida*, they began to forge themſelves tools, then arms and ſhields, and armour; hence ſprang not only the trades of ſmiths and armourers, but even the firſt notions of muſic are ſaid to have been taken from the ſound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their ſhields, eſpecially when the *Curetes* were nurſing up

out having recourſe to antient hiſtory; in which it ſeems at leaſt highly probable that all theſe were tribes or colonies of the *Gomerians*, and uſed the ſame language, till in proceſs of time being parted from their brethren, and intermixed with *Scythians* and other nations, it ſplit it ſelf into that variety of dialects which we lately mentioned, and in which we now find it, and yet without loſing the greateſt part of their primitive words, which are ſtill the ſame in them, as may be ſeen by the vocabulary at the end of our author's work, and by the hiſtory itſelf, and ſince then by a much greater variety of names of countries, cities, mountains, rivers, caſtles, and in a word, by a ſurpriſing number of proper, and other names and words collected by a late critic, and quoted a little higher (10), all of them palpably of *Celtic* extract.

(10) *Pelloutier ubi ſup. lib.* 1. *c.* 3. *alib. paſſ.*

young

young *Jupiter*, of which we have ſpoken already [n] (D). How far they have improved theſe, and what other arts they cultivated, muſt be only gueſſed at from their manner of life; for ſince their warlike diſpoſition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting ſome grandeur in their equipages, dreſs, and houſhold furniture, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe all thoſe arts and manufactures that tended to it, to have been likewiſe encouraged amongſt them. To theſe we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their ſlaves and inferior ſort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with reſpect to dreſs and equipage, we do not find that they uſed any in their food. Pulſe of all ſorts was their common diet, eſpecially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, which we take to be the ſame with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies millet, and is a very nouriſhing grain. Milk was alſo a conſiderable part of their diet; and as to fleſh they eat very ſparingly of it, if we except that of ſwine, called in the *Celtic* *Souckh*, whence perhaps the *Greek* Ξυκα or Ξικα, and the word *Sick*, uſed by the country people, in ſeveral parts of *Europe* to call their hogs. *Food.*

CONCERNING their antient traffick we have not much to ſay, only when *Mercury* the ſon of *Jupiter* had obtained the empire of the weſt, that is of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place; he is ſaid to have poliſhed them very much both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (E), of which, after he was *Their traffic.*

[n] See NEWTON's Chronol. p. 14. Pezron, Pelloutier, & al. ſup. citat.

(D) We have indeed a much more antient as well as more authentic account of the invention of muſic and muſical inſtruments from the help of the forge and metal hammers, *viz.* the account which *Moſes* gives us (11) of *Tubal* being the inventor of the former, and his brother *Tubal Cain* of the latter, it being very natural to ſuppoſe that the one might furniſh the firſt ideas of the latter, the memory of which being preſerved by the deſcendants of *Japhet* or *Celtes*, as well as by thoſe of *Shem*, the former might in time aſcribe that invention to their *Curetes*, and pretend that they took the firſt hint from the ſame.

(E) Hence the name of *Mercury* ſeems to have been given him from the *Celtic Merc*, merchandiſe, and *Ur*, a man, as if he had been called by way of excellence the man, maſter, or founder of merchandiſing. That of *Teutat*, which he is ſuppoſed to have taken at his going into or returning from *Egypt* ſeems likewiſe to be of *Celtic* extraction, *Teut Tat*, ſignifying the father of the people, ſuch as he was upon this and many other accounts.

(11) *Geneſ.* iv, 21, 22.

deified, he was worſhipped as the patron and protector, and had every where ſtatues reared to his honour, as *Cæſar* himſelf aſſures us †. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, proud and ambitious people, like the *Scythians* their younger brethren; he ſo poliſhed them by degrees, as to vie in moſt reſpects with all other nations in learning and politeneſs, as will further appear by what we have to ſay of that deity under the next ſection. We might here add the character that is given to them by many ancient authors, with relation to their virtues and vices; ſuch as among the former, their extreme love of liberty, which made them prefer the worſt of deaths to an ignominious ſlavery, which was no leſs common with the women than with the men; their faithfulneſs, and love of juſtice, for which ſeveral *Roman* emperors choſe them for their life-guards, and moſt nations courted them for their allies, or auxiliaries; their extraordinary hoſpitality, which obliged them to have their houſes and tables free to all ſorts of ſtrangers; their conjugal fidelity, reſpect to their parents, to their princes and chiefs; their unanimity, courage, and hardineſs under all difficulties, and other ſuch like ſocial virtues: And among their vices, their cruelty, ſuperſtition, fondneſs for and extravagance in their feaſting; contempt of learning, and looking upon all thoſe with contempt that could either write or read; their degenerating into downright drunkenneſs, gluttony, and ferocity, and ſuch like, with which we find them charged by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. But as thoſe oppoſite characters do rather relate to the *Gauls*, than to the old *Celtes* their anceſtors, we ſhall ſay no more of them till we come to the *Gallic* hiſtory.

Their character.

† Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.

SECT IV.

The Chronology and Hiſtory of the Gomerians *or* Celtes.

IT muſt be owned, that all that has been ſaid concerning the time of their migration from *Aſia*, as well as of their famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon meer conjecture, not to ſay fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to ſettle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about theſe as we are about the *Scythians*, nothing being more confuſed than the hiſtory of thoſe two nations. Sir *Iſaac Newton* [a] thinks that both of them had al-

[a] Chronol. p. 10.

ready ſpread themſelves over leſſer *Aſia* and *Europe*, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is about the latter end of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges. But before that time they had ſignalized themſelves in *Aſia*, under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a ſucceſſion of kings. The firſt of which was, according to the author whom we chuſe to follow, cotemporary, if not before *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*; that is, about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of his hiſtory. The perſon we mean is the learned *Pezron* [b], who has taken greater pains, and made more conſiderable diſcoveries concerning the *Celtic* nation, than any hiſtorian we know of. It were indeed to be wiſhed he had built leſs upon conjectures, or that he had lived to give the world thoſe more ſolid proofs for them which he had engag'd to do, in his letter mentioned in the laſt ſection. However, we are willing to hope that our readers will find that they are not without ſome ſolid teſtimonies from antiquity, and that his hiſtory of the *Celtes* carries a greater ſhare of probability than any that has been attempted concerning this ancient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conqueſts, and ſettlements. We ſhall upon the cloſe of this hiſtory make ſome kind of apology for preferring his notion, that *Uranus* for inſtance, *Saturn* as well as their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Aſia*, about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, to that of biſhop *Cumberland*, who ſuppoſes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, to have been *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*, and ſo on; becauſe it will, we hope, fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his ſyſtem carries from antient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable hiſtory at leaſt of thoſe heroes, and of the *Celtic* and *Titanic* nations diveſted as much as poſſible from the fable, and that there is at leaſt more reaſon to believe that there really were ſuch men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

BUT in order to open a way to their hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to mention what is previous to it, with reſpect to the migrations and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, before their ſpreading into *Europe*. For though they are mentioned by ancient geographers and hiſtorians under other names, ſuch as *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain they were really the ſame people, and the deſcendants of *Gomer*, and that theſe names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilſt they not only preſerved ſtill

[b] Ant. Nat. Ceſt. ch. viii. & ſeq.

that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to thoſe very authors, who mention them under their other names (A).

(A) This really holds true with reſpect to all except the name of *Titans*, with this difference however, that they ſometimes confounded them with the *Scythians*, as has been obſerved more than once, which was doubtleſs owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and ſuch like, as well as to their regular progreſs, and ſpreading to the right and left of north *Aſia* and *Europe*, ſo that there is no other way to diſtinguiſh them but by thoſe countries through which each of them took its way towards *Europe*. Accordingly we find *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* and others, ſpeaking of them in thoſe reſpective provinces of *Aſia* under the name of *Sacks*, *Celtes*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Curetes*, *Comarians*, *Chomarians*, and *Cymbrians*. Thus *Ptolomy* tells us, that the *Saccæ*, who lived near the river *Jaxartes*, were of the *Curetes* and *Comarians* (1). *Pliny* likewiſe ſeems to mean the ſame thing, when ſpeaking of them, he ſays (2), Beyond are the *Scythians*, whom the *Perſians* did in general call *Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, *à proxima gente*, &c. which nation could be no other than the *Celtic*, becauſe, as *Ptolomy* obſerves elſewhere, the *Chomarians* in *Bactriana*, were a more civilized ſort than the *Scythians*, had a capital city called by their name *Chomer* (3), whereas the *Scythians* were known to live in the open fields at large, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

Thus then it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Gomerians*, though they uſed in the main other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we obſerved in the firſt ſection had been done by *Herodotus* in his account of the *Scythians*. But as to the name of *Titans*, as it was both leſs known to the ancients, and conſequently with leſs probability applicable to the *Celtic* nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it, but which we own is not altogether ſo clear as could be wiſhed.

He firſt ſuppoſes that the *Gomerians*, or, as they had been ſince opprobriouſly called *Sacks*, or *Robbers*, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of *Titans*, which, as we have ſhewn, is of *Celtic* extraction, upon their removing farther into upper *Phrygia*. Here it ſeems they built a city, which they called *Acmona*, from *Acmon* the ſon of *Manæus* the founder of it (4). *Acmon* being by the *Greeks* reckoned the father of *Uranus*, who is therefore called *Acmonides*, our author ſuppoſes him to be the ſame with *Sanchoniatho*'s *Elion*, or moſt high, becauſe this firſt is there affirmed to be the father of *Uranus*; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other *Celtic* princes.

Theſe conjectures he endeavours

(1) *lib.* vi. *c.* 17. (2) *Nat. hiſt. l.* vi. *c.* 17. (3) *ubi ſup. l.* xi.
(4) *Vid. Steph. de urbib. ſub. voc. acm. Ptolm. Geogr. lib.* v. *c.* 2. *& Numiſm. Puper. ap. Pezron. c.* 8.

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THUS then from *Phrygia*, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of *Comarians*, fixed along the river *Jaxartes*, beyond the *Caspian* sea, quite up to the province of *Bactria* [c]; these *Ptolomy* expressly calls *Sacks*, *Comerians*, and *Curetes* [d]; his words are, The *Saccæ* which inhabited along the *Jaxartes*, were the *Comerians* and *Curetes*. And as we find the *Saccæ* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallogrecia*, and all those provinces which lie along the *Euxine* sea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of *Asia*, till their course was stopt, (not by the *Bactrians* who seem rather to have been of *Celtic* extraction, and are accordingly called *Chomarians* by *Ptolomy* †, who makes *Chomar* to have been their metropolis,) but by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the *Chomarians* reached that of *Bactria*, and had by that time spread themselves much farther northwards from *Armenia*, either for want of room, or through discord. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the *Margiana*, and

[c] MELA. lib. i. c. 2. [d] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13. † Id. ibid. lib. ii.

vours to corroborate with that passage in *Judith*, where the *Titans* are mentioned as synomous with the *Giants* (5); and from another in *Isaiah* (6), which the septuagint renders Γιγαντες οι αρξαντης της γης, the *Giants* who subdued the earth, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the *Titans* or *Celtes*; but the misfortune is, that the *Hebrew* doth by no means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of *the Celtic* over all other nations; so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that the fable of the *Titans* seems to have been founded upon some ancient facts, and that these since deified heroes, being said to have signalized themselves for their wonderful exploits in those very regions of which the *Comerians* had made themselves masters under the names of *Sacks*, since absorbed into that of *Titans*; it is much more probable that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the *Celtic*, especially considering that the greatest part of their names and sirnames which were still retained by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are plainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we shall see when we come to their history. To this may be added the tradition of the *Cretans*, concerning the *Titans* and *Curetes* being cotemporary in that island, the sepulchre of *Rhea*, *Saturn*'s sister and wife being shewn there, and their boasting that several of the gods were born there, all which have been preserved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (7)

(5) *Ch.* xvi. 7. (6) *Isa.* xiv. 9. (7) *lib.* v.

entered into the country of the *Median Arii*, where having fixed themſelves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by the reſt, they were called in ſcorn *Parthians*, which ſignifies in the *Celtic*, parted or divided from. This is affirmed by *Juſtin* [e], only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient *Greek* writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us [f], called all the nations towards the north of *Aſia*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*. This origin of the *Parthians* is likewiſe confirmed by ſeveral other authors [g], though it doth not appear to us that the *Perſians* were deſcended from them †.

THAT the *Saccæ* poſſeſſed themſelves of at leaſt the beſt part of *Armenia*, is expreſly affirmed by *Strabo* [h], who adds, that they called that country by their name *Saccacena* (B). It likewiſe appears from the ſame author, that they paſſed over the mountains, bordering upon *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*, that part eſpecially which is upon the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea [i]. This expedition ſeems to have been made under the conduct of *Acmon*, the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Dœas*, where they gave their name, the former to the capital city, called *Acmonia*, in which we are alſo told [k], was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the ſpacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiſcyra*, along the river *Thermodon* (C). From the *Euxine* ſea

[e] lib. xii. c. i. [f] Geogr. l. xi. [g] Vid. ARRIAN. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. STEPH. BYZ. in voc. Parthy. JORNAND. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud PEZRON. c. iv. † Vid. ſup. vol. V. p. 119. [h] lib. xi. [i] STRAB. ubi ſup. [k] APPOLLON. Argonaut. lib. ii. STEPH. BYZANT. ſub. voce Acmon.

(B) Or rather perhaps *Saccaſtena*, as we find it more properly ſpelt by another author (8); from the *Celtic Stan*, which ſignifies region, and is ſtill preſerved by the *Perſian*, as in *Indoſtan*, *Chuſiſtan*, &c. which perhaps the *Celtes* ſoftened afterwards into *Tan*, as in *Aquitan* the country of water, *Britan* the country of the *Brits* (9).

(C) That theſe two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the teſtimony of the authors above quoted, but adds that *Themiſcyra* means no more than the city of *Themis*. *Kir* in the *Hebrew* and *Ker* in the *Celtic* ſignifying a city. As for *Themis*, whom the *Greeks* made goddeſs of juſtice, he ſuppoſes her to have been the granddaughter of *Acmon*, and a famous magician or propheteſs; and that *Doeas Acmon*'s brother was of the ſame profeſſion; his name in the *Celtic* ſignifying a diviner, from *Ddoe* or *Dhue*, God.

(8) *Iſidor. ſeu Charax. Parthen. Strabm. ap. Pezron. c. v.* (9) *Id. ibid.* (10) *Ibid.*

their

their progreſs towards the *Palus Meotis* is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the *Cymbriam* or *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, from which they needed but to croſs the *Thanais*, to enter into their *European* territories.

We muſt now leave thoſe colonies extending themſelves toward *Europe*, and return into *Phrygia*, whether *Acmon* is ſuppoſed either to have returned from *Cappadocia* [l], or, which is more likely, where he continued after his anceſtors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely, another city called *Acmona*, and ſaid by the ſame authors to have been founded by him; likewiſe another grove dedicated to him, and ſome ſpacious plains called *Doeantes*, from his brother *Dæas* [m] (D). From which one may reaſonably infer that he both reigned, and was afterwards worſhipped here likewiſe; and conſequently that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe him a fabulous perſon, any more than his deſcendants *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and the reſt of the *Titan* princes. And as for the *Celtes* being deſcended from them, we find it expreſly affirmed by a very ancient author [n], who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet he ſays that the

[l] Pezron. ch. vii. [m] Byzant. ubi ſupra. [n] Callimach. *hymn in Delum.* verſ. 170. & ſeq.

(D) If any ſuch monuments were really in two different provinces of *Aſia*; the one in *Phrygia*, as the authors above quoted expreſly affirm, and the others in ſome other parts, for they do not name *Cappadocia*, it will only follow, that both had been under *Acmon*'s government, and there will be no neceſſity to ſend him into the one, and bring him back into the other, ſince his colonies could eaſily atchieve the conqueſt of the latter, and leave thoſe monuments in honour of their prince.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of *Sacks* is from that time wholly abſorbed into that of *Titans*, from which he concludes that that warlike prince, at his return into *Phrygia*, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of *Titans*; which either ſignifies ſons of the ſun, or of the earth, as we ſhewed elſewhere, whilſt that of *Sacks* ſtuck only to thoſe who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of *Aſia*. It is not eaſy to ſay when or why they aſſumed the name of *Titans*; but if we ſuppoſe with our author that word to ſignify ſons of the earth, which anſwers to that of *Aborigines*, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they began to aim at it much earlier in *Phrygia*, becauſe it was the original ſettlement of their progenitors, *Gomer* and his deſcendants, whilſt thoſe colonies, who were forced to leave their province, and to go and ſettle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, muſt be contented to quit it for that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*, which the loſers gave to them.

κελτοι were οφιγονοι Τιτανις the descendants or late posterity of the *Titans*. If it be objected, that the *Druids* in *Cæsar*'s time did boast themselves to be descended from *Dis* or *Pluto* [o], it will appear that he also was a *Titan* prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is *Europe*, to his share, whilst *Jupiter* kept the eastern part to himself; so that both *Cæsar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point. *Pluto* being the great grandson of *Acmon*, the first prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race.

This prince was the son of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Maneus*, his name *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ack-man*, seems to imply as much. He is supposed by our author to have lived in the days of *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*. So that including *Maneus* in the list, we have a succession of six *Titan* princes, whose government, according to him, lasted about three hundred years [p], and are as follows,

Man or *Maneus*	*Saturn*
Acmon	*Jupiter*
Uranus	*Theutat.*

We have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give some light to it out of some ancient writers; we shall give what he has there said in his own words.

The time of Jupiter*'s reigning.*

I have taken no small pains to find out what ancient authors have said on this head. I find that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Isaac* had attained the one half of his age, or some years after *Abraham*'s death, and this is what may be made out from ancient historians, such as *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and some others, who all agreed that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus* the first king of *Assyria*; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the *Sybils*, which expresly say, that *Saturn*, with his brother *Titan* and *Japhet*, began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were those whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in virtue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of *Abraham*. *Saturn* must therefore begin his reign many years before *Abraham* had been in the land of *Canaan*. Nay, his father *Uranus* must already have been very potent, both in *Asia* and also in *Europe*, in the time of *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father. All this seems plain to me upon examining those monuments of anti-

[o] Vid. Cæs. Comment. in lib. vi. [p] Pezron. c. 15.

quity,

quity, which are ſtill extant. But the chronicle of *Euſebius*, which has been regulated from ancient hiſtories, and eſpecially thoſe which related to the iſland of *Crete*, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about theſe times *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, who took care of *Jupiter*'s education, reigned in *Crete*, and that the iſland received its name from him. *Euſebius* by the words Καλα τυς χρονυς, about theſe times, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of *Abraham*'s life. Now *Jupiter*, according to his calculation, muſt have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah*'s life. But I have many reaſons to believe that *Euſebius* was miſtaken in making him of ſuch old ſtanding; and that this *Titan* prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, *that is, the 98th year of* Iſaac's *life*, and that he could not precede *Moſes* above 300 years.

Education under the Curetes.

THUS far *Pezron*; according to whoſe account it might be eaſy to conjecture the times when *Jupiter*'s predeceſſors reigned, by tracing ſo many generations back; eſpecially becauſe we have the length of *Jupiter*'s life recorded, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which, if it come ſhort of the number of his contemporary *Iſaac*, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him.

Maneus.

WE have nothing recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* [q].

Acmon.

CONCERNING *Acmon*, if he be the ſame with the *Elion* of *Sanchoniatho*, as this author makes him the father of *Uranus*, who was therefore called *Acmonides*, or the ſon of *Acmon*; we have nothing particular, except that he had a ſon named *Epigeus Autochton*, called afterwards *Ouranus*, and that being killed by a wild beaſt, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worſhipped by his deſcendants [r] (E)

Uranus,

[q] POLYHIST. ap. BYZANT. ſub. voce Acmon. [r] SANCHONIATH. lib. ñi.

(E) If his deſcendants paid *him* thoſe divine honours preſently after his death, we have here, as *Pezron* obſerves, one of the ancienteſt heathen deities in all antiquity. But we ſee no reaſon for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; thoſe groves which were conſecrated to him in *Phrygia* might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to thoſe of the *Scythian* kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, whilſt the idolatrous worſhip of them was not introduced till many ages after.

Theſe *Titans* of *Sanchoniatho*, whom

† *See the Appendix at the end of Vol. III.*

Uranus. *Uranus*, according to the ſame ancient author, ſucceeded his father, and married his own ſiſter, Γη *Ge*, or the earth (F), by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom, called *Iſus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, alſo ſucceeded him. *Sanchoniatho* obſerves that he had two other names, and that that of *Ouranus* was not given him till afterwards, but tho' he knew not the reaſon of it, yet if we attend to the *Celtic* etymology, *Ur* or *Our*, a Man, and *en* heaven; it will appear highly probable that he was called *Our-en*, a man of heaven, from his being very much addicted to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and aſtrology. From this the *Greeks* might eaſily alſo call him *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from him. We paſs by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the *Greeks*, and other writers, and ſhall only add, that his new conqueſts in *Aſia* and *Europe* ſeem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic; to his policy, than to his ſkill in aſtrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but after having inlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious ſon and ſucceſſor *Saturn*, who having intercepted him, put him into cloſe confinement, where he either died with grief, or was diſpatched by the order of that unnatural ſon.

Whence ſo called.

Depoſed by Saturn.

whom the *Greeks* called αλεται or wanderers, ſuch as the *Gomerians* really were, are alſo ſuppoſed to have been of gigantic ſtature, like thoſe we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *Canaan*; the fable indeed reckons them as ſuch. The apocryphal book of *Judith* (11) mentions the *Titans* and giants as ſynonymous, as we hinted before; and the ſeptuagint have tranſlated the words the valley of *Rephaim*, or giants; the valley of *Titans* (12). The *Greeks* which called them Γιγας and Γιγαντες, ſeem to have borrowed that word from the *Celtic Gugg*, which ſignifies proud, fierce, arrogant, ſuch as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe their monſtrous ſtature might incline them to be, and ſuch as we find the famed *Goliab* and others to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ †. And as the *Titans*, kings and prieſts as well as people, were extremely given to ſuperſtition, divination, magick, and all ſuch like vile practices, an ancient father had reaſon to upbraid the heathens with placing giants, tyrants, and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

(F) It is obſervable that the *Greeks* who have tranſlated this name have alſo retained the ancient one of *Titea*, which is derived from the *Celtic Tit*, which ſignifies the ſame thing. We ſhall find many more ſuch *Greek* names in the ſequel, which are palpably of *Celtic* extraction.

(11) *Chap.* xvi. 7. (12) 2 *Sam.* v. 18. † 1 *Sam.* xvii. 4. *& ſeq. alib. paſſ. vid. & Vol. IV. p.* 44. *& ſeq.* (13) *Euſeb. pr. evang. l.* ii. c. 5.

Saturn,

Saturn, firnamed afterwards *Chronos* or *Cronos*, is said by *Sanchoniatho* to have been the eldeſt ſon of *Uranus* [s], whilſt other authors affirm him to have been the youngeſt of all [t]; and that his eldeſt brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while conteſt the crown with him, till being at length over-powered and forced to yield to him, *Saturn* is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt, who took upon him the regal dignity. For we are told [u], that all his predeceſſors, down to *Uranus*, had contented themſelves with the title of princes; and an ancient father tells us [w], upon the authority of *Perecydes*, *that he was the firſt that wore the diadem*, whence he is ſuppoſed to have been ſirnamed *Cronos*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies crowned (G). He likewiſe tells us in another place, that he much *delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a ſhort coat of the* Gallatic *dye*, from which perhaps came alſo the royal purple, ſo much worn by kings and perſons of the higheſt rank (H).

Saturn. *Whence ſo called.*

Saturn, though he was no leſs politic and crafty [x] than prone to ambition, could not ſo well conceal his treaſonable deſigns, but that *Uranus* had ſome ſuſpicion of them, and to be beforehand with him, diſpatched his daughter *Rhea* to make away with him by ſome private means. But *Staurn*, who perhaps was apprized of it by his mother *Titea*, whoſe jealouſy had ſo far tranſported her (I), as to encourage him, if not to inſpire

Extreme jealouſy.

[s] Ubi ſupra. [t] Hesiod. in Theogn. Appollon. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. Pez. c. x. [u] Vid. Enn. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 13. [w] Tertull. de Coron. c. 17. [x] Hesiod. ubi ſupra.

(G) That of *Saturn*, which ſome have abſurdly derived from the *Hebrew* סתר *Satar*, to hide, becauſe he went and concealed himſelf in *Italy* from his ſon *Jupiter*, is more naturally deduced from the *Phrygian Saturn*, or rather *Sadorn*, which ſignifies ſtrong and potent; for ſo he really was, till weakened by his ſon's unnatural rebellion, as the hiſtory will ſhew immediately. *Sanchoniatho* gives him the name of *Il* or *Ilos*, which may be properly enough derived from the *Hebrew* word אל *El*, which ſignifies ſtrong and mighty, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) *Saturn* being ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Phrygia*, part of which was afterwards called *Galatia*; *Pezron* obſerves that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the *Greek* κοκκος, and *Latin Coccus*, may naturally be derived from the *Celtic Coch*, which ſignifies red (14).

(I) This jealouſy and reſentment *Sanchoniatho* tells us, was occaſioned not only by the number of other wives which *Uranus* took, but becauſe though ſhe had left him upon that account, yet

(14) Chap. 10. & lexic. Cel. Latin. ſub. voc. Coccus.

ſpire him with the firſt deſign of this unnatural rebellion, ſoon found a way not only to divert her from her enterpriſe, but to bring her over to his ſide. This cauſed an open rupture, in which *Saturn*, after a conteſt of ſeveral years, proving the ſtronger of the two, impriſoned his father, as we have ſeen above [y], and made himſelf abſolute; after which it is ſuppoſed, that not being contented with the title of prince, he aſſumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had inlarged his dominions, not only in *Aſia*, but in *Europe*, as far as *Spain*, and gained alſo ſome provinces in *Africa*, a leſs title than this could not well ſuit his ambitious mind.

His two chief councellors.

He had two notable counſellors, beſides his mother, the one from his youth named *Hermes Treſmegiſtus*, a great philoſopher and conſummate politician; ſome add that he was alſo a great conjurer; the other was his ſiſter *Rhea*, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). Theſe three did ſo far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and eſpecially upon his other brothers, with their addreſs and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, ſo that it is no wonder if his dominions and conqueſts did vaſtly exceed thoſe of his predeceſſors, and himſelf proved ſo ſucceſsful both at home and abroad. But his happineſs was ſoured many different ways: he was extremely miſtruſtful of his children: he had himſelf dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, leſt his crime ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame kind. This made him ſacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as ſome think, or as yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what moſt of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to deſtroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her ſon's rebellion (15).

(K) This cuſtom of marrying of ſiſters had nothing extraordinary in thoſe days; we have ſeen in a former volume that it was common to the *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, and many other great and polite nations. The name of *Rhea* is likewiſe of *Celtic* extraction, and ſignifies a lady, as *Rhey* ſignifies a lord (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called *Japhet* or *Japet*, a name preſerved only among the deſcendants of his ſon *Gomer*, *Sanchoniatho* likewiſe names *Atlas*, but he is more likely to have been his nephew, and the ſon of *Japhet*. It is very probable that *Saturn*, in recompence of their friendſhip to him, gave that part of his conqueſts in *Mauritania* to *Atlas*, and that thoſe famous mountains of *Africa* received their name from him (17).

[y] Sanchoniat. ubi ſupra.

(15) *Id. ibid.* (16) *Pezron. ubi ſup.* (17) *Id ibid.*

others believe to the ghoſt of his father. He was extremely given to ſuperſtition and divinations, and it is not improbable that his diviners might increaſe his ſuſpicions, by foretelling that he would be in danger of being dethroned by ſome of them, as he really was by *Jupiter*. He had ſtill another private enemy to ward againſt, namely his brother *Titan*, who, though forced to yield to him, at leaſt in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was ſo intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of ſurpriſing him and his wife *Rhea*, whom he immediately conveyed into ſome province of *Aſia*, and kept him in cloſe confinement till his ſon *Jupiter* came with a conſiderable army of *Cretans*, and reſtored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

Taken priſoner by Titan.

Reſcued by Jupiter.

WHAT we have obſerved concerning *Saturn*'s jealous temper and cruelty to his children, muſt in all probability have been the cauſe why his wife *Rhea* took ſuch pains to preſerve her youngeſt ſon *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and ſending him privately to be educated in another (N). This action therefore

Jealouſy of him.

(M) This remarkable tranſaction has been preſerved to us by an ancient father (18) upon the authority of *Ennius*, or rather *Evemerus*, whoſe tranſlator he was; and as he produced it to prove againſt the heathens, that the Gods they worſhiped had been meer men, he introduces it with this ſingular preface. *Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis continentur, ne poetarum ineptias in accuſandis religionibus ſequi aut probare videamur.* It ſhould ſeem by theſe words that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentick teſtimonies of hiſtorians, and knew full well how to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add that many other fathers and apologiſts have appealed to the like hiſtorical facts concerning *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do if they had not been acknowledged as ſuch by thoſe againſt whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of *Jupiter*'s birth. The *Cretans* did pretend that he was born in that iſland on mount *Ida*, and *Callimachus* (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there alſo, becauſe ſuch a god as he could not die, yet abſurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount *Lycæus*, in *Arcadia*. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymniſt adds, that the place was ſince held ſo ſacred that no women dared to approach it. It

(18) *Lactant. inſtit. lib.* i. *c.* 14. & *alib. paſſ. Athenag. Theophil. Antioch.* & *al.*

(19) *Vid. inter al. Tertul. Apolog. cap.* x. *Min. Felix, Arnob. Auguſt. Jul. Firmic.*

(20) *Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.*]

fore of *Jupiter*, pious and generous as it was, did rather increaſe than diſpel his jealouſy. His ſurprize to find himſelf over-reached by his wife, and to ſee his ſon, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and ſtrength ſufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear leſt he ſhould in time deprive him with the ſame facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, upon the authority of *Evemerus*, that he went to conſult the oracle and his diviners, who bid hin beware of his ſon *Jupiter*, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he loſt no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into *Crete* with an army, for his ſon was again retired thither after he had atchieved his deliverance; but he ſoon found that the *Cretans* were all in his ſon's intereſt, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of *Greece* ſince called *Peloponneſus*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel deſign againſt him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*. *Janus* was then king of the *Aborigines*, who, as we obſerved before, may either have been of *Celtic* extraction, or upon ſome other account friends to the *Titans* (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception, and as ſome affirm, admitted

Defeated by him.

Retires into Italy.

It was alſo called by way of excellence the ſacred top, and the *Puerperium*, or place of *Rhea*'s lying-in. As for the *Cretans*, they might be eaſily led into the belief of his being born among them, becauſe he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmoſt privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed that his education was committed to the care of the *Curetes*, and theſe being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder that they procured him ſo powerful an army to go to his father's reſcue. And it is not improbable that they were the perſons that inſpired him with that pious deſign, which might probably cure the father of his unjuſt ſuſpicion, and entitle the ſon to the ſucceſſion of his kingdom.

The ſtory of *Saturn*'s cruelty in ſacrificing ſo many of his children to his jealouſy, may alſo have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring of them, as *Jupiter*'s depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occaſion to the reproach of his having caſtrated him.

(O) We have already taken notice † that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by ancient hiſtorians both to have been the oldeſt people in *Italy*, and to have been the deſcendants of the *Celtes* †; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that *Saturn* would have truſted himſelf, in his deſperate circumſtances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether theſe were the ſame with the *Abrogines*, or another colony incorporated with them in proceſs of time, we will not decide. The reception which

† *At the beginning of this chapter.*

admitted him into a kind of partnership with him in his kingdom [z]; so that the region where *Saturn* reigned, and which is adjoining to the *Tyber*, was since called *Saturnia* from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being shewed in *Sicily* [a], may induce one to suppose that he went and ended his days in that Island.

Jupiter, or, as he was rightly called *Jou* (P), because he was the youngest son of *Saturn*'s children; did not however

[z] Tertul. Apolog. ubi sup. Alexand. Admonit. ad Gent.

[a] Philocor. ap. Clem.

which he met with from *Janus* scarce leaves room to doubt, of their being allied either by blood, or by some other tie.

Some critics have found fault with *Julius Firmicus*, for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the *Spartans* in *Italy*. *Pezron* has taken some pains to prove that they were really in *Italy* before that time, and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the *Sabines* were descended from them, and they from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. But if this should not seem altogether so plain, as it is impossible to grope into those dark and remote ages with any tolerable satisfaction, the words of *Firmicus* in *Italia a Spartis absconditur*, if there has no error crept into them, may be understood proleptically. The nation that received *Saturn*, whatever they were, might in time, if not by *Jupiter* himself, be drove out of *Italy*, and go and settle in *Sparta*, or upon some other account be thenceforth called *Spartans*. At least the author above-named has made it very probable, that they originally came from *Italy*; though it doth not appear that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into *Jovis*, &c. shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as *Cicero* doth, upon the authority of *Varro*, from *Juvans Pater*, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the *Celtic Jou*, or as we pronounced it *Joo*, which signifies young, is in all respects so much nearer to it; and *Jupiter* seems plainly to be the same with *Jou-pater*, which last was added to his former name of *Jou*, when he came to be worshiped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find that the antient *Latins* did not write his name *Jupiter*, but *Jaopiter*, *Joupiter*, and *Japiter*. But the *Celtic* has still preserved his ancient name of *Jou*, and call *Thursday*, or, the *Dies Jovis* of the *Romans*, *Diz-jou*, and *Di-jou*, the day of *Jove* (22). We shall have occasion by-and-by to speak of some of his other names.

(21) *Lib. de Error profan. relig.*

(22) *Vid. Pezron. ch. xii.*

enjoy

Jupiter *wars with the* Titans.

enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his ſons, having probably found means to ſtrengthen his party, whilſt he was taken up againſt his father, raiſed a war againſt him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmoſt fury on both ſides, both by ſea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army.

Totally overthrows them.

THIS war ſeems to be the trueſt original of the fabulous war of the *Giants* or *Titans* againſt the gods, which the poets have ſo interwoven with their inventions, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to diſcover it through them (Q). This final overthrow was given them near the antient city of *Tarteſa*

(Q) We have deferred till now to obſerve how much this ſyſtem of hiſtory, for we dare not venture to give it a ſtronger name, doth claſh with that of our learned *Cumberland*, who, as we have fully ſhewn in the beginning of this hiſtory *, makes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Uranus* to have been *Noah*, *Cronus Ham*, *Mizor Mizram*, *Zadic Melchizedick*, and ſo on; that our readers might ſee which of the two carries the greateſt probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both ſupported by ſome collateral kind of proofs, and upon a ſuppoſition, that this fragment we have left is the relick of a fuller hiſtory, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We ſhall not repeat what we have ſaid elſewhere on this laſt head †, nor pretend to draw a parallel between theſe two ſyſtems, or their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may ſay without partiality, concerning that of our *Celtic* antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of ancient authors, heathens as well as chriſtians. But the latter, eſpecially the apologiſts, ſeem plainly enough to have been generally of the ſame mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned, againſt their ſtupid worſhippers.

How far all this is further corroborated by numberleſs *Celtic* etymons, the greateſt part of which are both eaſy and natural, and confirmed by hiſtorical facts, muſt be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been ſaid concerning the names of *Uranus* and *Titea*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, and *Rhea*, *Jou* or *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, and others, beſides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be ſeen in our author, and ſome few which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel; all which put together, will, if not convince him, yet, at leaſt, juſtify our giving it a place in this hiſtory, as we have that of our learned biſhop in a former volume.

* *Vid. ſup. Vol. I. p.* 303. *& ſeq.*

† *Ibid. p.* 327. *et ſeq. et A.*

in

in *Spain*, a sea-port town a little to the north of *Cadiz* [b] (R). whither it seems he went in person with a great fleet, and a powerful army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

Jupiter after the example of his predecessors married his own sister *Juno* (S). But as he was seldom without some amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous issue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the *Marries his sister* Juno.

[b] TERTUL. Apolog. Scholiast. in Iliad. viii. ad vers. 479. ap. Pezron. C. 11.

(R) This seems also confirmed by what *Justin* (23) adds, that the *Curetes* lived formerly in the forests about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed, after *Vossius*, that it ought to be read *Cinetes*, because the *Curetes* were a people of *Crete*. We have already shewn that the latter were the priests or soothsayers of the *Titans* and *Celtes*, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then that some of them who had followed *Jupiter* in this expedition, and delighted otherwise in a kind of ascetic life, should be induced to make those forests their abode? But we shall have occasion by-and-by to say something further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profession in *those parts of Spain*.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of *Celtic* extraction, and to be derived from *Ghuin*, which signifies fair white, and, by way of excellence, beautiful, such as *Juno* is said to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient *Glossaries* call her also *Jolinta*, a jolly or fine woman.

Thus *Jupiter* had some other names among the *Greeks*, which seem to flow from the same fountain, as Ζευς, from which they irregularly made their Διος δις δια, &c. in the oblique cases. Now the *Zeus*, from which the *Latins* made *Deus*, seems more plainly derived from the *Celtic Dhew*, God, and the *Dis* and *Dia* from *Di*, bright. He was likewise sirnamed Πειχος and *Piccus*, from the bird of that name, which *Pliny* tells us was then much used in augúries (24), which bird seems to be so called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of *Woodpecker*. *Pliny* indeed pretends that he was called *Picus*, from a king of *Latium* of that name; but it seems more probable, that both he, and many other princes, were like *Jupiter*, so surnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the *Celtic* word peck or beak signifies a bird's bill; and hence it is likely our verb to *peck* is derived.

(23) *Lib.* xliv. c. 4. (24) *Pliny's Nat. Hist. l.* x. c. 12.

other hand he did not follow his pleaſures ſo cloſe, but he allowed himſelf proper ſeaſons for the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers, and *Banditti* who ſheltered themſelves in the foreſts of *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Illyria*, where they committed the vileſt outrages. But as he had made *Mount Olympus* [c], (Γ) one of the moſt delightful parts of *Theſſaly*, his chief reſidence, he was under a kind of neceſſity to rid thoſe countries of ſuch vermin, that his ſubjects might have the freer acceſs to his court.

Diviſion of his kingdom.

BEFORE his death he is affirmed by the laſt quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the weſtern or *European* part of it, to his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*, ſurnamed alſo *Ageſilaus* (U), whilſt himſelf kept the *Aſiatic* or eaſtern part of it [d]. We obſerved alſo before, that he gave ſome part of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*, but having afterwards either conceived ſome jealouſy of him, or detected him in ſome criminal deſign againſt him, he is reported to have cauſed him to be put to death.

[c] EVEMER. ap. LACTANT. inſtitut. lib. i. c. 10. [d] Id. ibid.

(T) Hence *Julius Firomicus* lately quoted, obſerves, that after his apotheoſis, the place of his reſidence came to be called by his ſuperſtitious worſhippers heaven, or to be ſynonymous to it (25),

(U) This laſt name, which ſignifies a leader of the people, or *Ageſander*, as it is found in other writers (26) and ſignifies a leader of men, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into *Europe*, and perhaps as far as *Spain*, where we obſerved a little above, there had been both *Titans* and *Curetes* in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of *Tarteſa*. Here likewiſe he is ſuppoſed to have found out ſome rich mines of gold and ſilver (27), by which he grew ſo rich, that he got the name of *Pluto*, in *Greek* Πλεῖον, which ſignifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches, upon his being deified; and this probably induced *Strabo* to believe, that the *Tartara* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, came from the above-named *Tarteſa*, a country ſituate in the utmoſt parts of *Spain* weſtward (28).

Hence likewiſe, *Jupiter* having the dominion of the eaſt, or ſun-riſing, as *Pluto* had that of the weſt or ſun-ſetting, came alſo probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewiſe might the mythologiſts of thoſe fables think it very reaſonable to aſſign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the ſame deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(25) *Vid. Pezron. c.* xii. (26) *Æſchil. Callimach. Athen. Heſich. ap. Pezron. ibid.* (27) *Vid. Strab. Geograp. l.* v. (28) *Ibid.*

THIS *Atlas* (W) had a daughter named *Maia*, or *Flowry*, whoſe beauty *Jupiter* was not proof againſt, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition, than that of marriage. From her he had a ſon named *Theutat*, ſince *Mercury*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage *Juno*, who was ever plotting ſomething againſt him. We cannot gueſs whether *Atlas* had been unfortunately drawn into ſome rebellion by the jealous queen, but *Jupiter* is by ſome accuſed to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant, through the continual ſeditions which ſhe raiſed againſt him, which yet he did find means to diſcover in good time [c]. *Marries Atlas's daughter.*

ON the other hand the *Cretan* hiſtorians extoled his virtues up to the ſkies. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Ennius*, upon their authority, beſtow the greateſt encomiums on him for his ſtrength, valour, prudence, juſtice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and puniſhing injuries, violence and robberies, and for his many wholſome laws and regulations for the publick good [f]. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62 [g], this great, and ſince deified hero, reſigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the *Curetes* in the iſle of *Crete*, and in the city of *Gnoſſus*, where his ſons erected a ſtately monument, which was ſhewn many ages afterwards by the inhabitants [h]. The ſame author adds, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His ſon *Cres* or *Cret*, (from whom the iſland of *Crete* is ſuppoſed to have had its name, *Cret* in *Celtic* ſignifying bold, and daring,) was then at the head of the *Curetes*, and performed the laſt devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that iſland [i] (X). How the reſt of his kingdom was divided among *His character.* *Death.*

[c] PEZRON. & auct. ab eo citat. ſupra. CALLIM. Hymn. in Jov. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. EVEMER. ap. LACTANT lib. i. c. 11. & al. ibid.

[f] SICUL. lib. v. ENN. ubi

[g] SUID. ſub voce Πιθος.

[h] CICER. cap. xii.

[i] Vid. PEZRON.

(W) *He* was alſo called by the *Greeks Talamon*, from the *Celtic Tell-mon*, or *Man*, on account of his high ſtature, and as he was alſo a great aſtronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have ſince made of him.

(X) This is at leaſt intimated by *Lactantius*'s words, out of *Ennius*, *Curetes filii ſui (Jovis) eum curaverunt*, for *Cres* was then a *Curete*, and probably the head or principal of that ſociety. *Euſebius* ſeems alſo to confirm his having ſucceeded his father

mong the reſt of his ſucceſſors, is not to be gueſſed at, only we find that his ſon *Theutat* or *Mercury*, of whom we are going to ſpeak, had the weſtern part aſſigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*[k].

Mercury. *Mercury* is allowed, by all antiquity, to have been the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, as we have ſeen above. We have given already, in a former note, the etymon of thoſe two names †. The *Greeks* did likewiſe call him Ερμης, *Hermes* (Y), and the *Latins Faunus* (Z). He was famed for his learning and wiſdom, and eſpecially for his ſkill in auguries, magick and philoſophy. He was active, couragious and eloquent; and ſo prudent that he always kept cloſe to his father's intereſt. For all theſe good qualities he became his chief favourite and counſellor, and was alſo by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us that he went down into *Egypt* to penetrate further into their myſterious arts and ſciences, and that at his return he aſſumed the name of *Teutat*[l] (A). It was probably from the *Egyptians* that

Goes into Egypt.

[k] Suid. ſub voc. Πλειος. Chronic. Alexand ubi ſup. † See before, p. 33. (E). [l] Cyril. Alexand. lib. cont. Julian.

in the government of that iſle, when he makes him the firſt king of *Crete* (29); that is, as we underſtand him after *Pezron*, he was the firſt who reigned in that only iſland, whereas his father's kingdom is ſaid to have reached from *Euphrates* to *Spain*, beſides ſome parts of *Afric*, which he had given to *Atlas*, as we have ſeen above.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the *Celtic Armes*, which ſignifies divination. For *Mercury* ſeems to have out-done all his anceſtors in the knowledge and conſtant practice of that art, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the *Celtic*; nor can we gueſs upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of *Faunus* and *Mercury*; ſo that this *Faunus* muſt not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in *Italy*, eſpecially with *Faunus*, the father of *Latinus*, in whoſe time *Æneas* came into that kingdom. Whereas our *Mercury*, according to this chronology of *Titanic* princes, muſt have lived at fartheſt about the time of *Joſeph*'s being in *Egypt* (30).

(A) That father adds that he took up that name in imitation of the antient *Egyptian Mercury* or *Thout*, who, as we have ſeen in the former volume *, was worſhipped by the *Egyptians* for his great learning, wiſdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himſelf a more honourable one in the *Celtic*, *Theu-tat*, as we obſerved before, which ſignifies the father of his people, ſuch as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

(29) *Euſeb. ap. Pezron. cap.* xii. (30) *Idem, cap.* xiv. * *Vol. II. p.* 29.

This

that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he is said to have first brought into *Europe*, whence it again dimanated itself into *Asia*, as was shewn under another head.

He not only taught them the metallick trades, but how to make an advantagious traffick of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of *Merk-ur* or *Mercury*. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war, and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners, who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in *Cæsar*'s time, who tells us that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village *.

Introduces traffick among the Celtes.

Some attribute the invention of the olympick games to him, others to *Hercules*, but if *Pausanius* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them [m]. They may however be supposed to have made some considerable improvements to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. *Suidas* [n] and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure, and to retire into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand *Livy* acquaints us [o] that there was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Scipio* and *Hanibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Teutat*; and this would incline one to believe that he died in his own dominions. We are no

And the Olympick games.

* *De Bell. Gal.* lib. vi. c. 16. [m] lib. viii. qui est Arcadicor.
[n] Sub voc. ἑρμης. [o] Hist. lib. xxii. c. 44.

This is not a proper place to enquire how these Gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious subject doth well deserve to be treated of in a treatise by itself, and we hope, if we have not quite cleared that point through the former parts of this history, we have at least furnished the world with some considerable materials towards such an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from such a design as this.

leſs in the dark, about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conqueſt by the *Romans*, except that the unweildineſs of ſo vaſt an empire, did probably cauſe it to ſplit itſelf into many petty kingdoms, under ſome of his ſucceſſors. This was at leaſt the caſe in which the *Roman* conqueror found them, when he invaded the *Celtic* territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of the *Roman* empire, this is not a proper place to ſpeak of them; they will be the ſubject of ſome ſubſequent volumes, in which the hiſtory of the *European* kingdoms will be reſumed.

THESE inteſtine diviſions having once weakened the ſtrength of this large empire, not only the maritine parts did eaſily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewiſe. Among the firſt, *Iberia* or *Spain* was diſmembred from it by the *Carthaginians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Romans*, together with the ſouthern provinces, ſince called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the provinces on the other ſide the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did alſo incroach upon them on the north ſide, and very probably ſeized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*, and drove them quite to the hither ſide of the *Danube*. For it ſeems moſt natural, that in their firſt migrations, the ſame boundaries which parted *Europe* from *Aſia*, did alſo part the *Celtic* and *Scythian* dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering ſword of their neighbours *, or through their inteſtine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occaſion it; ſure it is, that ſeveral powerful colonies of theſe *Celtes* or *Gauls* returned into leſſer *Aſia*, where finding almoſt every where ſome antient monuments of their progenitors, they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of it by main force, and gave ſome of their new-gotten names to them; ſuch as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, *Saccacene*, and others, without which it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe latter excurſions and exploits, from thoſe by which they had ſignalized themſelves before their migration into *Europe*. The firſt of thoſe, as far as can be diſentangled from the latter, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the following hiſtories, either of thoſe nations, whom they there conquered, or of thoſe by whom they were driven out of their conqueſts.

As for thoſe whom we have ſeen in *Europe*, we hope our readers are ſatisfied by this time, that if we have choſen to follow a new guide through thoſe dark and remote ages, he has at leaſt conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have

* See before, Vol. V. pag. 33, &c. ſeq.

followed,

followed, and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records, concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to ſuch a vaſt number of *Celtic* etymolygies, do at leaſt carry a much greater degree of probability, than we could meet with any where elſe; and we may add, than we ourſelves could never have attained, by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the *Celtic* language. Theſe etymologies, which ſeem to ſtrike a light to every paſſage quoted from antient authors, and which we can aſſure our readers we did not take upon truſt, will, we hope, ſufficiently juſtify likewiſe our prefering our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of *Sanchoniatho*, which is at beſt but a confuſed medly of ſome dark and imperfect hints ſtolen, in all probability, out of the writings of *Moſes*, and jumbled with the hiſtory and fables of other nations, in honour of his own (B).

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have ſuppoſed his hiſtory to have been a forgery writ on purpoſe to invalidate the authority of *Moſes*, as if he had ſtolen his account of the creation out of the *Phœnician* records *, yet we cannot but think it manifeſt that he has copied that ſacred hiſtorian, and that very bunglingly too, beſides his blending and adjuſting his coſmogony and theology, with the hiſtory and fables of his time.

What elſe can we think of his dark and univerſal *Chaos?* his vehement wind engendring *Mot* or *Motion* (for that is the *Hebrew* meaning of the word) which produced the ſeeds of all things animate and inanimate? the ſun, moon, ſtars, and *Sophoſemmim*, or ſpeculators of the heavens? what means his *Colpias*, but the Almighty word, which ſpoke all things into being, his *Bau* or *Baut*, but the *Tohu* and *Bohu* of *Moſes?*

Whoever compares alſo the hiſtory he gives us of the ſecond and third line, with what we read in *Geneſis*, and with what has been quoted in the laſt ſection out of antient authors, concerning *Elion*, *Chronos*, &c. will eaſily ſee that it is a meer confuſed mixture of ſacred and profane hiſtory, interlarded with fable, and that if *Jerumbaal*, prieſt of *Javoh*, from whom *Porphyry* pretends he received his information, be the *Gideon* of the *Jews*, who was ſurnamed *Jerubaal* (31), and might have been miſtaken for a prieſt of *Jahvoh*, becauſe he is recorded to have ſet up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain that he made no other uſe of thoſe *Jewiſh* memoirs, than to put them in a phantaſtical *Phœnician* dreſs, ſuch as beſt ſuited the theology of the heathen world, and was moſt likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the *Phœnician* records beyond all others, even beyond thoſe of the ſacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

* *Vid int. al. Dodwell's diſſertat. de Sanchoniath.* *See before Vol. IV. p. 15, and 16, and note* (H).

(31) *Judg.* vi. 32.

(32) *Ibid.* 24. & 27.

We submit however to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the testimony of antient authors, than that which our learned bishop *Cumberland* has endeavoured to give us out of his *Phœnician* historian. As for ourselves, we wish we could meet with such another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate history, that of the *Scythians*. But here we must be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us, who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the best of those few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

SECT. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

Scythia whence so called.

HOW this prodigious tract of land came at first by the name of *Scythia*, is not easy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, besides that monstrous one, which *Herodotus* gives us from the fabulous *Greeks*, and which we shall for that reason throw into the margin (A). The first is that which derives that name from the *Greek* σκυζεσθαι, which expresses the fierceness of their countenance, and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the *Teutonic* word *Scheten* or *Shuten*, to shoot, at which art this nation is affirmed by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others [a], to have been so singularly expert, that this name is

[a] Vid. Gorop. Becan. Heylin. Pezron.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the pontic *Greeks*, that *Hercules* being got into *Scythia*, then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot, having straggled out of the way, whilst he refreshed himself with sleep, as he was in search of them, he met with a monster, half woman, and half serpent, who promised to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and staid with her till she was tired, she asked him at parting how he would have her dispose of the three sons she had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows, and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the lowest seam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her, that could draw his bow, and send the other two away. She followed his orders, and *Scythia*, who was the youngest, and proved the strongest of the three, became the first monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of *Scythia* bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(1) *Herodot. lib.* iii.

supposed,

ſuppoſed to have been emphatically given them on that account; ſo that according to this ſuppoſition the word *Scythian* did properly ſignify a great *Shooter* or *Archer*. We have however obſerved before †, that the *Tartars* and *Muſcovites* called themſelves *Mogli*, which we ſuppoſe only an abbreviation of *Magogly*, the ſons of *Magog*. That of *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whoſe language, as was before obſerved, did not originally differ much either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*.

THIS vaſt territory which extends itſelf from the *Iſter* or *Danube* the boundary of the *Celtes*, that is from about the 25th to almoſt the 110th degree of eaſt longitude, was therefore divided into *Scythia* in *Europe*, and *Scythia* in *Aſia*, including however the two *Sarmatias*, or, as they are called by the *Greeks*, *Sauromatias*, now the *Circaſian Tartary*, which did lie between, and ſever the two *Scythias* from each other. *Sauromatia* was alſo diſtinguiſhed into *European* and *Aſiatic*, and was divided from the *European Scythia* by the river *Don* or *Tanis*, which falls into the *Palus Meotis*, and from the *Aſiatic* by the *Rha*, now *Volga*, which empties itſelf into the *Caſpian* ſea [b]. But the *Sarmatians* differed ſo little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion and cuſtoms, if we may believe *Herodotus* [c], that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very deſcendants by the *Amazons*, with whom that author tells us, they having intermarried, they begot the *Sarmatian* offspring. But the former ſeems to us the moſt probable, when we conſider how eaſy, ſhort, and regular, their migration into that country was, from the place of their firſt ſetting out, and that we find in the very center between *Armenia* and *Sarmatia*, a large province called *Iberia*, which is much more likely to be that which *Joſephus* tells us was peopled by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*, than the *Celtiberia* of *Spain*. We ſhall not repeat here what we have ſo lately urged againſt this laſt opinion.

Extent.

Sarmatians who.

UPON the whole then we may ſafely venture to ſay, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the boundaries of *Europe* and *Aſia*, that is by the river *Tanais*, deſcending, as is ſuppoſed, from the *Ripean* mountains (B) into the *Palus Meotis*. For beyond

Boundaries of Scythia.

† See before, page 9.

[b] PTOLM. MEL. STRAB. CLUVER. & al.

[c] HERODOT. l. iv.

(B) Some modern geographers (2), who prove plainly enough that theſe could not be thoſe of *Siberia*, which are at the diſtance of near ten degrees from the *Tanais*, are therefore of opinion that they were imaginary, and ſupplied by the fertile fancy

(2) *Wells's Geogr. ch.* ii. *note* 1, & *Bochart. ubi ſup. l.* iii. *c.* 10.

beyond theſe mountains northward, we find not that the *Scythians* advanced into any of thoſe remote regions, ſo that theſe were the proper confines of the *Aſiatic Scythia* on the weſt. The northern ones reached to the *Hyperborean* or *Frozen* ſea, called alſo by the antients, the *Scythian* ſea, the *Cronian*, *Amalchian*, or *Almachian*, the *Dead Sea*, and by ſome other names which expreſſed its extreme coldneſs and frozenneſs. On the eaſt they are ſuppoſed to have extended to the promontory of *Tabis*, and to have been bounded by the *Caſſian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Cattai* or northern *China*; and even this laſt was by ſome of the antients took for part of eaſtern *Scythia*, ſo that on that ſide it had no other boundaries according to *Ptolemy*, but the unknown tracts beyond it, and on the ſouth it was bounded by the *Eoum* or *Indian* ſea, and by mount *Caucaſus*, and the *Caſpian* ſea [d].

Northern and ſouthern Scythia.

As to the more northern parts of *Scythia*, its extreme coldneſs made it uninhabitable, by any but wolves, and other ſuch-like northern wild-beaſts; and this is probably the reaſon why they ſeem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than this was called *terra incognita*, and their notion of its being ſurrounded by the *Hyperborean*, or northern ocean, they ſeem rather to have had from conjecture, than from experience. But the ſouthern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely *Scythia* within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond *Imaus*, and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former, and the *European Scythia*, which, as we obſerved before, was either a branch of the *Scythian* nation, or had been by ſome means ſo blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name. Accordingly *Ptolemy* bounds the *Scythia* on this ſide *Imaus*, on the weſt by the *Aſiatic Sarmatia*, on the eaſt by the *Imaus* above mentioned, on the north by the *terra incognita*, and on the ſouth, and

[d] Ptolm. ubi ſupra. Mela, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. Cellar. Cluver. Well. & al.

fancy of the antients to furniſh a head to that river. The caſe is hardly worth diſputing: and yet ſince we find that *Riphath* was *Gomer*'s ſecond ſon (3), whoſe migration may have been probably through this region, and along this river; it ſeems more reaſonable to think, he might leave his name to thoſe mountains S. E. of *Moſcow*, from which the *Don* takes its ſource, as moſt other geographers have ſuppoſed he did, than to believe that thoſe antients, who could know nothing either of *Riphath* or his migrations, ſhould ſo luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(3) *Gen.* x. 3.

ſouth-

ſouth-eaſt by the country of the *Sacks*, *Sogdiana*, and *Margiana*. The moſt conſiderable mountains he reckons in this part are the *Alaini Rhymnici*, the *Noroſſus*, the *Aſpiſii*, *Tapurini*, *Sybees*, and *Anarei*. The nations which inhabited it, according to the ſame ancient geographer, were, 1. The *Alani Scythæ*, 2. The *Suobeni*, 3. *Alanorſi*, 4. *Sætiani*, 5. *Maſſæi*, 6. *Syebi*, 7. *Tectoſages*, 8. *Rhoboſei*, 9. *Aſmani*, 10. *Paniardi*, 11. *Canodiſpas*, 12. *Orgaſi*, 13. *Erymi*, 14. *Aſiotæ*, 15. *Aorſi*, 16. *Jaxartæ*, 17. *Mologeni*, 18. *Samnitæ*, 19. *Coraxi*, 20. *Zaratæ*, 21. *Sazones*, 22. *Tybiacæ*, 23. *Tabieni*, 24. *Jaſtæ*, 25. *Marchetegi*, 26. *Noroſbes*, 27. *Noroſſi*, 28. *Cachagæ-Scythæ*, 29. *Aſpaſii* or *Aſpiſii-Scythæ*, 30. *Galactophagi*, 31. *Tapurei*, 32. *Anarici*, 33. *Aſcotancæ*, 34. *Ariacæ*, 35. *Namaſtæ*, 36. *Sogaraucæ*, and 37. *Rhibii*, among all which he mentions but one city, *viz.* that of *Davaba*.

The *Scythia* beyond *Imaus*, according to the ſame, contained only the ſeven following nations or countries, *viz.* 1. The *Abii-Scythæ*, 2. *Hyppophagi-Scythæ*, 3. *Auzacitis-Regio*, 4. *Caſia-Regio*, 5. *Chatæ-Scythæ*, 6. *Achaſſa-Regio*, and 7. *Chaurani-Scythæ*, and to this part he gives the four following cities, *viz.* 1. *Auzacia*, 2. *Iſſedon*, *Scythica*, 3. *Chaurana*, and 4. *Soeta*. † *Mela* gives the *Scythians* much the ſame extent and boundaries *. As for the *Scythia-Pontica*, ſince called *Mœſia* by the *Greeks*, as it doth not properly belong to this article, we ſhall find a more proper place for it in the ſequel, when we come to ſpeak of it under this laſt name.

THE *Aſiatic Scythia* did therefore comprehend in general great *Tartary*, and *Ruſſia* in *Aſia*, and in particular the *Scythia* beyond, or without *Imaus*, contained the regions of *Bogdoi* or *Oſtiacoi*, and *Tanguti*. That within or on this ſide *Imaus* had *Turkeſtan* and *Mongal*, the *Uſbek*, or *Zagatai*, *Kalmuc* and *Nagaian Tartars*, beſides *Siberia*, the land of the *Samoiedes*, and the *Nova Zembla*. Theſe three laſt not being ſo ſoon inhabited as the former, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, were wholly unknown to the ancients, and the former were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandari*, *Sacks* and *Maſſagetes*. As for *Sarmatia*, it contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which makes now the *Circaſſian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*. *Aſiatic Scythia.*

OTHER ſeas, beſides the *Frozen* and *Indian* ocean, were the *Caſpian* (C), and the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and the *Palus* *Seas, rivers, &c.*

† Geogr. l. vi. c. 14.

* Ubi ſup.

(C) Miſtaken by ſome antients for a gulph; but as it has no viſible communication with the ocean, it may be rather called a great lake, if ſea be thought too big a name for it *.

* *See before, Vol.* v. *p.* 9.

Meotis,

Meotis. Mountains of note were *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus:* the firſt, beginning in the province of *Aſia Minor*, called *Pamphilia*, runs eaſtward through *Aſia*, and divides it into two parts, the northern and ſouthern. The ſecond lies in *Scythia*, or the greater *Tartary:* and the third is between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine* ſea [e]. Its rivers, beſides thoſe we have occaſionally mentioned, namely the *Rha* or *Volga*, and *Tanais* or *Don*, are the *Oby*, *Lena*, *Amur*, and *Helum*; the latter of which is ſuppoſed to be the *Quentung* or *Shengal*; all theſe are in great *Tartary*. To theſe we may add the *Jaxartes*, now *Jacick*, and the *Oxus*; theſe empty themſelves into the *Caſpian* ſea: in this ſea there were likewiſe ſome iſlands, not diſtinguiſhed by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the *Scythian* iſlands. We ſhall reſerve the more ample deſcription of all thoſe ſeas, rivers, *&c.* till we come to the more particular geography of the countries they belong to.

Natural rarities.

NATURAL rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what *Herodotus* tells us, that thoſe northern regions are altogether inviſible and impaſſable by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of feathers which fill the air, and cover the ground, as he was informed by thoſe who inhabited the more ſouthern parts of it, who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtleſs miſtake the large flakes of ſnow, which fall in abundance in thoſe cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were ſtill more abſurd to ſeek for artificial rarities here among a people who were ſtrangers to every thing but the art of war, and of feeding their cattle, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

European Scythia.

2. *Scythia* in *Europe*, whoſe confines we have already fixed eaſtward from the *Tanais*, reached towards the ſouth-weſt to the *Po* and the *Alps*, by which it was divided from the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Gallia*, and by the *Rhine* northward. It was bounded on the ſouth by the *Iſter* or *Danube*, and the *Euxine* ſea. But with regard to thoſe points, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, the *Celtes* and *Scythians* being ever encroaching upon each other, whenever they had power and opportunity for it. As to its northern limits, though it is not eaſy to gueſs at them, they have been ſuppoſed to ſtretch to the ſpring heads of the *Boryſthenes* or *Nieper*, and the *Rha* or *Volga*, and ſo to that of the *Tanais* (D) [g].

THE

[e] Vid. ibid. vid. & WELLS, ubi ſup. c. xii. [f] Lib. iv.
[g] Vid. MEL. lib. ii. c. 1. CULVER. CELLAR. & al.

(D) This is upon the ſuppoſition, hinted before, that the firſt planters of the world did ſpread themſelves along the rivers, for the ſake of paſturage and correſpondence; but it is plain

Other diviſions of it.

THE antients divided this country into *Scythia Arimaſpæa*, which lay eaſtward, joining to *Scythia* in *Aſia*, and *Sarmatia Europeana*, on the weſt; theſe two were contiguous to each other, and ſtretched ſome length from north to ſouth, but what divided them aſunder is not eaſy to find out. In *Scythia*, properly ſo called, were the *Arimaſpæi* on the north, the *Gettæ*, or *Dacians* along the *Danube*, on the ſouth, and the *Neuri* between thoſe two. So that it contained the *European Ruſſia*, or *Muſcovy*, and the leſſer *Crim Tartary* eaſtward, and on the weſt *Lithuania*, *Poland*, part of *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*. *Sarmatia* is ſuppoſed to have reached northward, to that part of *Swedeland* called *Feningia*, now *Finland*, in which they placed the *Oœnes*, *Panoti*, and *Hippopodes* (E); this part they divided from northern *Germany*, now the weſt part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they ſuppoſed ran up into the northern ocean, and dividing *Lapland* into two parts, made the weſtern part of *Sweden*, with *Norway*, into an iſland, and *Finland* into another; ſuppoſing this alſo to be cut off from the continent, by the *Gulph* of that name.

THIS

plain all theſe northern parts were ſo unknown to the antients, that all we can ſay concerning theſe boundaries, is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of *Herodotus*, that they could not be inhabited very far north, ſince they were ſo afraid of, and ſo little acquainted with ſnow.

Mela adds, that about the *Riphean* mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north-latitude; the ſnows fell in ſuch abundance, that thoſe parts were uninhabited, and unpaſſable by any but wild beaſts (4).

(E) Theſe *Oœnians*, were ſo ſo called for living moſtly upon the eggs of their ſea fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes. The *Hippopodes*, were ſuppoſed to be ſo called from their having feet like horſes, or from their going bare foot, and hardening their feet like horſes hoofs. The *Panoti* were ſo called from the largeneſs of their ears, which was ſuch, that they could cover their whole body with them inſtead of other raiment (5). Some other monſtrous people and creatures are alſo mentioned by *Herodotus*: of the firſt ſort are the *Arimaſpæans*, ſo called from the *Scythian Arima*, one, and *Spon*, eye; not becauſe they had but one eye, as was abſurdly believed by ſome of the ancients, but rather, as *Bochart* juſtly conjectures, becauſe they were ſuch excellent archers, at which exerciſe it is neceſſary to ſhut one eye, that the nick-name of one-eyed was given them upon that account. To theſe we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another ſort which had goats feet, not unlike the fabulous ſatyrs, beſides ſome monſtrous

(4) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 2.

(5) *Vid. Mel. lib.* iii. *c.* 8.

Its seas, rivers, &c.

THIS *Scythia* had no other sea than the *Sarmatian* mentioned before, now called the *Baltic*, with the *Gulphs* of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, and the white sea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the *Euxine*, and *Palus Meotis*, which bounded it on the south. Lakes of any consideration we find not, except those of *Ladoga*, and *Onega*, in *Finland*, which were therefore unknown to the antient *Sarmatians*. Their chief rivers were on the south, the *Donetz*, or little *Tanais*, *Boristhenes*, or *Nieper*, *Bog*, *Tyras*, or *Niester*, and the *Ister* or *Danube*, all which emptied themselves into the *Euxine*, and on the north east the great and little *Dwina*, which empty themselves, the first into the white sea, and the other into the *Gulph* of *Finland*, and therefore not known to the antients; and the *Vistula* on the west, which runs into the *Scythian* sea, and divided *Sarmatia* from *Germany* (F).

Extent of both Scythias.

THE whole extent therefore of both *Scythias*, including the two *Sarmatias*, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree, or even beyond, and from the *Alps* to the promontory of *Tabis*, and streight of *Anian*; and in latitude from *Caucasus* to the artic circle, above 28 degrees. *Herodotus* indeed tells us, that the *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were *Androphagi*, or Men-eaters, fierce and cruel, and another, namely, the *Baldheads* or *Argrippeans*, a wise and peaceable people, esteemed sacred by all their neighbours [h]; but he

[h] Lib iv. p. 356. & seq. LITTLEBUR. Edit. 2. vid. & MEL. lib. iii. c. 9.

monstrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up, and guarded the golden oar or dust (6), all which shews how little was known of these regions at that time.

(F) The same author mentions several other rivers, of which he gives a curious description, as well as of those southern ones which we have mentioned above; but we shall refer the reader to our author for those particulars, as well as for the rivers which we have omitted, because they are either not taken notice of by our modern geographers, or at least are not reckoned of such great note and usefulness.

We shall however take notice of what he says of the *Borysthenes*, which he compares to the *Nile* in *Egypt*, and the next in greatness to the *Danube*. This noble river, says he, besides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fish, and pleasant water, and doth breed a sort of whale, without spinous bones, which the *Scythians* used to salt for food. They called it *Antachæus*; he adds that towards the mouth of it, that river yields abundance of salt, which is incessantly made by the hand of nature (7).

(6) *Herodot. lib. iv.*

(7) *Ibid.*

speaks

ſpeaks of all thoſe remote nations only by report, and with ſuch diffidence, that he rather confirms what we ſaid before, that thoſe regions were moſt likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

CITIES we find none in neither *Scythia*, except the five lately mentioned out of *Ptolomy*, and theſe ſeem to have been built at leaſt ſome time ſince *Herodotus*, who doth not ſo much as ſpeak of any even metropolis, tho' he takes notice of a conſiderable branch of *Scythians*, called royal *Scythians*, whom he places along the banks of *Tanais*, which river divides them, he ſays, from the *Aſiatic Sarmatians* [i]. Theſe, as ſhould ſeem from the ſequel of that author, were the only ones who had real kings among them, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection; but ſuch was their ways of living, that they never choſe to dwell in cities, or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or ſafety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curioſities. Two things however are worth taking notice of under this head; the one was a large ſtone lying by the river *Tyres*, in which was to be ſeen the print of *Hercules*'s foot, ſaid to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being ſix inches thick, and containing full ſix hundred amphora's, or fifty hogſheads [k]. The occaſion of caſting this monſtrous veſſel we ſhall have occaſion to mention in its proper place.

[i] HEROD. ubi ſup. p. 372. [k] Id. ibid. p. 384.

SECT. VI.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning, arts, and trades of the ancient Scythians.

ALL that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origine of this nation, hath been already mentioned in the firſt ſection of this chapter. How ſoon they began to ſettle themſelves into a regular government, is as impoſſible to gueſs, as of what kind it was. It appears however from what we have already hinted out of *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at leaſt, that is the royal and free *Scythians* were under a monarchial one, and that theſe two made a much greater figure than all the reſt. But whether the former was the eldeſt branch, whether it governed immediately over all the reſt, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vaſt country, or whether every tribe had their own *Government.*

own princes, as the *Philiſtines*, whether their ſucceſſion was hereditary or elective, whether deſpotic, or ſubject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What ſeems moſt probable to us from the little remains we have left of their hiſtory is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might ſtill have a kind of authority over ſome of the reſt, whilſt thoſe, who were moſt remote from the center, had lords, laws and cuſtoms of their own, eſpecially thoſe who inhabited the farther parts of it eaſtward and northward; and this may be the reaſon of that variety of names which we mentioned out of *Ptolemy* in the laſt ſection, as well as difference of characters, which we find in thoſe few ancient writings we have left concerning them. Thus *Herodotus* tells us, that in proceſs of time, when the *Scythians* were like to be invaded by *Darius*, the king finding himſelf unable to make head againſt the invader, invited all the *Scythian* princes, namely, thoſe of the *Taurians*, *Agathyrſians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*, *Budians* and *Sarmatians*, to come to his aſſiſtance; all theſe ſeem to have been different branches of the ſame ſtock, and only degenerated from the royal one by diſtance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and cuſtoms, as the ſame author here tells us †. The reſult of this ſummons was, that the three laſt named nations joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refuſed to aſſiſt him, under pretence that he was the firſt aggreſſor. Hence we conclude, that they had ſhaken off the yoke of the royal *Scythians* ſome conſiderable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe eight tribes or nations in another place; at preſent we confine ourſelves to the two moſt conſiderable, the royal and free *Scythians*, as being the moſt conſiderable, and the beſt known of all the reſt.

Laws. WHAT their laws were, we can only gueſs from the excellent character that is given to that nation by ancient hiſtorians. Such indeed ſeems to have been their juſtice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and ſo ſimple and primitive their way of living, that they could not ſtand in need of a great number of them. *Juſtin* [a] ſums up their character in words to this effect: The *Scythians* were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious ſtrength, yet could ſo well maſter their affections, that they made no other uſe of their victories, than to in-

Juſtice. creaſe their fame. Theft among them was reckoned ſo great a crime, and was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that they could

† Lib. iv. paſſim. [a] Lib. ii. c. 2.

let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of losing them. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk, and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of houses, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding, and for the kitchen. Gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, and other costly stones, were as much despised by them, as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use to them. Did the same moderation and disinterestedness reign among other nations, it would soon put an end to our destructive wars. What is still more wonderful, these virtues which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A). A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property; some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of assisting at their royal feast, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the course of this history; upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history.

Contempt of wealth.

It

(A) This excellent character of the *Scythians*, how exaggerated soever it may seem in their praise, is nevertheless confirmed by several ancient historians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the testimonies which the learned *Bochart* has brought to confirm it (2), he would not have so lightly accused *Justin* of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With respect to the former, *Herodotus* tells us (3), that *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian* of no small consideration, having in his travels assisted at a festival, which the *Cizicians* celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow, that if he got safe back to *Scythia*, he would introduce the same worship there. Accordingly after his return, he retired privately into some woody part of the country, where he performed his vow; but he could not do it so secretly, but a *Scythian*, who saw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately, and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. And even one of their kings lost his

(1) *Annotat. in Justin. Delphin. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Note* 8. (2) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 9.
(3) *Lib.* iv. *c.* 76.

Some tribes of a different character.

It ought not to be objected here, that some of the *Scythian* tribes bear a quite different character, being of such fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Those, as was hinted before, were, if under the same government, at such great distance from the center of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to this, that as the inclemency of the air in those remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; so the distance and barrenness of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common laws. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true *Scythians*, that it was not without mixture of cruelty, if the *Greek* historians have not wilfully misrepresented them, as we shall see by-and-by.

Royal power.

If we may guess by some successions we find mentioned in history, it seems their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not so despotic as not to be deposed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the instance we hinted at in the last note, where *Scyles* having been found celebrating the *Bacchanalia* of the *Greeks*; his subjects revolted from him, and elected his brother *Octomasades*, who soon after took off his head. In all other cases their kings seem to have been in high esteem with the people, as we may guess from the following circumstances out of *Herodotus*.

When any of their monarchs fell sick, it was their constant custom to send immediately for three of their most famous prophets (C), who commonly told him that some *Scythian* whom they named had perjured himself by swearing by the

his crown and life, for barely attempting to introduce some of the *Grecian* rites and dress, as we shall see in its proper place.

With respect to the second particular, the same author tells us, that it often happened that some women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a shameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feast to all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the sculls of the slain, and in proportion to the number of them; whilst those, who had not as yet signalized themselves like them, were forced to stand at a distance, beholding the feast, and excluded from tasting it.

(C) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined or made a shew of divining, by willow sticks, gathered up into bundles, which they loosened and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttered all the while some conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended

(4) *Herodot. ibid. vid. & Mela, lib.* iii. *c.* 9. *D. Sicul. Strab. & al.*

the royal throne, which it ſeems was their moſt ſolemn oath. The accuſed perſon was thereupon ſeized, and accuſed before the king of having brought this diſtemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were ſent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three firſt accuſers. But if they acquitted him, a new ſupply of them was to be ſent for; and if the majority of them did abſolve him, then the firſt accuſers were tied hand and feet, and ſet in a cart loaded with faggots, and drawn by oxen. And after they had ſtopt the falſe prophet's mouth, as he was then ſtiled, they ſet fire to the wood, which conſumed the cart and man, and ſeldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male-children of thoſe whom the king condemned to death ſeldom eſcaped the ſame fate [b].

A ſuperſtitious cuſtom of their monarchs.

ANOTHER inſtance of their great reſpect to their monarchs is the pompous ſolemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleanſed the belly, and having filled it with bruiſed cypreſs, incenſe, parſly and aniſe-ſeeds; they ſewed it up again, and placed the corpſe in a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral proceſſion, was obliged to imitate the royal *Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which conſiſted in cutting off one part of their ear, ſhaving their heads, wounding themſelves in their forehead, noſe and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow; and in this guiſe, they accompanied the hearſe to the next province, till it came at length

[b] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 68—70.

tended to dive into hidden cauſes, and to pry into futurity. The *Scythians* ſeem to have been very much addicted to this kind of ſuperſtition by the great number of theſe ſham diviners, which they had amongſt them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger ſhare of it; and as they did not pretend to prognoſticate by means of thoſe wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inſpiration from ſome of their deities, they were held in the greateſt veneration, and their oracles, which were conſulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible anſwers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the ſame readineſs (†). *Pliny*, if we may take his word for it, tells us of another ſort of them, whom he calls *Bithyæ*, which had the power of killing by a bare angry look *. But, in general, all the old women were had in great reverence among the *Scythians* and other northern nations, and were ſuppoſed to have acquired more or leſs of the prophetic ſpirit, according to their age.

(†) *Vid. Keyſler antiq. Septentr. Diſſert. V.*

* *Lib.* vii. *c.* 2.

to that of the *Gerrians*, which was the remoteſt in the kingdom, and was ſituate along that part of the *Boryſthenes*, where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpſe was depoſited into a large ſquare hole made in the earth, upon a bed incompaſſed round with ſpears, which they covered with timber; and ſpread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it, they placed one of his favourite concubines, his head cook, groom, a waiter, a meſſenger, ſome horſes, all ſtrangled, and a number of neceſſary utenſils, and among others ſome golden cups. This being done, they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raiſe the mound as high as they could. As ſoon as the year was expired they choſe fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be *Scythians* of quality, thoſe monarchs having the power of chuſing whom they pleaſed to their ſervice, and never being attended by thoſe of the lower rank. Theſe young men, with an equal number of horſes, were ſtrangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies ſtuffed with ſtraw. The bodies of the young men were ſet aſtride upon the horſes, and faſtened to them by an iron ſtake. The horſes thus mounted were ſet upon ſemicircular boards, ſupported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient diſtance from each other round the monument, the horſes having a looſe rein faſtened to another poſt ſet up for that purpoſe [b].

Religion. THE *Scythians* worſhiped a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Veſta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Papeus*, and *Apia*, or the earth, which they eſteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it ſeems, they challenged for their progenitor, and *Veſta* for their queen, as appears by the anſwer which one of their kings ſent to *Darius*, when he came to ſubdue them to his empire *; beſides theſe they worſhipped

Deities. *Apollo*, the celeſtial *Venus* and *Neptune*, under the names *Oetoſyrus*, *Strippaſa* and *Thamimaſades*. But their favourite

Mars. god ſeems to be that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* ſpeaks of, he doth not tell us: neither is it eaſy for us to gueſs. It doth not even appear from any other ancient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly ſo called. Groves indeed, and very ſumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In theſe they affected to have one or more oaks of a monſtrous ſize, which were accounted ſo ſacred, that it was ſacrilege, and was puniſhed with the ſevereſt death, to lop ſo

[b] HERODOT. ibid. c. 71—73. * Id. ib. c. 59. ſee before, Vol. V. 208.

much

much as a branch or ſprig, or even to wound the bark. Theſe they never failed to ſprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, inſomuch that the rind of ſome of the oldeſt of them was covered or even incruſted with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned theſe things by word of mouth, and had never ſeen them himſelf, might, for want of a good interpreter, miſtake them for temples, and ſuppoſe them to be built like thoſe of other nations.

Beſides the deities above-named, we are told that ſome of them worſhiped the fire as the principle of all things, and gave it the name of *Vulcan* ‡. They uſed to ſwear by the wind and the ſword ‖, the one as the author of life, and the other of death. They likewiſe looked upon *Zamolzis* as a deity, to whom they committed the ſouls of the dead, and offered ſacrifices on their behalf *. The royal *Scythians* are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have acknowledged all the deities above-named, and to have offered ſacrifices to *Neptune* in particular ‡; for all theſe various deities they had, not indeed, temples, but altars and groves, and a ſet of prieſts appropriated to each.

How ſpacious theſe groves muſt have been, may be ſeen in the laſt quoted antiquarian, or be gueſſed at by the vaſt extent of the altars, which *Herodotus* tells us they erected in them to *Mars* their favourite deity, one of which at leaſt they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of ſmall wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three ſtades of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three ſides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity, to render the top of it eaſy of acceſs. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to ſupply thoſe which had been putrified by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of theſe heaps was erected an old iron ſcymetar, which ſtood there as the image, or rather emblem of the deity. To him, beſides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they ſacrificed horſes, which were a martial creature; and what was more ſhocking, every hundredth man they took priſoner from their enemies. This laſt bloody offering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the captive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which aſcending to the top of the altar, they went and waſhed the deity's ſword. As to the victim, they only cut off his right arm cloſe to the ſhoulder, and throw-

Altars.

Human ſacrifices.

† *Vid.* KEYSLER. antiq. Septentr. Differt. 3. & alib. paſſ.
‡ CLEM. ALEX. Adhort. ad Gent. ‖ LUCIAN Toxar.
* Idem Scyth. ‡ HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

ing it up into the air, they left it expoſed in the place where it fell, and the reſt of the body in that where it was killed [c].

Other victims.

With reſpect to the other victims, which they ſacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they obſerved the ſame rites every where, without variation; they brought the beaſt having its fore-feet tied with a cord, and he who officiated as prieſt coming behind, and taking hold of the cord, threw the victim down. Whilſt it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then ſtrangled it with a cord, which he twiſted with a ſtick; and as ſoon as it was dead, he ſet about flaying and dreſſing it without any previous libation or ceremony. The fleſh was put into pots, and whenever theſe were not ready at hand, into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones inſtead of it. When the fleſh was ſufficiently boiled, the prieſt made an offering of part of the meat and inteſtines to the deity, by throwing it before its altar, and the reſt was, we may ſuppoſe, beſtowed to feaſt the prieſt and votaries. Thus in caſes of neceſſity, as when they went out to war, and the like, they made the victim furniſh them with all things neceſſary for the ſacrifice. Of all beaſts the horſe was eſteemed the nobleſt, and conſequently the moſt acceptable victim. As for ſwine, they deteſted it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be ſuffered to live among them [d]. They took care alſo to offer to their gods the firſt-fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the ſpoil they took in war. Some conſiderable part of the latter they were wont to ſend to the delphic *Apollo:* it was uſually conveyed thither by a number of their honourable virgins, and under a ſufficient eſcort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obſtacles of the journey, obliged them to diſcontinue it. This is all we find remarkable concerning their religion.

A caveat againſt the Greek *hiſtorians.*

BUT before we come to ſpeak of their manners, cuſtoms, and ſuch other particulars, it will be neceſſary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from *Herodotus*, *Homer*, and other *Greek* authors, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have been well affected to the *Scythians*, by whom their country had been ſo often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and ſometimes almoſt deſtroyed; we muſt not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the diſhonour of that ancient and warlike nation. Some of them we ſhall have occaſion to confute in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and others are of ſo horrid a na-

[c] HERODOT. ibid. c. 62. [d] Idem. ibid. c. 60, 61, 63.

ture

ture as to exceed our belief, eſpecially when we compare them with the character which *Juſtin* gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*, as we have lately ſhewn; this caution once premiſed, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of thoſe authors concerning the cuſtoms of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them without ſome mixture of barbarity.

Contracts.

THUS we are told that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured ſome wine into an earthen veſſel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle ſome of their own blood, which they drew by a ſlight inciſion made in their finger, hand, or ſome other part of their body, as they previouſly agreed. They then dipped into the mixture the point of ſome warlike weapons, ſuch as a ſimitar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered ſome dire imprecations on the firſt breaker of the covenant, and having taken each of them a draught of the liquor, they deſired ſome of the moſt conſiderable among the by-ſtanders, to pledge them, and to be witneſſes of the contract, which being uſually complied with, the bargain was reckoned ſo ſacred, that they thought no puniſhment ſevere enough, either in this life or in the next, for the breaker of it *.

Valour.

THEIR warlike temper and exploits were ſufficiently known to the ancients; ſcarce is there any nation to be met with in hiſtory ſo famous for conquering where-ever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themſelves remaining ſtill unconquered. Their frugal and ſimple manner of life may indeed be ſuppoſed to have been a great preſervative againſt ſuch invaſions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were expoſed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the caſe, ſince we find they were once invaded by the king of *Perſia* at the head of a moſt puiſſant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them: but of this in its proper place, as well as their conqueſt of greater *Aſia*, which could not be wreſted out of their hands but by the blackeſt treachery. But upon the whole, ſuch was their ſtrength and courage whenever they entered into an offenſive or defenſive war, that as *Theucidides* himſelf tells us, no nation either in *Europe* or *Aſia* could equal them either for ſtrength, valour, or conduct; nor indeed any thing reſiſt their power, provided they were but unanimous among themſelves [b].

Women and youth initiated into the bloody trade.

SUCH care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, in-

* Idem. ib. c. 70. [b] Lib. ii. ſect. 97.

ſomuch, that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at leaſt one enemy with their own hands [c], as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without ſome conſiderable encouragements to inſpire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, if *Herodotus* doth not bely them: for he tells us that they were wont to drink the blood of the firſt priſoner they took, and to preſent the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; theſe were either returned or regiſtered, and intitled the perſon to ſeveral privileges, ſuch as being preſent at ſome publick feaſts, ſharing the ſpoil of their enemies, and ſuch like; to which no man was to pretend to, till he had killed at leaſt one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did riſe in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they uſed to take the ſkins of the ſlain, to ſtretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them at their horſes bridles, where they ſerved both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always moſt eſteemed, who wore the greateſt number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went ſo far with ſome of them, that they took off and dreſſed the whole ſkins of the ſlain, and covered both their quivers and horſes, and ſometimes decked their own bodies with them, nay, and turned their skulls into drinking cups *.

Cruel cuſtoms.

HAD they only exerciſed this kind of ſavage pride againſt thoſe who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of ſome mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country, and in determent to all invaders of it; but as they might naturally enough think ſuch men deſerved no better fate, who attempted the conqueſt of a country, which had nothing to tempt or ſatisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (E). But it doth not

[c] Vid. HERODOT. ubi ſup. c. 117. PLAT. de leg. lib. vii. HYPOCRAT. N. DAMASCEN. JUSTIN. & al. * HEROD. ubi ſup. c 64,65.

(E) This was the argument which *Juſtin* tells us (5), they made uſe of to diſſuade the king of *Egypt* from attempting a war againſt them, for ſaid they to his heralds, it were madneſs for the opulent *Egyptians* to invade ſo poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds; whereas the *Scythians* would fall upon them with utmoſt fierceneſs at the ſight of ſo rich plunder as victory would entitle them to. Such a meſſage they ſent afterwards to *Darius* when he had entered *Scythia*, that as they had neither cities, houſes, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treaſures in their country, except their families, and the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, for which however they were always known to fight with uucommon bravery; the invader ran a much greater risk than they (6).

(5) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 2. (6) *Vid. & Herodot. l.* iv. *c* 119, *et ſeq.*

appear

appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to thoſe whoſe territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce ſome ſuch trophies of their martial proweſs, if they were not to be gained in any but a defenſive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to ſuppoſe to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of *Theucidides*, that as they are affirmed to have lived moſtly upon plunder, inſtead of going out of their vaſt territories, they made mutual incurſions one tribe againſt another, which they again retaliated upon the firſt opportunity, without forgetting however their affinity ſo far, as not to join their forces againſt a common enemy or invader, whenever neceſſity required it.

THEIR living free from ambition and care, as well as the plainneſs of their diet and the coldneſs of their climate, did give them ſuch ruddy complexions, and plumpneſs to their fleſh, that to prevent their growing too unwieldy by it, they not only uſed a great deal of exerciſe, and of the hardeſt kind, but to diminiſh in part their ſuperfluous radical moiſture, they are affirmed to have cauterized their arms, ſhoulders, backs, breaſts, and the palms of their hands; though one would think that would have rendered them unfit, rather than more ſtrong and expert at the uſe of their miſſive and other weapons, as our author ſays it did †. They were no leſs remarkable for their faithfulneſs and friendſhip, which they eſteemed and gloried in above all things, and abhorred thoſe who were baſe enough to infringe either. They commonly confirmed their friendſhip by ſome ſuch religious ceremony or oath as we have lately mentioned, but ſeldom let it extend to above two, or at moſt three perſons, eſteeming it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep it inviolate with a greater number. And when ſuch a friendſhip was once contracted, there was no danger or death which they would not expoſe themſelves to for one another.

AND as they carried their friendſhip to ſuch a noble heighth, ſo did they likewiſe their reſentment and revenge. In this caſe, if a man had received an injury which he was not in a capacity to retaliate, the cuſtom was for him to ſacrifice a bullock, and to roaſt the fleſh of it in ſmall pieces, after which he ſpread the hide upon the ground, and ſat upon it, holding his hands down behind him as if they had been tied; upon which all that beheld him, whether friends, re-

† HYPPOCRAT. de Aere & Aquis.

lations

lations, or ſtrangers, came to inform themſelves about the injury and injurer, and, according as they favoured his cauſe, took up a piece of the meat, and ſetting their feet upon the hide, promiſed to ſend, one, perhaps, five men and horſes, onother ten, more or leſs, to his aſſiſtance, according to their circumſtances, or exigence of the injury. This promiſe was religiouſly kept, every one ſending his *quota* at the time and place appointed, which never failed to perform their part with the utmoſt faithfulneſs and intrepidity †.

How populous the *Scythians* were, is not agreed. If it be allowed that they made ſuch frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but ſuppoſe that it muſt have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we conſider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, conſtant exerciſe, hardineſs, and other ſuch-like advantageous circumſtances, which rendered them luſty and ſtrong, prolific and long-lived, one can hardly conceive they could be other than a populous nation: for we are told that very few died of ſickneſs, but all in general lived to a good old age, inſomuch that many of them being weary of the world, before death took them out of it, it was uſual with ſuch to haſten their exit by throwing themſelves from ſome eminence into the ſea, or into ſome river [d]. *Herodotus* however, who ſeems in doubt whether they were indeed ſo populous as ſome, or ſo thin as other reports repreſent them, gives us an authentic inſtance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it ſeems a cuſtom not uncommon to other nations *, at their firſt taking of the field to muſter their fighting men, and to make every man caſt an arrow, or according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could eaſily compute not only the number of their men, but alſo that of their ſlain, or of thoſe who either ran away, or abſented themſelves from the war. It was at ſome ſuch muſter as this that one of their kings, whom *Herodotus* names *Ariantes* [e], being preſent, and obſerving theſe heads of arrows to amount to an immenſe bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and caſt, and made into that large capacious veſſel we have lately ſpoken of, and which our author tells us was ſtill extant in his time; and though full ſix inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is about 50 hogſheads, and remained ſtill a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making

† Lucian. Toxar.
* See before, Vol. V. p. 133.
[d] Mela, lib. iii. c. 5.
[e] Lib. iv. c. 81.

an

an exact eſtimate from this ſtory, ſuppoſing it literally true: but might not this unwieldy veſſel have been at firſt deſigned only to keep the arrows which every ſoldier threw in, and the other part of the ſtory have been foiſted in, in proceſs of time? However, ſuppoſing the fact as related, and that it muſt have been a prodigious army that could furniſh metal enough for ſuch a monſtrous veſſel, yet might it not therefore neceſſarily follow that the *Scythian* nation was more populous than its neighbours, conſidering the vaſt extent of it. But what ſeems to be a ſtronger argument for it, is, the colonies which they were continually ſending out, chiefly towards the ſouthern parts of the world, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

As they cultivated no arts nor ſciences except that of war, nor ſcarcely any trade or commerce except paſturage, the reader muſt expect us to be very barren on theſe two heads. *Theucidides*, in the place above quoted, ſeems indeed to commend their induſtry and ſagacity in procuring all things neceſſary for life, in ſuch a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of induſtry and manufacture: and another *Greek* author ſpeaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the ſea-coaſts of the *Helleſpont* *. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe that, like ſome of his predeceſſors, he has miſtook them for the *Celtes*, who, as we have obſerved in a former ſection, were become great merchants both by ſea, and land under their king *Mercury* †. For as for the *Scythians* their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by and by. They do not ſo much as ſeem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from *Aſia*, after their twenty-eight years invaſion of it: neither do we find any footſteps of their having had ſuch poetic hiſtorians as were the *Curetes* among the *Celtes*, or the *Bards* and *Druids* among the *Gauls*. *Herodotus*, who has wrote ſo much concerning them, doth not ſo much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reaſon why we omit many fabulous things he has ſaid of them from the common report of their neighbours; ſince it is hardly to be expected they either could or would give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce, except in a hoſtile way.

Arts and ſciences.

THEIR language is ſtill more unknown to us, whatever diſcoveries ſome modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vaſt extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cauſe

Language.

* DICTYS CRET. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8. † See before, p. 33, & [E].

it to ſplit itſelf into a vaſt number of dialects, from which moſt probably have ſprung the *Muſcovitiſh*, *Slavonick*, *Poliſh*, *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, *Saxon*, and many others; between which, one can but barely diſcover affinity enough to make us believe them ſprung from the ſame mother. This we may however venture to affirm, as a more than probable conjecture from a viſible vein of the *Celtic* ſtill preſerved, as we have ſeen to this day among us, and which runs through all thoſe various languages; that they did not anciently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Neither is it ſo much to be wondered at that they ſhould have branched out into ſuch a vaſt variety, as that they ſhould ſtill preſerve ſo much of their priſtine affinity as we find they do. We have in a former ſection endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phraſes that are found not only in thoſe northern languages, but alſo in the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Perſic*, which ſhew them to have been ſo many dialects of the old *Celtic*; if thoſe few relicks of the *Scythian* which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and diſtricts, do not ſo plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extraction, we muſt remember they have paſt through ſo many different hands, and have ſo often changed their dreſs, eſpecially among the *Greeks*, that they may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have quite loſt their ancient form. We may add, that ſome of them are perfectly *Greek*, or tranſlated from the *Scythian* into that language (F).

Manufactures. THEIR chief manufactures ſeem to have conſiſted moſtly in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the ſkins of beaſts, they muſt have had ſome notion of tanning of them, as well as thoſe with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewiſe reaſonably

Weapons. ſuppoſe that they fabricated their own weapons, which were ſimitars, javelins, axes, but eſpecially bows and arrows, at

Expertneſs at them. which they are ſaid to have been ſo expert, that their very children were trained to ſhoot at a mark even as they rode on horſeback; inſomuch that it became a common proverb, *That the* Scythians *were as dextrous at their bows as the* Greeks *were at their lyre.* Hence *Cyaxares*, king of *Media*, is reported to have ſent his ſon to be brought up under them, to learn

(F) Of this kind is the name of the *Oœnes*, a *Scythian* tribe, ſo called in *Herodotus* from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the *Greek* ωον. The *Nomades* were ſo called from νομη paſture. Of the ſame extraction, were the *Hyppodes*, *Androphagi*, and ſome others we have mentioned under a former note.

the

the use of the bow *. They were no less expert horsemen [f] (G), insomuch that we find them called ἱππόλοξόλαι by *Herodotus* and *Lucian*. And their very women are affirmed to have been so well inured to riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men [g]. The ancients observe that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is, that the country was too cold for those creatures †. Experience has since shewn the contrary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be, that the horses, which they bred in great quantities, could answer all the purposes of the other two, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious than they, whenever occasion required it.

Agriculture unknown to the Scythians.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. *Herodotus* indeed tells us of one province of them, whose inhabitants called themselves *Olbiopolitans*, and the *Greeks Boryſthenians*, as they lived on the north side of that river; and these he likewise called husbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale [h]. But the rest of the *Scythians* wholly neglected it, chusing rather to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth, without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many deserts, vast forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of ancient historians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their cloathing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts [i], as we are told they did, one may conclude they did not manufacture it. And as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other necessary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and such like weapons,

Artificers.

* Herodot. l. i. c. 73. [f] Idem. ibid. [g] Lucian. in Toxar. & Hermot. Mela, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. Bochart. ubi supra, & al. † Herodot. l. iv. c. 28. et 129. [h] Herodot. ubi supra. c. 18. Justin. l. ii. c. 2. Mela & al. [i] Id. ibid.

(G) This the learned *Bochart* observes, the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where speaking of the army of *Magog* or *Scythia*, he calls their horse סוסים ופרשים לבושי טיכלול, *Sussim uparashim lebushe Miklol*, horses and horsemen cloathed with perfection, compleatly disciplined and armed, or as *Kimchi* renders it, expert in all kinds of weapons, and our *English* version cloathed with all kind of *Armour*; for such it appears the *Scythian* horse were.

(7) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 3.

if

if their heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were, if the ſtory we have related above of a large copper veſſel that was made of them be literally true, there was ſtill leſs art required in making them, ſince they might eaſily caſt them in a mould. Their bows might alſo be made of the ſame metal like thoſe of other ancient nations, though it is not improbable they might alſo have ſome ſmiths to forge iron and ſteel weapons, armour, *&c.* beſides thoſe they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be ſuppoſed they could make their waggons without the help of ſuch artiſts, though upon the whole it doth appear that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and uſed none they could poſſibly do without. They wore ſtandards of a particular make, which when blown open by the wind, reſembled ſerpents and dragons of ſeveral ſhapes, and theſe were commonly born by men on horſeback †.

Shepherds and martial-men.

THEIR chief riches and food conſiſting in their numerous herds, they entruſted the care of them to *Shepherds*, who were a lower rank of *Scythians* below the martial-men, and had ſlaves and captives under them. They uſed to move from paſture to paſture, with the perſons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. Theſe did chiefly live upon honey, cheeſe, and milk, and more eſpecially that of their mares, from which creature, if *Herodotus* was rightly informed, they had a ſtrange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities: [a] but their choiceſt food was the veniſon they killed. What proviſions the warlike ſort made, when they were abſent from their flocks, we cannot gueſs; and it is likely when they came into an enemy's country, they took care to ſeize upon all the cattle they could meet with; and when that failed, they had recourſe to a compoſition they carried about them, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by.

Poligamy.

FROM an inſtance or two we read of their kings, it ſeems as if they allowed of poligamy, and were not over ſtrict in their marriages. *Plato* ſeems even to intimate that they had their women in common *, though if any ſuch cuſtom was among them, it muſt have been only among the more ſavage ſort, for the royal and free ones had wives, and ſome of their kings we read of who took them from other nations, and of one of them who married his own father's widow; but whether the ſame liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reaſon the *Scythians* gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feaſts of the *Greeks*, namely, that it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that a god ſhould drive men into all the violent tranſports of madneſs, ſeems to ſhew that drunkenneſs was not common among them [b]. And indeed we do not

† SUID. in voc. [a] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 2. * De Repub.
[b] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 79.

find

find that they were much given to feaſting. And *Plutarch*, in his banquet of the ſeven wiſe men, ſays, that they neither had vines, nor players on inſtruments, nor public games. One wine feaſt they had however once a year in every diſtrict, for thoſe who, as we hinted before, had ſignalized themſelves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was uſed at funerals. Some others they might have upon other occaſions not worth enquiring after, but in general they were abſtemious to a wonder, except in their affections for their favourite women. They talked little, but conciſely and ſtrongly, eſpecially about their warlike affairs. They commonly travelled on horſeback, or in their domeſtic vehicles; and when they had any rivers to croſs, they laid their horſe's ſaddle and weapons upon a ſkin filled with cork, and ſo well ſewn, that not a drop of water could get into it; they next put themſelves down in it, and taking hold of their horſe by the tail, made him ſwim to the other ſide. They carried with them a certain compoſition, in ſmall pieces like pills, one of which upon occaſion would yield ſufficient nouriſhment for ſeveral days. *Pliny* adds *, that they did the ſame with their horſes, by means of what he calls the *Scythian* weed, upon the ſtrength of which they could travel ten or twelve days without eating or drinking. *Feaſtings.*

We ſhall conclude this article with ſome father account of their funerals. We have already ſpoken of the obſequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other perſon died, his neareſt relations cauſed his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from houſe to houſe among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feaſted them in their turn, ſetting part of the ſame things before the deceaſed which they did to their gueſts. This was continued forty days, after which the perſon was buried, and his attendants went and purified themſelves, not by any ablution, but by the ſmoke of ſome hemp-ſeed peculiar to the country, which being thrown upon ſome burning ſtones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincenſe uſed in *Greece*, and ſo tranſported the company as to ſet them a howling aloud. This ſerved inſtead of waſhing, which the *Scythians*, our author tells us, never practiſed. Not even the women, who uſed, inſtead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paſte, which they made with cypreſs, cedar, and frankincenſe, ground upon a rough ſtone, and ſoaked in water, which paſte being taken off the next day, rendered their ſkins clean, ſhining and ſweet [i]. *Funeral obſequies.*

How their women preſerve their beauty.

There remains that we ſhould ſay a word or two of thoſe other petty kingdoms of *Scythia*, and of ſome particu-

* Lib. xxv. c. 8.

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra. c. 73—75.

larities,

larities, wherein they differed from the royal *Scythians*. For whether they were all really deſcended from the ſame ſtock, as we ſuppoſed it in the beginning, or whether they did ſpring from ſome other of *Magog*'s brethren, yet ſince they inhabited ſo conſiderable a part of *Scythia*, and made ſuch figure in the hiſtory of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit, at leaſt thoſe of the greateſt note.

Sarmatians.

THE *Sarmatians* we have already hinted, are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been the offspring of the *Scythians* (H) and *Amazons*. Theſe warlike women, or, as their *Scythian* name *Aior Patta* imports, *Man-ſlayers*, in their flight from the *Grecians*, having landed near the precipices of the *Palus Meotis* belonging to the free *Scythians*, and having been perſuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of *Scythia*, where they pretended they could not conveniently live with them, and to paſs into the province of *Sarmatia* on the other ſide the *Tanais*. Hence our author ſays the *Sarmatian* women retained ſtill the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, being more warlike than the reſt of the *Scythian* females, and the language of the country became a corrupt *Scythian*, becauſe the *Amazons* never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offſpring,

(H) Some authors however, from a paſſage in *Pliny* (8), where he tells us, that *they were reported to be deſcended from the* Medes; and another out of *Juſtin*, who tells us, that the language of the *Parthians* was a mixture of *Scythic* and *Mediſh* (9), have ſuppoſed that the *Sarmatians*, who moſt reſemble the *Parthians*, where the offſpring of the *Medes*; and that the name of *Sarmatian* was only a corruption of the *Chalde* שְׁאֵר מָדַי *Sheer Madai* (10), a reſidue or ſprout of the *Medes*. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think *Herodotus* may be more relied upon than the other two, who ſpoke at a much greater diſtance of time and place. However, if what they ſay be true, it proves what we obſerved before, that the deſcendants of *Gomer*, and his brothers, did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only ſeparated by degrees from each other.

As to the *Parthians*, though their name in the *Scythic* and *Celtic* ſignifies ſeparated, it ſeems probable that they were rather *Gomerians* or *Celtes* driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themſelves into a country of the *Medes*, were by them called *Parthians*, or baniſhed (11). As to the *Sarmatians*, they were commonly called *Sauromates* by the *Greeks*. *Pliny* the younger mentions one of their kings *; and baron *Spanheim* gives us the legend of a medal ſtruck in the reign of the emperor *Severus*, which runs thus, ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC. CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

(8) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 7. (9) *Lib.* xli. *alib. Bochart. lib.* iii. *c.* 14.
(10) *Vid. Mela, lib.* iii. *c.* 4. *et*
(11) *Vid. Peyron. Ant. Nat. cb.* iv.
* *Lib.* x. *epiſt.* 14.

corrupt

corrupt as themſelves ſpoke it. Here it chiefly was that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had diſpatched an enemy in the field [k].

THE *Taurians* had this inhuman cuſtom, that they ſacrificed to a virgin all that were ſhipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coaſts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the perſon on the head with a club, after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcaſs down the hill on which their temple was built, or as others told our author, by burying the body, and reſerving only the head to be ſtuck on a pole. Theſe *Taurians* pretended that the virgin *Demon* whom they thus worſhipped was *Iphigenia*, *Agamemnon*'s daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to thoſe that fell into their hands. Taurians.

The *Agathyrſians* are ſaid to have had their women in common in order to link the men more ſtrictly together, and to prevent jealouſies, and other ill effects of matrimony ‖. The *Neurian* province being infeſted with dangerous ſerpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the *Budians*. They obſerved the cuſtoms of *Scythia* in moſt particulars, only pretended to greater ſkill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for ſome part of the year, after which they reſumed their own ſhape [l]; which is ſuppoſed to mean no more but their wearing of ſkins with the fur outward during the cold weather. The *Neurians* are mentioned alſo by *Pliny* †, *Mela* *, and *Steph*. of *Byzantium* ‡. Agathyrſians. Neurians.

THE worſt of all were the *Adrophagi* or men-eaters, who obſerved neither law nor juſtice, and had nothing in common with the reſt, but their dreſs, and breeding of cattle. The *Melanchæneans* were ſo called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the *Scythian* cuſtoms, except that they fed upon human fleſh, which the free *Scythians* did not; nor indeed any other tribes, at leaſt as common food, but only on ſome particular occaſions, ſuch as we ſhall have occaſion to mention by-and-by. The *Budians* were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the reſt did they build them a city, and called it *Gelonus*, whoſe houſes and high walls were of timber, and each ſide of the walls were three hundred ſtades in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the *Grecian* gods; and here they celebrated the *Bacchanalia* triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themſelves to the keeping of cattle, and theſe to till Budians *or* Androphagi. Gelonians

[k] Id. ibid. MELA, ubi ſupra. ‖ HERODOT. l. iv. c. 104. [l] Id. ibid. c. 105. & ſeq. † PLIN. lib. iv. c. 12. * De Situ Orb. l. ii. c. 1. ‡ De Urb. ſub voc.

the land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn fields; in a word, theſe *Gelonians* had ſo much better minds than the *Budians*, that they ſeemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. They are ſuppoſed to have been of *Greek* extract, and to have been in time quite blended with the *Budians*, who were of *Sarmatian* original and contiguous to them, and *Herodotus* obſerves, that each of them preſerved their native language. The *Gelonians* learned among other things the cuſtom of painting their bodies from the *Sarmatians*, whence that verſe in *Virgil*'s *Georgics* xii. ver. 115.

Eoaſque domos Arabum pictoſque Gelonos.

This province yielded otters, beavers, and other ſuch animals: their ſkins ſewed together were uſed for garments, and the teſticles againſt hyſteric diſeaſes †. The *Oœones Panoti Arimaſpei* in *Scythia Europeana* we have ſpoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more reſemble the royal *Scythians* than any others, in moſt particulars, eſpecially in their warlike genius, and ſimplicity of living.

Scythian Nomades.

THE laſt two nations or tribes of the *Scythians* worth our notice, were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting as we have ſeen upon the north-weſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, and the *Maſſagetes* on the eaſt. As for the *Amazons*, as they are accounted ſomewhat fabulous, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate note (I). The *Nomades* differed ſo little from the royal *Scythians*, except in

† HERODOT. l. iv. 108, 109.

(I) Concerning theſe ſo famed, and ſo much queſtioned female warriors, it were endleſs to trouble ourſelves with all that has been written on either ſide; thoſe ſeem to come neareſt the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been ſaid of them by the antients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly that of the *Sarmatians*, in whoſe neighbourhood lived theſe *Amazons*, if they were not originally of the ſame blood; with the occaſion which gave birth to this ſtrange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their huſbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers, and in a ſtrange country; if, I ſay, we conſider all theſe circumſtances, there will be nothing ſo improbable in the brave and maſculine method they took to ſave themſelves from ſlavery, and to revenge the ſlaughter of their huſbands. We may add, that the *Scythian* as well as *Celtic* women, were anciently held in great authority and veneration, for their skill in divination above the men, inſomuch that the latter are even upbraided by ancient authors

in this appellative, (which is taken from the *Greek* Νομη pasture, and expressed their kind of life) that we shall need say

authors (12), for suffering them to assist at and steer their councils as they pleased, and to have even presided in all courts of judicature, and other assemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned decisive, because they were supposed to be divinely inspired (13). Being therefore inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butchery of their husbands, and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery; we need not wonder that they so soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence, and like so many heroines, having chosen one or two of the wisest and stoutest among them, to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and atchievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the same allowance in both cases, than to suppose that so many historians, who have written of either of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble *Scythian* youths, whom our author calls *Hylinos* and *Scolopitus* (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the *Scythians* into *Asia*, and in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, retired into part of *Cappadocia*, with their wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of *Thermosciria* on the river *Thermodon*, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of it, than, partly through fear of slavery, and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands, who had escaped the slaughter, that so being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthrew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours sue to them for peace.

(12) *Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap.* viii. *et alib. Polyæn. in Stratagem. l.* vii. *Plutarch. lib. de virt. Mulier. Cæs. Commen. l.* i. *c.* 50. *Strab. Geograph. lib.* vii.
(13) *Vid. Keyssler. antiq. Septentr. dissert.* 5. (14) *Vid. S. W. Rawl. hist. lib.* iv. *c.* 2. *sect.* xv. (15) *Justin ex Trog. l.* ii. *c.* 4.

say no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found

One of their conditions was, that they ſhould yearly have a month's intercourſe with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breaſts, that they might be no obſtruction to their ſhooting, whence they came to be called *Amazons*; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author, or ſent them back to their fathers according to *Herodotus*.

Theſe ſurpriſing exploits were atchieved under the government and conduct of our two famous queens *Lampedo* or *Lampeto*, and *Marthesia* or *Marpheſia*, who boaſted themſelves to be the daughters of *Mars*; and having carried their conqueſts into *Aſia*, and built ſome cities there, this laſt, who had been left there with an army to ſecure their conqueſt, whilſt the former returned home loaden with ſpoils, was afterwards ſurpriſed, and cut off with the reſt of her female warriors by ſome bands of barbarians.

She was ſucceeded by her daughter *Ortara* or *Orthya*, whoſe valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raiſe the glory of the *Amazonian* name. To this ſucceeded *Antiopha*, whoſe ſiſters *Hypolite* and *Menalippe*, are reported to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theſeus*, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by thoſe two heroes. 4. *Penthesilea* was another famous *Amazonian* queen, who is ſaid to have come at the head of an army of her viragos to the aſſiſtance of *Priamus* king of *Troy*. 'Tis added, that ſhe was the inventreſs of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by *Pyrrhus*, the ſon of *Achilles*. Some other particulars related of thoſe heroines ſavour ſo much of the fable, that we ſhall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody re-encounter between *Thomyris*, another of their warlike queens, and *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*, has been taken notice of in another chapter †; and the amorons one between *Alexander the Great*, and the famous queen *Thaleſtris*, ſhall be ſpoken of in its proper place. It is under this laſt, that the *Amazonian* race and kingdom is ſaid to have received its final period.

We muſt not omit ſome other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of theſe female worthies, which happened in the reign of ſome of the foregoing queens; it is not eaſy to gueſs which; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his hiſtory of the *Scythians*.

The *Grecians*, who had obtained a ſignal victory over the *Amazons*, near the River *Thermodon*, were carrying off the reſidue that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, in three ſhips, into their own country. While they were at ſea, the *Amazons* conſpired againſt them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the uſe of the rudder, ſails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide, to the precipices of the *Palus Meotis*, in the territories of the free *Scythians*.

Here

(16) *Vid. Juſt. ubi ſupra et Pauſan. in Attic. c. 2. p. 178.* (17) *Herodot. l. iv. 6. 107, 110.* † *Vid. ſupra. Vol. V.*

found plenty of paſture for their cattle; after which they removed to freſh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their

Here they got aſhore, and marching up into the country, they ſeized upon the firſt ſet of horſes they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The *Scythians*, unacquainted with their language; ſex, and dreſs, could not tell what to make of theſe invaders. They took them at firſt to be youths, but after a skirmiſh or two, in which ſome of them were taken priſoners, had convinced them of the contrary; they reſolved not to kill them, but to ſend a party of youths to watch their motions, with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they ſhould flee from them; and as ſoon as they ceaſed their purſuit, encamp at the neareſt diſtance they could, reſolved if poſſible to have ſome children by theſe brave women. Theſe obſerving that the *Scythian* youths did not come with any hoſtile deſign, ſuffered them to continue in their neighbouring ſtation, whilſt they, having nothing but their horſes and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their cuſtom to withdraw themſelves from the reſt about noon, either ſingle or by couples to comply with the neceſſities of nature, which when the *Scythian* youths obſerved, they did ſo likewiſe: by this means one of theſe walking alone met with a ſingle *Amazon*, and though they could not ſpeak to each other, yet ſhe found a way to let him underſtand that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another *Scythian*, ſhe would likewiſe bring a companion with her. The upſhot was, that both their camps were preſently joined into one, and every *Scythian* took to wife the *Amazon*, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no ſooner got a ſmattering of the *Scythian* language, than they were given to underſtand by their new huſbands, that they had their parents and poſſeſſions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a deſire to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But theſe replied, that as they had ever been uſed to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horſe, and all ſuch warlike exerciſes, to which they ſuppoſed the *Scythian* women altogether unaccuſtomed; they could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained ſtill the ſame conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their ſeveral portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their return, their wives acquainted them farther, that ſince they had deprived them of their parents, and committed ſeveral depredations in that country, they thought it much ſafer to go and fix their habitation on the other ſide the *Tanais*. This was likewiſe agreed to, and having croſſed it, after three days march eaſtward of that river, and three more northward from the lake *Mæotis*, they arrived and ſettled in the country of *Salmatia*, where they continued ſtill in our author's time. Hence it is that the *Sarmatian* women were reckoned by far the greateſt warriors of all the *Scythians*; and hence

their families and flocks, with their ſhepherds till their return [p]. *Pliny* places them on the left ſide of the *Caſpian* ſea, and ſays that the river *Panticapes* did part them from the *Georgii**. *Strabo* adds they lived in waggons inſtead of houſes †.

Maſſagetes.

THE *Maſſagetes* did likewiſe imitate the free *Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms and warlike genius; but they uſed, beſides bows and arrows, for which thoſe were ſo famed, javelins and ſymeters. Braſs ſerved them inſtead of ſteel for making their offenſive weapons, and as to their defenſive ones, they added ſome ornaments made of gold, eſpecially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horſes were likewiſe fenced with a breaſt-plate of braſs, whilſt their bridles, and other furniture were adorned with gold; for ſilver and iron were not uſed by them, becauſe their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common; ſo that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This cuſtom, *Herodotus* tells us, was unjuſtly attributed to all the *Scythians* by the *Greeks*, whereas it was peculiar to the *Maſſagetes* only. A more inhuman cuſtom than this the ſame author tells us they had, that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not ſo much limited by law as inferred by concurring ſymptoms; all his relations met, and ſacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of ſeveral kinds, and having boiled the fleſh all together, they ſat down to it as a feaſt. This kind of death was accounted by them the moſt happy, as that of dying by ſickneſs was reckoned unfortunate, becauſe theſe laſt were to be buried, inſtead of coming to the honour of being ſacrificed to their gods, and feaſted upon by their neareſt relations, and intimate friends [q]. The ſun was the only deity they worſhipped, and to him they ſacrificed horſes, which being reckoned the nobleſt and ſwifteſt of all creatures, they thought moſt proper to be offered to the nobleſt and ſwifteſt of all the gods [r]. They neither ſowed nor planted, but contented themſelves with the milk and fleſh of their cattle, and with fiſh, of which the *Iaxartes*

Some barbarous cuſtoms.

[p] MELA, lib. iii. c. 6. * Lib. iv. c. 12. † Geogr. lib. xvi. [q] HERODOT. lib. i. c. ult. & l. iv. c. 172. [r] *Idem.* lib. i. c. ult. & 212.

proceeds the corruption of their language; for the *Amazons* not having been able to learn, and conſequently to teach their children the true *Scythic*, the *Sarmatian* became a mixture of that and of the *Amazonic*. Thus came the fame of thoſe female warriors to ſpread itſelf into *Europe* and *Aſia*; as for thoſe of *America*, they ſhall be ſpoken of in their proper place.

did

did yield them a very great plenty [r]. In a word, the two fore-mentioned cuſtoms excepted, they were eſteemed the nobleſt of all the *Scythians* [s], being equal to the royal tribe in valour and proweſs, and exceeding them in opulence. *Their worth.*

[r] Mela, Cluver. & al. [s] Vid. Strab. l. xi. paſſ. Diod. Sicul. Mela, Cluver. & al.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the Scythian *kings.*

Scythian chronology not to be attained.

WHAT has been obſerved in ſome of the foregoing ſections concerning the barrenneſs of *Scythian* records, and of other hiſtorians concerning that nation, will eaſily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular hiſtory of their kings, whoſe names and exploits lie occaſionally ſcattered in *Herodotus*, and other more recent hiſtorians without any order of time, or any hint, whereby one may give the leaſt gueſs into it, at leaſt till their invaſion of *Aſia*, and engaging into wars with ſome of the *Aſiatic* monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conqueſts to *Europe*, and made their incurſions only againſt their neighbours, which though perhaps originally deſcended from the ſame ſtock, yet, like a great many other nations, ſuch as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Iſraelites*, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardleſs of their former affinity. And this ſeems to have been moſt probably their caſe, becauſe they cultivated no arts, but that of war and conqueſt, without troubling themſelves about recording their acts and genealogies. The *Celtes* indeed had their *Curetes*; and other *European* nations their *Bards* and *Druids*, who celebrated their exploits in verſe, as we have ſhewn in a former ſection; but we do not find any footſtep of the *Scythians* having had any ſuch perſons among them; ſo that tradition, ſuch as it could be got, ſeems to have been the only fountain from which our antient hiſtorians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confuſed and irregular a manner as they had received it.

The following is a liſt of the *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Juſtin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Mela*; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns, neither can we affirm, that they ſucceeded one another in the order we have ſet them down, or even whether they all reigned over the ſame nations,

tions, or ſome of them over one or more, and others over other tribes. However we ſhall to the liſt of their names ſubjoin ſuch particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we ſhall be forced to cloſe this hiſtory.

Kings of *Scythia*:

1	*Scythes.*	9	*Targitaus.*	14	*Saulius.*
2	*Napis.*	10	*Calaxais.*	15	*Spargapiſes.*
3	*Phithra.*	11	*Scholypethes,*	16	*Aripithes.*
4	*Sagillus* or *Protothyas.*		or perhaps	17	*Scyles.*
5	*Madyes.*		rather	18	*Octamaſades*
6	*Thomyris.*		*Scythopetes.*	19	*Ariantes.*
7	*Jancirus.*	12	*Panaxagoras.*	20	*Atheas.*
8	*Indatyrſus.*	13	*Tanais.*	21	*Lambinus.*

Scythes. *Scythes* is that fabulous ſon of *Hercules*, begotten on a monſter, of whom we have ſpoken in a former note, and from whom the *Scythian* nation was affirmed by the fabulous *Greeks* to have taken their name, if not to be deſcended [a]. This hiſtory ſeems to have been invented by the *Greeks* for no other end than to ſully the origin of the noble and warlike *Scythians*, to whom they were no doubt vaſtly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accompliſhments, as the reader will eaſily ſee by comparing the hiſtory of theſe, with what we ſhall relate in a ſubſequent chapter of the more obſcure and barbarous beginnings of the *Grecian* nation.

Sagillus. *Sagillus* is ſaid to have ſent his ſon *Panaſagorus*, who is perhaps the ſame with *Protothyas*, the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horſe, to the aſſiſtance of *Orithya*, queen of the *Amazons*, againſt *Theſeus* king of *Athens*. To perſuade him to it, ſhe let him know that the *Amazons* were of *Scythian* race, that it was mere neceſſity that had obliged them to diſpatch their ſurviving huſbands, and to erect themſelves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, ſhe uſed all the arguments that could induce the *Scythian* king to her aſſiſtance: his ſon came accordingly with a large army of horſe, but preſently after his arrival upon ſome diſguſt which that prince took at thoſe brave heroins, he left them to the mercy of their enemies, who ſoon after gained the victory over them [b].

Madyes. *Madyes*, of whom we have ſpoken in a former chapter *, and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Indathryſus* of *Strabo*, though different from that of *Herodotus*, was the ſon of *Protothyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was that

[a] Herodot. l. iv.
[b] Justin. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4.
* Vol. V. p. 31.

the

the *Scythians*, having drove the *Cymmerians* or northern *Celtes* out of *Europe*, and purſued them into *Aſia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of upper *Aſia* in ſubjection twenty-eight years. The occaſion of their quarrel with the *Cymmerians*, and of the *Aſiatic* irruption, is indeed no where to be found; but may however be eaſily gueſſed at. *Scythia*, we obſerved, was more fruitful of men than of food and ſuſtenance: It was hemmed on the north by intolerable froſts and ſnows: where ſhould they then diſcharge their overſwelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the ſouth, where the inhabitants being probably as much accuſtomed to an eaſy and delicate life, as thoſe were to a hardy and warlike one, were moſt like to yield them if not their country, yet at leaſt a free paſſage through it, and aſſiſt them with all neceſſaries of life that they might be the ſooner rid of them: hence it is that they ſo ſwiftly paſſed into *Aſia*, and led their victorious army even into *Egypt*. But here we are told they were prevailed upon by *Sammiticus* king of that country, either by preſents or intreaties, to proceed no farther. They made likewiſe ſome incurſions into the land of the *Philiſtines*; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of *Beth-ſhean* from the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on this ſide *Jordan*, and called it by their name the city of the *Scythians* or *Scythopolis*, as we have hinted in the hiſtory of the *Medes* *. In their return into *Syria* ſome of their ſtragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*, and for their ſacrilege were puniſhed with hemorrhoides, or, as others ſay, with a kind of it, which is only common to the other ſex; which did alſo cleave to their poſterity as a brand of infamy.

THEY might probably have held their dominion in *Aſia* much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes* on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that hiſtory. What became of the reſt that ſurvived the ſlaughter we can only gueſs at; many of them might ſubmit themſelves to the *Medes*, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is ſuppoſed, and ſerved *Nebuchadnezzar*, part of whoſe army is ſaid to have conſiſted of all the families of the north; but the greateſt part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia* [c], where they met with an unexpected reception from their ſervants and ſlaves. This ſtory is ſomewhat differently reported, as well as that of their *Aſiatic* expedition, and the time they ſpent in it: *Juſtin*, who calls this their third expedition, ſays, it laſted but eight years [d], during which time their wives having

* Vol. V, p. 33. [c] HERODOT. lib. i. [d] Lib. ii. c. 5.

given

given them over for loſt, on account of the great diſtance between them, had married their ſervants and ſlaves; to whom, as we have obſerved, their maſters uſed upon all ſuch excurſions, to commit the care of their families and cattle. As ſoon therefore as the *Scythians* were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upſtart race of ſlaves ſent to forbid their maſters to approach nearer at their peril.

But *Herodotus*, who ſpeaks of this expedition as the firſt into *Aſia*, and affirms it to have laſted twenty-eight years, adds [e], that their wives unuſed to be ſo long idle, had taken their ſervants and ſlaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was ſprung, which obſtructed their maſters return nto *Scythia*, after they had ſuffered themſelves to be driven out of their *Aſiatic* conqueſts by the *Medes*. This laſt is the more probable of the two in many reſpects, and agrees better with thoſe other authors, who affirm, as was obſerved before, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Aſia* twenty-eight years. However that be, this ſlaviſh offspring having timely notice of their maſters returning home, had ſo well fortified and intrenched themſelves againſt them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not ſome of the wiſer *Scythians* bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem, which quite diſcomfited that rebellious rout.

They had already had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with equal ſucceſs on both ſides, when one of the *Scythian* lords told the reſt, that it was a ſhameful thing for them to fight with their ſlaves, as with their equals, and that if they deſigned to force them into ſubmiſſion, they muſt fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and ſcourges, ſuch as they were formerly wont to chaſtiſe them with. This advice was followed with ſurprizing ſucceſs, and the ſlaviſh rebels were taken with ſuch a pannic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation [f]. As many of them as could be caught, were put to the moſt cruel deaths, whilſt their miſtreſſes, conſcious of their guilt, ſought to avoid their huſbands reſentment, by hanging, or ſome other ſpeedy death (K). After this ſignal victory over their rebellious ſlaves, the *Scythians*,

[e] Herodot. ibid.

[f] Idem ib. c. 3, 4.

(K) It is plain by theſe *Scythians* leaving their wives, ſervants, and baggage behind, that they deſigned to return again from *Aſia*: for it is ſcarce probable that their deſign was to conquer ſome ſpacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we obſerved above, that they only went to aſſiſt thoſe new colonies, which

thians, according to *Juſtin*, enjoyed a long and unmoleſted peace till the days of *Jancyrus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. We muſt however except the invaſion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

Thomyris, *Tomyris*, or *Tamyris*, was that heroine whom we are told * *Cyrus* the great did, or at leaſt pretended to, court in marriage, and was ſending an embaſſy to treat about it. But ſhe ſuppoſing that her kingdom, rather than her perſon, was the object of his wiſhes, ſent expreſs orders to the embaſſadors not to proceed further. *Cyrus*, provoked either at her refuſal, or at her ſuſpecting his artifice, advanced with his army againſt the *Maſſagetes*, who were then under her dominion. What the iſſue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the ſtory of his tragical end, and the revenge, which that exaſperated princeſs took of him, we have already ſeen in another chapter †, and ſhall not repeat it. Tomyris.

Jancyrus a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble anſwer which he ſent to *Darius* king of *Perſia*, when he ſent to demand of him the uſual preſents of earth and water in token of ſubjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that aſſuming monarch's army; and as ſuch ſeems to be the ſame with *Herodotus*'s *Indathyrſus* [f], or to have been his Jancyrus.

* Herodot. lib. i. c. 205. & ſeq. † Vol. V. p. 177. & ſeq.
[f] L. iv. c. 76, 120, 127.

which they were obliged to diſcharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good ſettlement there, after which they deſigned to return to their own homes, as uſual.

However that be, this adventure ſeems plainly to contradict a ſtory which *Herodotus* tells of the *Scythians*, that they uſed to put out the eyes of their ſlaves: for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that this ſlaviſh army that oppoſed their return, was wholly a new offspring, unleſs we can believe that their wives took their blind ſlaves into their beds almoſt as ſoon as their huſbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itſelf between the maſters and ſlaves, it is ſo far from being a fiction, or ſo much as doubted of in thoſe parts even at this day, that we are told, that the *Novogradians*, whoſe city ſtands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, did cauſe a coin, which they call a *Dingoe Novogradſkoi*, to be ſtamped in memory of it, which had a man on horſeback, ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever ſince throughout all *Ruſſia* *.

It is probable likewiſe, that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the *Scythian* wives, that the cuſtom has been ſince eſtabliſhed among the *Muſcovite* women, of preſenting their future ſpouſe even in the time of their courtſhip with a *Pudkey*, or whip, wrought with their own hands, in token both of a greater ſubjection and fidelity than their *Scythian* anceſtries, or moſt probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

* *Vid. Fletch. Ruſſ. Commonwealth, c. 4. ap. Rawl. l. ii. c. 28. ſect. iv.*

im-

immediate ſucceſſor. The occaſion of this war with the *Perſians* is variouſly related by *Juſtin* [g], and the laſt quoted author: the former tells us that the *Scythian* monarch had exaſperated *Darius* by refuſing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces ſome *Scythian* princes, accuſing him with being the firſt aggreſſor, and having invaded the *Perſian* territories, whilſt *Darius* himſelf pretended only to revenge the ravages which the *Scythians* had committed in *Aſia* 120 years before, when they held it in ſubjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling theſe accounts, and the two different names of the *Scythian* monarch, but by ſuppoſing the *Jancyrus* of *Juſtin* to have been the father of *Indathyrſus*, and that finding that the refuſal of his daughter had provoked the *Perſian* king to a war, he reſolved to be before-hand with him, and to ſend his ſon *Indathyrſus* to invade his territories; and that dying ſoon after, he intailed that war upon his ſon, from which he afterwards reaped ſo much glory. *Herodotus* might not think fit to tranſmit a circumſtance ſo much to the honour of the barbarous *Scythians*, as that of the great *Darius*'s ſeeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the ſame reaſon that he makes the *Perſian* army to have been rather harraſſed and ſtarved out of *Scythia* than repulſed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for *Darius*, if he really received ſuch an affront from the king of *Scythia*, as the refuſal of his daughter, it was too diſhonourable a pretence to ground his invaſion upon; and a more glorious motive muſt be ſought out, though at ſo great a diſtance of time, to cover the true and real one.

HOWEVER that be, *Indathyrſus* having received the proud challenge from the *Perſian* king, implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elſewhere ſhewn to ſignify, not a ſupply of proviſions for his army, but an acknowledgment of ſubjection †, ſent him this haughty reply; that as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter*, and *Veſta* queen of the *Scythians*, he would ſhortly ſend him a more ſuitable preſent, and ſuch a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This preſent accordingly was diſpatched to him ſoon after: it was a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther application; theſe arrows might perhaps allude to the number of *Scythian* tribes, which were joined with his own, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. Theſe and the living creatures *Darius* immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been ſent in token of ſubmiſſion. But *Gobrias*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps

[g] Lib. ii. c. 5. † See before, Vol. V. p. 135. & (M)

better

better than his master, and compared the message and the present together, gave quite another sense to the latter, namely, that the *Persians* must not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian* valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice: Whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the *Persian* army (L).

ACCORDINGLY the king of *Scythia* summoned up all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance, against the common enemy and invader of their country. These were the kings of the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*; the *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*, and *Taurians*. These being assembled in council, and having debated the occasion of the war, were divided in their opinions; and the three first were the only ones who esteemed it a common cause, and resolved to join *Indathyrsus* in the defence of it. As for the other five, they sent him word, that as he had been the first and only aggressor, by invading the *Persian* territories without their participation; so they did not think themselves at all concerned in the retaliation which *Darius* was preparing against him. That they would therefore sit quiet at home, till some hostilities had convinced them that the *Persians* designs were equally levelled at them, in which case they would soon convince them that it was not their design to sit idle, and suffer their own territories to be invaded.

Indathyrsus was so exasperated at this unexpected message, that he resolved, at the same time that he made the best defence he could with his royal and free *Scythians*, and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if possible, the enemy into their coun-

(L) We have given this story somewhat in a different order than we find it in *Herodotus*, who tells us that these reciprocal messages were not sent till the *Scythians* had drawn the *Persian* army into the furthest part of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*. Had this been the case, there had been no great bravery in their sending such a haughty answer to an enemy so harrassed and entangled as *Darius* then was: neither will those circumstances he then found himself in, permit us to suppose that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the *Scythians*. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more consonant to the known customs of other kingdoms, that these messages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the *Scythian* territories.

try. To this end he reſolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and ſprings, and to deſtroy all the graſs and proviſion as they went. He divided his army into two columns; the one, under the command of *Taxacis*, was to act in conjunction with the *Gelonians* and *Budæans*; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himſelf; whilſt the *Sarmatians* were ordered to advance to the territories of king *Scopaſis*, that in caſe the *Perſians* ſhould come by that way, they might retire by the lake *Meotis* to the river *Tanais*; and upon their retiring, harraſs them as much as they could. *Taxacis* was ordered to keep ſtill a day's march before the *Perſians*, and to tire them with frequent ſkirmiſhes, in order to draw them into the territories of ſome of theſe five nations that had refuſed to join with them: and if that did not ſucceed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their diſcretion ſhould ſuggeſt to them.

THESE orders being thus fixed, they ſent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could ſpare; after which *Indathyrſus* commanded the beſt of his horſe to march towards the enemy, whilſt the reſt followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the *Perſian* army advanced about three days march from the *Iſter*, deſtroyed all the product of the ground, and fled away. This cauſed the *Perſians* to purſue them as faſt as the others retired ſtill further back, till they had drawn them through *Sarmatia* into the territories of the *Budæans*, where they burnt and laid waſte all that came in their way. They continued their purſuit till they came to a great deſart of about ſeven days march; and here *Darius* not thinking it proper to proceed further, ſet himſelf about building of ſome ſpacious cities at equal diſtances from each other. Theſe however he left unfiniſhed, to go in purſuit of the flying *Scythians*, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of ſo powerful an enemy, and did lay all waſte as they went through, that the *Perſian* army might find nothing there to ſubſiſt on [h]. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former ſection *: the reſult of which was, that the *Perſian* monarch was forced to retire with the loſs

* Vol. V. p. 208. & ſeq.

[h] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

of

of the greateſt part of his numerous army (M), glad to eſcape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer ſtill this invaſion would have coſt the *Perſians*, had the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge which he laid over the *Iſter*, kept their promiſe to the *Scythians*, and left them to deſtroy it, may be eaſily gueſſed; but they only deceived them with a promiſe that they would demoliſh it, and made a ſhew as if they were going about it in good earneſt, by taking off ſo much of it on the *Scythian* ſide as an arrow might reach, to prevent the *Scythians* paſſing and demoliſhing it, which however they ſoon rejoined again, when the flying *Perſians* appeared; by which means *Darius* once more eſcaped the fury of the purſuing *Scythians*, who failed not ever after to load the *Ionians* with the worſt of epithets for their treachery and cowardice. As ſoon as they found that *Darius* was gone beyond their reach, they reſolved to be avenged of him ſome other way, and to make themſelves amends for the ravages they had been forced to make in their own country. *Thrace*, ſo lately conquered by the *Perſian* king, became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waſte as far as the *Helleſpont*, and repaſſing the *Iſter*, returned into *Scythia* loaden with the immenſe ſpoils of that province.

Saulius. This was he of whom we took notice before, for killing *Anacharſis*, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into *Scythia*, which he had ſeen uſed among the *Grecians*. For though *Anacharſis* had choſen a private place covered with a great wood, to perform this new worſhip in, yet he was diſcovered in the midſt of it by a *Scythian*, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. *Saulius* haſted to the place, and found him playing on a tymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and ſhot him dead upon Saulius.

(M) If *Herodotus*'s account of this tranſaction may be credited, *Darius* was not ſo much repulſed by the arms of the *Scythians*, as affronted at an unaccountable inſtance of contempt which they occaſionally ſhewed to him, juſt as the two armies were going to engage: he tells us they were both drawn in order of battle, when a hare accidentally ſtarting in the interval between them, the *Scythians* immediately quitted their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmoſt confuſion, purſued after it. One would expect, that the *Perſians* would have took the opportunity of falling upon them, whilſt they were in this confuſion; but, it ſeems, *Darius* judged quite otherwiſe of an enemy that ſhewed ſo little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; ſo that he thought it high time to take *Gobrias*'s advice, and to ſecure his retreat as ſoon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night (2).

(2) *Herodot.* l. iv. c. 134.

the

the ſpot. Our author gives us here the names of three of *Saulius*'s predeceſſors, in a lineal deſcent, viz. *Spargapythes*, *Lycus*, and *Gnurus*, and of one of his ſucceſſors, viz. *Indathyrſus* [i].

Aripithes. *Aripithes* had a numerous iſſue, but particularly one ſon named *Scythes*, not by a *Scythian*, but by an *Iſtrian* woman, who therefore brought him up in all the *Grecian* cuſtoms and learning. *Aripithes* being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrſians*, this ſon found means to poſſeſs himſelf of his father's kingdom [k].

Scythes, though now king of *Scythia*, and married to one of his father's wives, who was alſo a *Scythian*, yet preferred the *Grecian* cuſtoms, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to thoſe of his own country. To indulge himſelf in them, and avoid giving offence to his ſubjects, he bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem; he led his *Scythians* to the metropolis of the *Boryſthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Mileſians*, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and cauſing the gates to be ſhut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, put off his *Scythian* dreſs, cloathed himſelf after the *Grecian* manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendance. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worſhip, cuſtoms and dreſs, after which he reſumed his *Scythian* habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the ſame practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his ſumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble ſtatues repreſenting *Sphynxes* and griffins, was demoliſhed by thunder. This did not however deter him from accompliſhing his initiation; but whilſt he was in the midſt of it, a *Boryſthenian* went and acquainted the *Scythians* with it in words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our *Bacchanals*, becauſe when poſſeſſed with the god, we loſe, you ſay, the uſe of our reaſon; come now and behold your king celebrating thoſe rites with a divine fury, and be yourſelves eye-witneſſes how that god has taken poſſeſſion of him. Some of the principal *Scythians* were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers, performing *Bacchanalian* rites with a numerous choir.

At their return they acquainted the army with what they had ſeen, which did ſo enrage the *Scythians*, that as ſoon as he was got home they revolted from him, and choſe his

[i] Id. ib. c. 76. [k] Id. ibid. c. 78.

brother

brother *Octamasades* in his room. *Scythes* being informed of the occasion of this revolt, fled into *Thrace*; and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Ister*, where he found *Sitalces* king of *Thrace*, advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, *Octemasades* received a message from the *Thracian* king, to this effect; why should we try the fortune of war? thou art my sister's son, and hast my brother with thee; deliver him up to me, and I will send *Scythes* to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. *Octomasades* agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to *Sitalces*, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of *Scythia* having received his brother from him, caused his head to be immediately taken off [l]. Octamasades.

Ariantes was that prince of whom we have lately spoken upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting-men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to *Exampæus* [m]. Ariantes.

THE last king we shall mention in this history (N), and under whom the *Scythians* are said to have received a considerable overthrow [n] was *Atheas*, or as he is called by others, *Matheas* and *Machæas*. This prince being ingaged in a war

[l] Id. ib. c. 78—80 [m] Id. ibid. c. 81. [n] JUSTIN. l. ix. c. 2.

(N) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of *Herodotus*, not so much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of *Greek*, but *Scythian* extraction. It is as follows:

He tells us of a part of *Scythia*, whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indiscriminately call *Scythians*, who, though they owned themselves to be of a much more recent date than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before *Darius*'s expedition. The account they give of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by *Targitaus* the son of *Jupiter*, by a daughter of the river *Borysthenes*; that this prince had three sons, *viz. Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, in whose reign, a plow with a yoke, an ax and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country; and the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them

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a war with the *Iſtrians*, a people of *Myſia* on the ſouth banks of the mouth of the river *Iſter*, ſent to *Philip* king of *Ma-*

them up, and found them burning hot; but the youngeſt coming preſently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their ſhare of the kingdom to him. They add, that the *Auchatian Scythians* were deſcended from the eldeſt, the *Catiarians* from *Apoxais*, and the race of their kings, whom they call *Paralates*, from the youngeſt brother. All theſe gave themſelves the general name of *Scholotes*, which our author tells us, was alſo the ſurname of their kings, but were called *Scythians* by all the *Greeks* The miraculous golden utenſils we are told were preſerved with utmoſt care, and that their kings did aſſiſt at the annual ſacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

Colaxais, who had likewiſe three ſons, perceiving the vaſt extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing however the biggeſt ſhare to that portion into which the miraculous golden veſſels were fallen *. According to this tradition there muſt have ſtarted at leaſt three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vaſt quantities of feathers or ſnow, with which the adjoining regions towards the north are covered; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe theſe three tribes to have ſprung from a colony of the ancient *Scythians*, and to have been forced to ſeek for a new habitation in thoſe more inclement regions, eſpecially conſidering that they pretend to be of a much more recent original than any others, meaning doubtleſs than any other *Scythians*, though older by 1000 years than the time of *Darius*. As for the pretended divine extraction of their founder, and the miraculous fall of the golden utenſils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in thoſe early days than theſe pretences of ſomething ſupernatural accompanying the foundations of moſt kingdoms, and the divine original of their firſt founders. Hence we would further obſerve, that it is moſt likely that the kings of *Scythia*, which we have given in the above liſt, did not all belong to the royal *Scythians*, but that ſome of them reigned over other tribes or branches, which time and neceſſity had divided for them, eſpecially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the moſt pleaſant parts of the country.

With reſpect to this pretended daughter of the *Boryſthenes*, it will not be amiſs here to obſerve once for all, that it was a common cuſtom in thoſe early and ignorant times for the firſt planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories, and capital cities, but alſo to the moſt conſiderable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable; that their poſterity, who everywhere affected to boaſt of ſomething miraculous in their origin, choſe rather to derive it from the river itſelf than from their real parent, who gave name to it. We ſhall meet in the hiſtory of the fabulous and heroic times with inſtances more than enough of theſe ſons and daughters of rivers, to juſtify the truth, and ſhow the neceſſity of this previous obſervation.

cedon

* *Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 5. *& ſeq.*

cedon to desire his assistance; and upon his complying, promised to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. But the *Istrians* having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to *Philip*, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the *Scythians* neither wanted the help of the *Macedonians*, nor their king an heir, whilst he had a son alive. *Philip*, who was then besieging *Byzantium*, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege, especially considering that he had paid nothing either towards the subsistance of, or by way of reward to the auxiliaries which he had sent to him.

Atheas had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their inrichment, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. *Philip* vexed at heart to see himself thus baffled, resolved to retaliate trick for trick; and whilst he was raising the siege, in order to enter into a war with them, sent the *Scythians* word, that he had vowed to erect a statue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Ister*, which he desired liberty to come and set up there, as he was a known friend to the *Scythians*. *Atheas*, who smelt his design, sent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but send the statue, and he would take upon himself the care both of the erecting of it, and of its remaining safe there; but that he would by no means suffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he persisted in spite of him, to come and set up such a statue, they would soon melt and cast it into arrows against him. *Philip* not minding his threatening refusal, and both monarchs being highly exasperated against each other, a bloody battle ensued, in which our author tells us, the *Scythians*, though superior in strength and courage, were overcome by the craftiness of the *Macedonian* king; twenty-thousand women and children were carried off prisoners, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty-thousand of their finest mares, which they sent into *Macedonia* for breeding. As for gold and silver they found none among them, and this, our author observes, was the first proof which the *Scythians* gave of their poverty in that respect.

HOWEVER, this overthrow is not so universally agreed among antient authors as the war is, neither doth it consist well with what our author has in another place; where he introduces *Mithridates* haranguing his army, part of which consisted of *Scythians*, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, *Darius* and *Philip*,

who having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a shameful flight [o]. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signalizing themselves upon many occasions, both against the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, and against several other nations; and during a considerable time, as the sequel of this work will sufficiently shew.

Lambinus is supposed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of *Scythia* [p].

[o] Justin, lib. xxxviiii. c. 7. [p] Vid. Heyl. lib. iii. p. 172.

CHAP. XIII.

The History of the Mysians.

SECT. I.

The description of the country, the manners, customs, religion, &c. *of the inhabitants.*

Name. THE small country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the *Lydian* word *Mysos* signifying a beech-tree, because that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Mysia Minor* or the *Lesser Mysia* lay on the *Propontis*, and from thence extended to mount *Olympus*, being bounded by *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* on the north and west, by *Phrygia Minor* on the south, and by *Phrygia Major* on the east. *Mysia Major* or the *Greater Mysia* was bounded on the north by *Phrygia Minor*, on the south by *Æolia*, on the east by *Phrygia Major*, and on the west by the *Ægean* sea. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Mysia Minor*, *Ptolomy* calls *Mysia Major*; the former is also named *Olympena* from mount *Olympus*, and *Hellespontiaca*, because some towns anciently belonging to it were seated on the *Hellespont*. That part of *Mysia* which lay between *Ancyra* of *Phrygia* and the river *Rhindacus* is called by *Strabo Abrettana*, and the remaining part *Morena*. The former denomination is often given to all *Mysia*.

In that part of *Mysia Minor* which lay on the *Propontis*, were the following cities: *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum* seated in an island of the *Propontis* bearing the same name, but joined to the

the continent with two bridges by *Alexander the Great*. It borrowed its name from *Cyzicus* king of that island, and the adjacent continent, who is said to have been killed through mistake by *Jason* the *Argonaut*. This city, when first known to the *Romans*, was one of the greatest and richest of all *Asia*. and hence was stiled by *Florus* the *Rome* of *Asia*, and celebrated by him and all the other *Latin* writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, *&c.* [x]. Among its many magnificent buildings, the chief temple is mightily cried up by the ancients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick, and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of *Jupiter*, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship [y]. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against *Mithridates*, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However the ancient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; insomuch that when any one behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a *Cyzican* [z]. *Tully* [a] represents those of *his time* as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatever they cost. The current coin of this island, called *Stater*, and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed that their city had been given by *Jupiter* to *Proserpine* for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, richness, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* [b]. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Constantinople* to embellish that city. Under the *Ro-*

[x] Florus, lib. iii. c. 5. l. xxxvi. c. 15.
[y] Xiphilinus in Dione. Plin.
[z] Hesychius. Eras. Chiliad.
[a] Act. iii. in ver.
[b] Appian. in Mithridatico.

(S) This gave birth to the *Greek* proverb Κυζικηνοι σατηρες, an expression used in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving; as if the *Cyzician stateres* were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the above-mentioned proverb to be a taunt on those, who talk big, and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) *Erasm. Chiliad.*

mans it was the metropolis of the *Conſular Helleſpont*, but is at preſent little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi*.

Parium, ſo called, as ſome writers inform us, from *Parus* the ſon of *Jaſon*. Some think that *Archilochus*, the famous writer of *Iambics*, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked *Cupid* much celebrated by the ancients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* of *Cnidos*. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the *Ophiogenes* mentioned by *Pliny*[c], who are ſaid to have had the gift of curing the bitings of ſerpents with their touch. Not far from hence ſtood a ſtately temple of *Apollo Actæus* and *Diana*, which being demoliſhed, the ruins were employed to build an altar at *Parium*, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of *Aſia*. The ancient *Parians* were a colony of *Mileſians*, and the more modern, of the *Romans*, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely *Parium* and *Troas*. *Homer* makes *Parium* and *Adraſtia* one and the ſame city; but *Strabo* diſtinguiſhes them. *Parium* is now reduced to a village, but retains its ancient name.

Lampſacus or *Lampſacum* was ſeated at the entrance of the *Propontis* over-againſt *Callipolis* in the *Thracian Cherſoneſe*. It was built, according to ſome, by the *Phocenſes*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city, and the moſt infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named *Lampſaces*. It had a capacious and ſafe harbour, and a noble temple conſecrated to *Cybele*. It was in ancient times famous for its wine, and on that conſideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themiſtocles* in his exile. *Alexander the Great* conceived ſuch an averſion to this city for the lewdneſs and vices of the inhabitants, that he reſolved to lay it in aſhes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, diſpatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert, if poſſible, their impending doom. They no ſooner appeared before *Alexauder*, but the incenſed monarch, to redeem himſelf from their importunity, ſolemnly vowed that he would deny their requeſt. Whereupon *Anaximenes*, who was at the head of that embaſſy, addreſſed the king thus: Moſt juſt and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of *Lampſacus*, having been ſo unhappy as to incur your royal diſpleaſure, and deſiring to attone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of ſo merciful a prince, have ſent us to beg that you would utterly deſtroy their unfortunate city, a puniſhment richly deſerved by thoſe who could provoke your diſpleaſure. This unexpected re-

[c] Lib. vii. c. 2.

queſt,

queſt, and the vow which *Alexander*, being bent on its deſtruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preſervation. *Priapus* was worſhipped here in a partiular manner, and his temple was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs, a very ſchool of the moſt unnatural luſt. *Tully* [c] repreſents the inhabitants of *Lampſacus* as a quiet and indolent ſort of people, and more fit to reliſh the eaſe of peace, than ſuffer the toils of war. This city is ſtill in a tolerable good condition, ſituated in a pleaſant plain, and ſurrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampſaco*, and the *Turks Lepſeck*. Theſe were the chief cities of *Myſia Minor* ſeated on the coaſt.

We will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Myſia*, which, according to *Strabo*, lay between the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Ida*. Here *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhyndacus*, which riſes from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake, called now the lake of *Abouillona*, is five-and-twenty miles in compaſs, and eight miles wide, being interſperſed with ſeveral iſlands and peninſula's, whereof the largeſt, which is three miles in circuit, is called *Abouillona*. As the village ſituate in this iſland bears the ſame name, ſome modern travellers [d] take it to be the ancient city of *Apollonia* (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its ancient luſtre to the reign of the emperor *Alexis Commenus*, when it was taken and pillaged by the *Turks*, as his daughter *Anna Commena* informs us. *Apollo* was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city; for beſides that it bore his name, he is repreſented on the reverſe of ſeveral medals of this city [e].

The chief rivers of *Myſia Minor* are the *Rhyndacus* and the *Granicus*. The *Rhyndacus*, called by *Pliny Lycus*, and by the moderns *Lartacho*, has its ſource in the lake of *Apollonia* or *Artynia*, as *Pliny* names it, and falls into the *Propontis* near *Cyzicus*. This river is memorable in the *Roman* hiſtory for the

[c] Act. iii. in Verr.

[d] Tournefort voyag. au Levant, &c.

[e] Tournefort ubi ſupra.

(U) *Vaillant*, who viſited thoſe places, deſcribes *Apollonia* as ſeated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the *Rhyndacus*; but this learned traveller miſtook the city of *Lopadi*, or as the *Turks* call it, *Ulubat*, for the antient *Apollonia*, not being aware that the inhabitants of *Apollonia*, for the conveniency of their commerce, removed from *Apollonia* to *Lopadi*, giving the name of the city they had forſaken to this their new habitation; it being manifeſt from *Anna Commena* that in her time *Lopadi* bore alſo the name of *Apollonia*.

overthrow of *Mithridates*, who deſigning to ſurprize *Lucullus*, was himſelf ſurprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this river. The *Granicus* riſes on mount *Ida*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Propontis* between *Parium* and *Cizicus*. This river *Alexander* croſſed at the head of 30000 *Macedonians* in face of the *Perſian* army 600,000 ſtrong. Travellers obſerve, that its banks are very high and ſteep on the weſt ſide; ſo that the forces of *Darius* had a conſiderable advantage had they known how to uſe it. This river at preſent is called the *Souſoughirli*, which is he name of a village it waters (W).

In this part of *Myſia* ſtands mount *Olympus*, called by the ancients *Olympus Myſiorum* to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other mountains of the ſame name. It is one of the higheſt mountains in *Aſia*, and great part of the year covered with ſnow.

The city of greateſt note in *Myſia Major* was *Pergamus* ſeated on a ſpacious plain on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal ſeat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the tranſcribing of which parchment was here firſt invented, and thence called by the *Latins Charta Pergamena*. *Ptolomy* king of *Egypt* gave occaſion to this uſeful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the *Egyptian* papyrus, in order to defeat the deſign of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, which was to cauſe all the valuable books then extant to he carefully tranſcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with *Ptolomy*'s famous library at *Alexandria*. In *Pergamus* were likewiſe invented thoſe coſtly hangings which we call *Tapeſtry*, and the *Romans* named *Aulæa*, from *Aula* ſignifying a hall, becauſe the hall of *Attalus*, who invented them, was the firſt room adorned with this furniture. *Galen* the famous *Phyſician* was born in this city. Here *Æſculapius* is ſaid to have practiſed phyſic. We muſt not forget that *Pergamus* was one of the ſeven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*. It is now an inconſiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are ſtill to be ſeen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the *Attalic* kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

On the coaſts of the *Greater Myſia* were ſeated the following cities, *Antandrus*, *Scepſis*, *Aſſus*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

(W) *Spon* miſtakes the *Fourtiſſar*, as it is now called, for the *Granicus*. The *Fourtiſſar* is a ſmall brook riſing on mount *Tininus*, which ſome, through miſtake, think to be the *Caicus* of the antients.

THE soil of this country is one of the fineſt and richeſt of *Aſia*, and as ſuch celebrated by the ancients [f]. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well ſtocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for paſturing them. It was plentifully watered with ſmall rivers running down from mount *Ida* and mount *Olympus*. In ſhort the *Myſians*, as *Philoſtratus* informs us, with reſpect to their country, were the happieſt of all the *Aſiatics*. *Soil and climate.*

As to the origin of the *Myſians*, *Herodotus* [g], informs us, that they were *Lydians* by deſcent. According to his account, *Manes*, the firſt king of *Lydia* was father of *Cotys*, and *Cotys* of *Atys*, who had three ſons, *Lydus*, *Myſus* and *Cares*. From *Lydus* the *Lydians*, formerly called *Mæones* from *Mæon* the father of *Cybele*, borrowed their name. *Myſus* and *Cares* planted *Lydian* colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named *Myſia* and *Caria*. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us that *Myſus* was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. *Strabo* derives the *Aſiatic Myſians* from thoſe of *Europe* inhabiting that tract, which lies between mount *Hermus* and the *Danube*, and is now known under the names of *Boſnia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no uſe to relate, as they are moſtly founded on diſtorted and far-fetched etymologies. *Origin.*

As to the character of the ancient *Myſians*, it muſt be conſidered at different times; for they ſeem to have been once a warlike people. *Herodotus* [h] and *Pliny* [i] ſpeak of a very powerful army of *Myſians* and *Trojans*, which before the *Trojan* war paſſing over the *Boſphorus* into *Europe*, ſubdued all *Thrace*, and advancing to the *Ionian* ſea penetrated as far as the river *Peneus*. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors ſo as to be looked upon as the moſt contemptible and inſignificant nation on the earth; inſomuch that the *Greeks* [k] had no expreſſion to ſignify more emphatically a perſon of no worth or merit than to call him *the laſt of the Myſians*. They were prone to tears, and on that account employ'd by the *Greeks* [l] to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceaſed. Their language was in all likelihood the ſame as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan* with ſome variation of dialect. As to their manners, cuſtoms, arts and ſciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation and wealth; for *Philoſtratus* informs us, that in *Character.*

[f] VIRG. Georg. l. i. verſ. 103. [g] Lib. i. c. 94. & iv. 45.
[h] Lib. vii. c. 20. [i] Lib vii. c. 6. [k] STRABO lib. xii. Cic. pro Flacco. [l] ÆSCHYL. in Perſis. ERASM. Chiliad.

ancient

ancient times they were the most wealthy nation of all *Asia*.

Religion. THEIR religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*, whom they did not fall short of in superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies which has made some believe them to be originally *Phrygians*. *Cybele* had a stately and rich temple at *Cyzicus*, and *Apollo Actæus* near *Parium*. *Nemesis* also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple built by king *Adrastus* not far from the city of *Parium*, whence both the country and the goddess were named *Adrastia*. *Priapus* was worshipped by the more modern *Mysians*, but unknown to them even in *Hesiod*'s time. The *Mysian* priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horse, and eat his entrails before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Their history. CONCERNING their government, thus much appears, that it was not monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition; but authors are of opinion that they had kings long before that time. *Diodorus* [m] tells us, that they lived in subjection to *Ninus*, by whom they had been conquered, and to the *Assyrian* kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of *Troy*, and dispersion of the *Trojans*, the *Mysians* possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*.

Olympus. THE first king of *Mysia* we find mentioned, is called *Olympus*: He is said to have married *Nipæa* the daughter of *Jasius* or *Jasion* brother to *Dardanus* king of *Troy* [n].

Teuthras. *Teuthras* appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned over the *Mysians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans* [o]. He married *Auge* daughter to *Aleus* the king of *Arcadia*'s son [p]. As he had no issue male, he gave his daughter *Agriope*, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to *Telephus* his second wife's son by *Hercules* [q] (X). He built a city

[m] Lib. ii. c. 1. [n] Scholiast. Apoll. p. 155. [o] STRAB. l. xiii. [p] DIODOR. l. iv. c. 3. [q] STRAB. l. xiii.

(X) *Euripides* quoted by *Strabo* (30), informs us, that *Telephus* was a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*; and adds, that her father *Aleus* caused both her and her child to be locked up in a chest and thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of *Pallas* guided to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, and that *Teuthras*, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with *Auge*, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son *Telephus*, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

(30) *Strab. l.* xiii.

calling

calling it *Teuthrania*, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in process of time to all *Mysia* [r]. He had another daughter by name *Tecmessa*, who in the division of the booty which the *Greeks* had got in plundering *Mysia*, fell to *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*.

Teuthras was succeeded by *Telephus* a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*. *Telephus* being exposed by his grand-father's order on mount *Parthenius*, was nursed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one *Corythus*, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards *Mysia*, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king *Teuthras* her husband, who being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the *Trojan* war he first sided with king *Priam*, and was dangerously wounded by *Achilles*; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* to stand neuter [s]. *Pausanias* and *Aristides* tell us, that he planted a colony of *Arcadians* in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. *Jornandes* [t] makes him king of the *Goths*, wherein he confounds the *European* with the *Asiatic Mysians*; for those of *Europe*, whom *Pliny* calls *Mæsians*, are thought to be descended from the *Mysians* of *Asia*. *Telephus* had two sons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*: *Eurypylus*, according to some [u] was killed in the *Trojan* war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians* [w]. *Latinus* is said to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into *Italy* [x]. Telephus.

Eurypylus left one son by name *Arius*, who succeeded his father or grand-father, and was slain in a single combat by *Amphialus* the son of *Neoptolemus*, who possessed himself of the kingdom of *Mysia* [y]. We read of no other kings of *Mysia* till many ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we shall speak of in its proper place. Arius.

[r] Pindar. in Olymp. Apollodor. Stephan. &c. [s] Diodor. lib. iv. Strab. l. xiii. [t] De rebus Getticis. [u] Calaber. l. vi. vii. viii. Hyginus fab. 113. [w] Strab. l. xiii. [x] Clorenus. p. 115. [y] Pausanias in Atticis.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The hiſtory of the LYDIANS.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of LYDIA.

Name. WHENCE this country borrowed the name of *Lydia* is not determined. Some led by the affinity of words derive it from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon, whom they pretend to have ſettled here. But this opinion we ſhall examine, when we come to enquire into the origin of the *Lydians*. All the ancient writers tell us, that *Lydia* was firſt called *Mæonia* or *Meonia* from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of *Atys*, when it began to be called *Lydia* from his ſon *Lydus*. *Bochart* [z] finding in his learned collection of *Phœnician* words the verb *Luz*, ſignifying to *wind*, and obſerving that the country we are ſpeaking of is watered by the *Mæander*, ſo famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named *Lydia* or *Ludia*.

As to *Meon* and *Lydus*, he rids himſelf of them at once by denying that there ever were any ſuch perſons. To ſupport this opinion, he endeavours to prove that the *Phœnicians*, and after them *Moſes*, who in the deſcription of countries made uſe of their terms, gave the name of *Lud* not only to *Lydia* on the banks of the *Mæander*, but likewiſe to *Ethiopia*, where the *Nile*, as *Herodotus* obſerves [a], has as many turnings and windings as the *Mæander* itſelf. Now as theſe two countries, lying on the two moſt winding rivers that were then known, were named *Lud*, which word ſignifies to bend or wind, who can doubt, ſays he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? As to the ancient name of *Mæonia*, he takes it to be a *Greek* tranſlation of the *Phœnician* word *Lud*, wherein he agrees, in ſome meaſure, with *Stephanus*, who derives the name of *Mæonia* from *Mæon* the ancient name of the *Mæander*. Some take the word *Mæonia* to be a tranſlation of a *Hebrew* word ſignifying metal, becauſe that country, ſay they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines.

THOUGH *Lydia* and *Mæonia* are by moſt authors indifferently uſed for one and the ſame country, yet they are ſome-

[z] Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12. [a] Lib. ii. c. 29.

times

times distinguished, that part, where mount *Tmolus* stood, and which was watered by the *Pactolus*, being properly called *Mæonia*, and the other, lying on the coast, *Lydia*. This distinction is used, as *Spanhemius* observes [b], by *Homer*, *Callimachus*, *Dionysius*, and other ancient writers. In after-ages, when the *Ionians*, who had planted a colony on the coast of the *Egean* sea, began to make some figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given to the ancient *Mæonia*.

Lydia, according to *Pliny* [c], *Ptolemy*, and other ancient geographers, was bounded by *Mysia Major* on the north, by *Caria* on the south, by *Phrygia Major* on the east, and *Ionia* on the west, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the ancients stile the kingdom of *Lydia* was not confined within these narrow boundaries, chiefly under the latter kings, but extended from the river *Halys* to the *Egean* sea. *Pliny*'s description includes *Æolia*, lying between the *Hermus* and the *Caicus*; but that tract we shall consider apart.

The chief cities of *Lydia* were *Sardis*, the metropolis of that kingdom, and the seat of king *Cræsus*. This city stood on the banks of the *Pactolus* at the foot of mount *Tmolus*. The *Persians* thought *Sardis* of such consequence after it fell into their hands, that *Xerxes*, hearing it was taken by the *Greeks*, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner, *The Greeks have taken Sardis*; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from *Sardis* stands a village of the same name, which some take to be that *Sardis* which is mentioned in the *Revelation*, and was one of the seven churches. Near this city was to be seen in *Herodotus*'s time [d] the sepulchre of *Alyattes* the father of *Cræsus*, whereof the foundation was of stone, but the whole superstructure of earth, being six furlongs, and 200 foot in circumference, and a thousand three hundred foot in breadth.

Philadelphia, formerly the second city of *Lydia*, and so called from *Attalus Philadelphus* brother to *Eumenes*, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were anciently celebrated the common feasts of all *Asia*, as appears from an inscription quoted by *Spon* [e]. It was one of the seven churches, and continued to make a good

[b] *Ad* Callimachi hymnum in Delum, vers. 250. [c] Lib. v. c. 29. [d] Herodot. l. i. c. 93. [e] Voyage d'Italy, &c.

figure

figure under the *Greek* emperors. It was the laſt in *Aſia Minor* that ſubmitted to the *Turks*, and that upon very honourable terms after ſix years ſiege. Among the *Greeks* it retains its ancient name, but is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Allachſheyer*. Part of the ancient walls is ſtill remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and ſome ſepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an ancient tradition among the inhabitants, were tranſported by the *Chriſtians* into *Europe*.

Thyatira, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs * us, was ſituated in a pleaſant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. This city was another of the ſeven churches, and its preſent ruins teſtify its former grandeur. The *Greeks* call it *Thyra*, and the *Turks Akhiſar*. It is a place of ſome trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

Magneſia, by the *Turks* called *Guzethiſor*, ſeated on the *Mæander*, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many ſtately buildings demonſtrate. Here *Themiſtocles* died, this being one of the three towns that *Xerxes* allotted to him for his ſubſiſtence, during his exile. It is ſtill a large, handſome, and well-built city. Another city of the ſame name ſtood at the foot of mount *Sypilus* on a riſing ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in hiſtory for many battles fought there, but eſpecially for that between *Antiochus* and the *Romans* under the command of *Scipio*, which decided the fate of *Aſia*. This city was for ſome time the ſeat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is ſtill the capital of *Caraſia*.

Mount *Sypilus* is the only one in *Lydia* of any note. The goddeſs *Sypilene* took her name from this mountain; or rather *Cybele* was called *Sypilene*, becauſe ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner on mount *Sypilus*. And hence on the reverſe of almoſt all the ancient medals of *Magneſia* this goddeſs is repreſented ſometimes on the frontiſpiece of a temple with four pillars, and ſometimes in a chariot. *Plutarch* informs us, that mount *Sypilus* was likewiſe named the *Thunder Mountain*, becauſe it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Aſia*; and hence we find on the reverſe of ſeveral medals ſtamped at *Magneſia*, *Jupiter* armed with thunder-bolts. Mount *Tmolus*, and in more ancient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and ſaffron.

The rivers of this country that we ſhall take notice of are the *Pactolus*, which ruſhing from mount *Tmolus* waters the city of *Sardis*, and then diſcharges itſelf into the *Hermus* or *Sarabat*. It was called by the ancients *Chryſorhoas* from the colour of its ſands, which ſhine like gold †. The *Cayſter*,

* Strabo l. xiii. p. 430. † Idem ibid.

ster, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in *Phrygia Major*, baths *Lydia*, and empties itself into the *Egean* sea near *Ephesus*. It has almost as many windings, if *Spon* is to be believed, as the *Mæander* itself, but neither have near so many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* beneath *Paris*.

Origin and antiquity.

As to the origin of the *Lydians*, *Josephus*, and after him all the ecclesiastic writers, derive them from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth son. As this opinion has no other foundation but the similitude of names, there is a strong objection against it, which we have alledged elsewhere[f]. Some of the ancients will have the *Lydians* to be a mixt colony of *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, and *Carians*. Others finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the *Egyptians* and *Tuscans*, who were a *Lydian* colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally *Egyptians*. The very similitude of names, which on like occasions is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged some writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the *Lydians* were a very ancient nation, as is manifest from their very fables; for *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all said to have been the children of *Lydus*. And *Xanthus* in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by *Stephanus*, informs us, that the ancient city of *Ascalon*, one of the five satrapies of the *Philistines* mentioned in the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, was built by one *Ascalus* a *Lydian*, whom *Aciamus* king of *Lydia* had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent, we know not on what occasion, into *Syria*. The *Heraclidæ*, or kings of *Lydia* descended from *Hercules*, began to reign before the *Trojan* war, and had been preceded by a long series of kings sprung from *Atys*, and hence stiled *Atyadæ*, which is a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

Government.

THE *Lydians* began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, viz. the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*. The *Atyadæ* were so called from *Atys* the son of *Cotys* and grandson of *Manes*. *Manes* the son of *Jupiter* and *Tellus*, the first king of *Mæonia*, had by *Callirhoa*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, one son by name *Cotys*; *Cotys* by *Halia* the daughter of *Tullus* had two, *Asius* and *Atys*; from *Asius Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, which in process of time became common to the whole continent. *Atys* married *Callithea* the daughter of *Chorœus*, and had by her *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*. *Lydus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Mæonia*, which in his reign

[f] Vol. I. p. 368. 369.

reign began to be called *Lydia*. *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into *Italy*, and ſettled in *Hetruria*, now *Tuſcany*. This is the account *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* gives us of the kings ſprung of *Atys*, or the firſt race of the *Lydian* kings.

THE *Atyadæ* were ſucceeded by the *Heraclidæ* or the deſcendants of *Hercules*. For *Hercules* being by the direction of the oracle ſold as a ſlave to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia* to expiate thereby the murder of *Iphitus*, had during his captivity by one of her ſlaves a ſon named *Cleolaus*, whoſe grandſon by name *Argon* was the firſt of the *Heraclidæ* that aſcended the throne of *Lydia*. This race is ſaid to have reigned from *Argon* the firſt to *Candaules* the laſt 505 years, the father ſucceeding the ſon for 22 generations [g]. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the *Trojan* war.

THE third race called *Mermnadæ*, perhaps from one of the families named *Mermnas* (for the ancients are ſilent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the *Medes* ſhook off the *Aſſyrian* yoke. The *Mermnadæ* were alſo, properly ſpeaking, *Heraclidæ*, being deſcended from one *Lemnos*, or as *Apollodorus* calls him, *Agelaus*, the ſon of *Hercules* by *Omphale*. The firſt king of this race was *Gyges*, and *Cræſus* the laſt.

Their character. As to their character, it muſt be conſidered at different times: under *Cræſus*, and ſome of his predeceſſors, they were without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and ſpread far and wide the terrour of their arms. But being afterwards ſubdued by the *Perſians*, and enjoyned by *Cyrus* according to the advice given him by *Cræſus* (Y), to wear long veſts and apply themſelves to ſuch arts and callings only as had a natural tendency to debauch

[g] HERODOT. lib. i. c. 6. et ſeq.

(Y) The *Lydians*, not long after they were conquered by *Cyrus*, rebelled at the inſtigation of one *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, whom *Cyrus* had truſted with the gold which he had found in the treaſury of *Cræſus* at *Sardis*. With this gold *Pactyas* putting to ſea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raiſed a conſiderable army of mercenaries, marched to *Sardis*, where he beſieged *Tobalus*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to *Cyrus* as he was leading his army againſt the *Babylonians*, *Bactrians* and *Egyptians*, he reſolved to march back into *Lydia*, ſell all the *Lydians* for ſlaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This reſolution he imparted to king *Cræſus* at that time his priſoner, who fearing the utter ruin of his country, earneſtly intreated him to forgive the *Lydians*, and wreak his juſt anger on *Pactyas* alone, by whom they had been ſeduced, adviſing him at the ſame time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid

bauch their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a moſt voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and entirely given up to idleneſs, pleaſures and diverſions.

The ſoil.

THE ſoil of this country by reaſon of the many rivers that watered it was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all ſorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquiſite wines. It was enriched with ſeveral mines, whence *Cræſus* is ſaid to have drawn his immenſe wealth.

Religion.

As to the religion of the *Lydians* it ſeems to have been much the ſame with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already ſpoke of; they worſhipped *Diana*, *Jupiter* and *Cybele* at *Magneſia* under the name of *Sypilene*; for in the alliance concluded between thoſe of *Smyrna* and *Magneſia* on the *Mæander* in favour of king *Seleucus Callinicius* both parties ſwore, as appears from the *Arundelian* marbles, by the goddeſs *Sypilene*. She borrowed this name from mount *Sypilus*, or perhaps from a town of the ſame name, which, as *Strabo* informs us[h], was ruined by an earth-quake in the reign of *Tantalus*. In the ſame city of *Magneſia* ſtood a temple of *Diana Leucophryna* no ways inferior to the ſo much celebrated temple of *Diana Epheſiana*.

The manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Lydians.

THE cuſtoms of the *Lydians* were, as *Herodotus* informs us[i], much the ſame with thoſe of the *Greeks*, except that they uſed to proſtitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by proſtitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleaſed. They puniſhed idleneſs as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardſhips. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as ſome have pretended to argue from *Jeremiah*[k]; but long ſpears, ſuch as were anciently uſed by the horſe; and in horſemanſhip, if *Herodotus* is to be credited[l], the *Lydians* far excelled all other nations. They were the firſt that introduced the art of coining gold and ſilver, to facilitate

[h] STRAB. l. i. p. 38.
[k] Jerem. xlvi. 9.
[l] HERODOT. l. i. c. 93, 94.
[l] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. c. 79.

forbid the *Lydians* the uſe of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cauſe their children to be brought up to ſuch callings only, as were moſt capable of debauching their minds, and inclining them to idleneſs. This advice was followed by *Cyrus*, and in a ſhort time the *Lydians* became the moſt lewd and debauched nation under the ſun (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i. *c.* 154—156.

litate trade; the first that sold by retail, that kept eating-houses and taverns, that invented publick sports and shews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*, who borrowed them of the *Tuscans*, descended, as we shall see anon, from the *Lydians*. *Herodotus* informs us [m] on what occasion they invented those public and several other private diversions. During the reign of *Atys* the son of *Menes*, a great scarcity of provisions prevailed all over the kingdom of *Lydia*, which the inhabitants endured for several years with an astonishing patience. but as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversion, and some inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and such other diversions as were in ancient times used among the *Greeks*, chess only excepted, whereof the *Lydians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diversions, they used to play one whole day without intermission, eating and drinking the next day without amusing themselves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately fasting, and feasting as the scarcity of their provisions could well allow, finding that their calamities increased rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies, commanding them to determine by lot, which of the two should remain at home, and which go abroad in quest of new feats, since their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his son *Tyrrhenus* to command those, who should be obliged to remove, he himself remaining to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay. Those, who by lot were constrained to abandon their country, marched to *Smyrna*, where they equipped a small fleet, and putting to sea, after many adventures arrived in that part of *Italy* which was then called *Umbria*, and now *Tuscany*. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called *Lydians*, but *Tyrrhenians* from their leader *Tyrrhenus*.

Commerce. THE trade of the ancient *Lydians* is no-where mentioned; but we may suppose it to have been very considerable, especially under the latter kings, when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory; whosoever considers the splendor of this monarchy, and commodious situation of the country, cannot doubt but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immense riches, not only of the *Lydian* princes, but of several private persons. *Herodotus* [n] mentions one by name *Pythius*, who not only en-

[m] HERODOT. ubi supra. c. 93, 94. [n] HERODOT. lib. vii. c. 27.

tertained

tertained *Xerxes* and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade *Greece*; but made him a proffer of two thousand talents of silver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety-three thousand pieces of gold bearing the stamp of *Darius*, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The same *Pythius* had presented *Darius*, father to *Xerxes*, with a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, and was reckoned, after the kings of *Persia*, the richest man in the then known world.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Lydia.

THE first king of *Lydia* we find mentioned in history is *Masnes*, or *Manes*, as *Herodotus* calls him [o]. He is said to have been the son of the earth, which, in the language of the ancients, denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous king of *Lydia*, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright living at *Cyma*, was raised to the throne of *Lydia*. The same author adds, that as the *Lydians* were disbursing the money for his ransom, a citizen of *Cyma*, for whom the slave was at that time making a cart, insisted on his finishing what he had in hand before he was set at liberty, protesting that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of *Lydia*, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate slave may have been *Masnes*, since he in regard of his mean descent is called by the ancients son of the earth. *Heraclides* does not tell us what induced the *Lydians* to place a slave on the throne; but we may suppose this to have been brought about by the advice of some oracle, as it happened in the case of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*; for *Heraclides* informs us, that the *Lydians* chose a slave for their king, in hopes of being rescued by his means from the oppressions they groaned under. Masnes.

Masnes was succeeded by his son *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his son *Atys*, in whose reigns as the country was overstocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the space of eighteen years, and obliged the king to divide his subjects, keeping one half of them at home, and sending the other abroad in quest of new settlements under the conduct of his younger son *Tyrrhenus*. Cotys. Atys.

Atys was succeeded by his son *Lydus*, from whom the country had the name of *Lydia*, having been called to that time *Mæonia*. Lydus.

[o] Idem l. i. c. 94.

Alcymus. *Alcymus* appears next: it is uncertain whom he succeeded: he is represented as an excellent prince, and is said to have had nothing so much at heart, as the welfare of his subjects; whence in the seventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as *Suidas* informs, to offer up prayers and sacrifices for his health and prosperity. *Stephanus* calls him *Alciamus*, and adds, that in his time the city of *Ascalon* was built by *Ascalus* son of *Hymenæus*, and brother to *Tantalus*, who conducted an army of *Lydians* into *Syria*.

Adrymetes. *Adrymetes* or *Adramytis* is mentioned by *Athenæus*, and said to have been the first that employed women in such ministeries as other kings had done eunuchs.

Cambletes. *Cambletes*, *Camblitas*, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. *Athenæus* says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death.

Tmolus. *Tmolus* put an end to his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as *Plutarch* acquaints us [a], by *Diana* for ravishing one of her followers by name *Arrhipe*.

Theoclymenus. *Theoclymenus* succeeded his father *Tmolus*, of whom we find nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount *Tmolus*, which from him had its name.

Marsyas. AFTER *Theoclymenus Marsyas* reigned, who, on what occasion we know not, coming into *Italy*, built there, as we are told by *Solinus* [b], the city of *Archippena*.

Jardanes. *Jardanes* succeeded *Marsyas*, and in his reign all manner of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to such a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal palace against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lusts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince.

Omphale. ON the death of *Jardanes* his daughter *Omphale* was by the unannimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father's life-time, and by causing the slaves all over the kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with *Hercules* she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named *Alcæus*.

Alcæus. *Omphale* was succeeded by her son *Alcæus*, according to some authors, who will have him to have been the first king of *Lydia* of the race of *Hercules*.

[a] PLUTARCH. de fluviis. [b] SOLINUS, lib. vii.

AFTER *Alcæus* reigned *Belus*, and after *Belus* his ſon *Ninus*, of whom we know nothing but their bare names. Ninus.

Argon ſucceeded his father *Ninus*, and is ſaid to have tranſferred the royal ſeat to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have *Argon* to have been the firſt of the deſcendants of *Hercules* that reigned in *Lydia*. Argon.

Argon was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leon*, *Leon* by *Adryſus*, who reigned thirty-ſix years; *Adryſus* by *Alyactes* who reigned fourteen; and *Alyactes* by *Meles*, who reigned twelve. Leon, &c.

Candaules the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt king of this ſecond race, and loſt by his imprudence both his life and kingdom. The fact is thus related by *Herodotus*[P]: He had a wife whom he paſſionately loved, and believed the moſt beautiful of her ſex. He extolled her charms above meaſure to *Gyges*, his favourite, whom he uſed to entruſt with his moſt important affairs; and the more to convince him of her beauty, reſolved to ſhew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen uſed to undreſs when ſhe went to bed, ordering him to retire after ſeeing her, and take all poſſible care not to be obſerved. But notwithſtanding all the caution he could uſe, ſhe plainly diſcovered him going out, and though ſhe did not doubt but it was her huſband's contrivance, yet ſhe paſſed that night in a ſeeming tranquility, ſuppreſſing her reſentment to the next morning, when ſhe ſent for *Gyges*, and reſolutely told him that he muſt either with his death atone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death *Candaules* the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* at firſt earneſtly begged of her that ſhe would not drive him to the neceſſity of ſuch a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he muſt either kill his maſter, or die himſelf, he choſe the former, and being led by the queen to the ſame place, where her huſband had placed him the night before, he ſtabbed the king while he was aſleep, and at the ſame time married the queen, and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the anſwer of the *Delphic* oracle. For the *Lydians* having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of *Gyges*, that if the oracle ſhould declare him to be lawful king of *Lydia*, he ſhould be permitted to reign; if not, he ſhould reſign the crown to the *Heraclydæ*. The anſwer of the oracle proved favourable to *Gyges*, whereupon he was univerſally acknowledged for lawful king of *Lydia*. Candaules. *Year of the flood* 1613. *Before Chriſt* 735.

[P] HERODOT. l. i. c. 8, 9, 10.

Candaules is said [r] to have purchased a picture, done be one *Bularchas*, and representing a battle of the *Magnetes*, for its weight in gold, which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for *Candaules* was contemporary with *Romulus*.

Gyges. *Year of the flood* 1668. *Before Christ* 680.

Gyges having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of *Lydia*, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of *Delphos*, among the others six cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Colophon*, and subdued the whole country of *Troas*. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of *Abydus* was built by the *Milesians*. *Plutarch* and other writers relate his accession to the crown of *Lydia* in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that *Gyges* rebelled against *Candaules* and slew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* [s], and *Tully* [t], we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*, *Suidas*, *Philostratus*, &c. *Gyges* reigned thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son *Ardyes*.

Ardyes. *Year of the flood* 1710. *Before Christ* 638.

Ardyes or *Ardys* carried on the war against the *Milesians*, which his father had begun, and possessed himself of *Priene*, in those days a strong city. In the reign of this prince the *Cimmerians* invaded and over-ran all *Asia Minor*; but what battles were fought between the *Lydians* and these invaders, and with what success, we find no where mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us [u], that in the time of *Ardyes* they possessed themselves of *Sardis* the metropolis of *Lydia*, but could never win the castle. *Ardyes* reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son.

Sadyattes.

Sadiattes, who reigned twelve years, and warred most part of his reign with the *Milesians* [w].

Alyattes. *Year of the flood* 1729. *Before Christ* 619.

AFTER him came his son *Alyattes*, who for the space of six years waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* [x]. Certain *Scythians* being driven out of their own country on occasion of a sedition that happened among them, they retired into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* received them with great humanity, and as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be instructed in the use of the bow, and in the *Scythian* tongue. The strangers were great sportsmen, and used daily to supply the king's table with game, which they dressed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, *Cyaxares*, as he was of a violent

[r] PLIN. lib. xxxv. c. 8.
[s] PLATO de rep. l. xi. & x.
[t] CIC. lib. iii. de off.
[u] HERODOT. ubi supra. c. 15.
[w] Idem. ibid. c. 16.
[x] Idem. ibid. c. 73, et seq.

temper,

temper, treated them with moſt opprobrious language, which the *Scythians* reſenting, agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and ſerve his fleſh up to the king's table dreſſed like veniſon. This they effected, and then made their eſcape into *Lydia*, where they were kindly entertained by *Alyattes*, which, according to *Herodotus*, gave occaſion to a war that laſted ſix years, *Cyaxares* demanding the *Scythians*, and *Alyattes* refuſing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various ſucceſs, the *Medes* ſometimes defeating the *Lydians*, and the *Lydians* ſometimes the *Medes*. In the ſixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a ſudden turned into night (Z), which ſo frightened both the *Lydians* and *Medes*, that they gave over fighting, and ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediation of *Syenneſis* king of *Cilicia*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*. The peace was ratified by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Alyattes*, and *Aſtyages* the ſon of *Cyaxares* (A). A peace being thus concluded between the *Lydians* and *Medes*, *Alyattes* employed all his forces againſt the *Scythians*, and after a war, which laſted ſeveral years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of ſo troubleſome gueſts. He was attended with the like ſucceſs in the war he undertook againſt the *Smyrneans*, whom he worſted in ſeveral battles, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of their capital and whole country. He continued for the ſpace of five years the war, which his father had begun againſt the *Mileſians*, ravaging their country, and about harveſt-time carrying away all their corn yearly, in order to oblige them for want of proviſions to ſurrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the *Mileſians* being at that time maſters of the ſea. In the 12th year of this war

(Z) This total eclipſe fell upon the 28th of *May*, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian* ſome years before.

(A) The account which *Herodotus* gives us of the cauſe of this war ſeems to ſome writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the *Scythians* falling out among themſelves ſhould have had recourſe to either of thoſe kings, whoſe countries the *Scythians* had overrun, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery he had ſhewn, in maſſacring ſuch of their countrymen as had ſettled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that *Aylattes* being jealous of the too great power of *Cyaxares* (who had ſeized, after the conqueſt of *Nineveh*, the regions belonging to the *Aſſyrians* as far as to the river *Halys*) entered into an alliance with the *Scythians* againſt the *Medes*, and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the *Lydians* and *Scythians*.

the *Lydians* having set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at that time, to the temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*, and burnt it down to the ground. Not long after, *Alyattes* falling sick sent to consult the oracle at *Delphos*, which refused to return any answer till such time as the king should rebuild the temple of *Minerva* ar *Assesus*. Hereupon *Alyattes* dispatched embassadors to *Miletus*, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the *Milesians* till the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the embassadors *Thrasybulus*, then king of *Miletus*, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public, and revel, as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This *Thrasybulus* did to the end that the embassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people every-where diverting themselves, might acquaint their master therewithal, and divert him from pursuing the war. As *Thrasybulus* had designed, so it happened; for *Alyattes*, who believed the *Milesians* greatly distressed for provisions, receiving a quite different account from his embassadors, changed the truce into a lasting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendship with *Thrasybulus* and the *Milesians*[y]. *Alyattes* had two sons, *Crœsus* by a *Carian*, and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*. *Crœsus* succeeded his father after he had reigned fifty-seven years.

Crœsus. *Year of the flood* 1786. *Before Christ* 562.

Crœsus succeeding his father at the age of thirty-five years enlarged his dominions so as to be no ways inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchies, *viz.* of *Media*, of *Babylon*, and of *Egypt*. *Crœsus* was the first that made war on the *Ephesians*, whose city he besieged and took, notwithstanding their consecrating it to *Diana*, and fastening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was seven stades distant from the city. After the reduction of *Ephesus* he attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, obliging them, and all the other *Greek* states of *Asia*, to pay him a yearly tribute. He also formed a design of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the islands, but was diverted from this thought by *Bias* of *Priene*, or, as others say, by *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* (B). Not long after he subdued the *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*,

[y] Idem. ib. c. 17, & seq.

(B) *Bias* arriving at *Sardis* from *Greece* told *Crœsus* inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the islanders had bought ten thousand horses with a design to attack him by land, which *Crœsus* believing, thanked the gods for inspiring them with such

Chalybes, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphilians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys* [z]. *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* mentions a signal victory of his over the *Sacæans*, a *Scythian* nation, in memory whereof the *Babylonians*, his allies, yearly celebrated a feast, which they called *Sacæa*. *Cræsus* having by these victories acquired great fame and renown, many wise men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpose to see him, and among others *Solon*, who after publishing his laws at *Athens*, had absented himself from his country, under pretence of travelling, for the space of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the constitutions which he had established; for the *Athenians* could make no alteration of themselves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at *Sardis*, he was with great humanity entertained by *Cræsus* in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, *Cræsus* asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But *Solon*, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain truth, answered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happiest man he had ever seen (C). *Cræsus* again asked him who was the happiest man after *Tellus*, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to *Cleobis* and *Biton*, two *Argives* (D). *Cræsus* shewing himself highly dissatisfied with *Solon* for prefering such a resolution, as knowing that the main strength of his army consisted in cavalry. Then *Bias* acquainted him, that the islanders had no such design, but were no less pleased in hearing that he designed to attack them by sea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack them by land. Whereupon *Cræsus*, being fully apprised of the rashness of his design, laid it aside, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* that inhabited the islands.

(C) *Tellus* was an *Athenian*, had many virtuous children, who all survived him, and after having enjoyed all the happiness, which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle fought at *Eleusis* against the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the *Athenians* at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two *Greeks* proved victorious in the *Olympic* games, and

[z] Idem ibid. c. 26, & seq.

ing the condition of private men to that of ſo rich and powerful a prince as he, the philoſopher informed him, that it was impoſſible to judge of the happineſs of any man before death, and that all things ought to be meaſured by their end. Whereupon he was diſmiſſed by *Cræſus* as a man of no experience [a]. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræſus* loſt his favourite ſon *Atys*, who was unfortunately kill'd at the chace of a wild boar by *Adraſtus*, ſon of *Gordius*, and grandſon of *Mydas* king of *Phrygia*, who had fled to *Sardis* for refuge [b]. This loſs was no ſmall allay to his happineſs, for he continued diſconſolate the ſpace of two whole years, and in a ſtate of inaction, till the conqueſts of *Cyrus*, and growing power of the *Perſians* rouſed up his martial ſpirits, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended that the good ſucceſs, which attended *Cyrus* in all his undertakings, might at laſt prove dangerous to himſelf, and therefore reſolved to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to his conqueſt. To this end he conſulted all the oracles of any fame either in *Greece* or *Afric* (E), he ſtrengthened himſelf with alliances, and, having raiſed what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*,

[a] Idem ibid. c. 30, & ſeq. [b] Idem ibid. c. 43.

and all other public ſports. Their mother was a prieſteſs of *Juno*, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither ſhe ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her ſons ſeeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themſelves, and drew the chariot the ſpace of forty-five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were aſſembled at the temple, and their mother, tranſported with joy in ſeeing her ſons ſo much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddeſs that ſhe would reward her children with what ſhe thought would prove moſt advantagious to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the uſual ſacrifices banquetted with her ſons, they both fell aſleep and died in the temple. Upon which the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, cauſed their ſtatues to be made and dedicated at *Delphos* (31).

(E) We are told by *Herodotus* (32) that *Cræſus* ſent embaſſadors to the oracles of *Delphos*, of *Abe*, of *Phocis*, of *Amphiarans*, of *Trophonius*, of *Branchis*, and of *Jupiter Ammon*, enjoining them to propoſe, each to the oracle he was to conſult, and all on the ſame day, the following queſtion: *What is* Cræſus *the ſon of* Alyates, *king of* Lydia, *now doing?* What anſwer the other oracles returned we find nowhere mentioned; but that of *Delphos*, as *Herodotus* informs us, anſwered thus: *I know the number of the ſands of* Lybia, *the meaſure of the ocean, the ſecrets of the ſilent and dumb lie open to me. I ſmell the odour of a lamb and tortoiſe boiling together in a brazen cauldron;*

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i. (32) *Idem ibid* 46, 47, & ſeq.

padocia, then belonging to the *Perſians*, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of *Sinope* on the *Euxine* ſea, took the city of *Pteria*, and laid waſte all the adjacent country. *Cyrus* hearing of the enemies motions, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and marching into *Cappadocia*, encamped in ſight of the *Lydian* army. Here after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came at laſt to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both ſides. The night coming on, both armies parted on equal terms. But *Cræſus* fearing to venture a ſecond battle, as his forces were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of *Cyrus*, retired in the night-

cauldron; braſs is under, and braſs above the fleſh. *Cræſus* hearing this anſwer, adored the god of *Delphos*, and owned that the oracle had ſpoke truth; for on the ſame day that his embaſſadors conſulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoiſe in a cauldron of braſs, which had a cover of the ſame metal, thinking it impoſſible that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediately offered to the *Delphic Apollo* a ſacrifice conſiſting of 3000 oxen; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought out beds of gold and ſilver, veſſels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. On this occaſion ſo much gold was melted down, that one hundred and ſeventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longeſt were ſix ſpans in length, the ſhorteſt three, but all one ſpan in thickneſs. Theſe with a golden lion weighing ten talents, and many other rich preſents *Cræſus* ſent to the *Delphic* oracle, enjoining his embaſſadors to enquire whether he ſhould undertake a war againſt the *Perſians*. The oracle returned this anſwer; *If* Cœſus *paſſes the* Halys, *he will put an end to a vaſt empire*, which was capable of being interpreted either of *Perſia* or *Lydia*. *Cræſus* hearing this anſwer, and not doubting in the leaſt, but that he ſhould overturn the *Perſian* monarchy, ſent more preſents to the oracle, and two ſtaters of gold to each of the inhabitants of *Delphos*. In conſideration of which, the *Delphians* granted *Cræſus* and the *Lydians* a right to conſult the oracle before any other nation, together with the firſt place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. *Cræſus*, having made theſe preſents, ſent a third time to conſult the oracle whether he ſhould long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle anſwered, *That he ſhould reign till a mule ruled over the* Medes, which *Cræſus* deeming impoſſible, concluded that he and his poſterity were to hold the kingdom of *Lydia* for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant *Cyrus*, whoſe parents were of different nations, his mother being a *Mede*, and his father a *Perſian*. And now *Cræſus* relying on theſe fallacious anſwers, and believing himſelf invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Cyrus* at the head of a powerful army.

time,

time, and marched with all poſſible expedition to *Sardis*, where he diſbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the leaſt apprehend that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. *Cyrus*, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, reſolved to purſue him to *Sardis*, and oblige him to venture a ſecond battle before his allies could join him. This reſolution was executed with ſuch expedition, that *Cyrus* at the head of his army appeared in the plains of *Sardis*, before *Crœſus* had any intelligence of his deſign. The *Lydians* were ſtrangely alarmed at ſo bold an attempt, which they had neither foreſeen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were ſtill remaining, marched out againſt the *Perſians*, by whom, after a ſharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*, which was ſoon after taken by aſſault, and *Crœſus* himſelf made priſoner. In the taking of the town *Crœſus* himſelf had been killed, had not his ſecond ſon, who to that time had been ſpeechleſs, cried out to the *Perſian* who was ready to ſtrike, *Spare Crœſus.* Whereupon he was againſt his will ſaved and carried to *Cyrus*, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a deſign to burn him and fourteen young *Lydians* in honour of the gods, as a ſacrifice and the firſt-fruits of his victory. Then *Crœſus* recollecting the words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philoſopher's name; which *Cyrus* hearing, and underſtanding what induced him to invoke *Solon*, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and counſellors [c]. *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus* received his royal priſoner with great kindneſs and humanity, when he was firſt preſented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in *Herodotus.* The firſt favour *Crœſus* begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to ſend his fetters to the oracle of *Delphos*, as the trophies of the ſucceſs which *Apollo* had promiſed him. This favour *Cyrus* willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the prieſts, convinced *Crœſus* that he and not *Apollo* was to blame (F) [d]. Thus ended the ancient kingdom of *Lydia*, con-

Crœſus *taken.* *Year of the flood* 1799. *Before Chriſt* 549.

[c] Id. ibid. c. 71—87. [d] Idem ibid. c. 90, 91. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. Valeſ. excerpt. DIODOR. SICUL. p. 241. PLUTARCH. in Solon. Polyæn. Stratagem. l. vii. in Cyro Crœſo, & Solino in Polyhiſtor. c. 1.

(F) The oracle anſwered, that the god himſelf could not reverſe the decrees of fate, and that *Crœſus*, in the fifth generation ſuffered

continuing subject to the *Persians*, till they also were conquered by the *Macedonians*, as we have seen in the foregoing part of this history.

suffered for the crime of one, who at the instigation of a woman, had murdered his master, and possessed himself of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no reason to complain; for *Apollo* only foretold that by making war on the *Persians*, he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he desired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of *Cyrus* was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of suing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfal was entirely owing to himself. *Crœsus*, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle from all suspicion of falshood.

CHAP. XV.

The History of the Lycians.

Name and divisions.

THE country before us was at first called *Mylias*, or *Tremile*, from the *Myliæ*, a people of *Crete* that settled there, as *Herodotus* [a] and *Stephanus* inform us, and afterwards *Lycia* from *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty-sixth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by *Caria* on the west, by *Pamphylia* on the east, by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphylia* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south.

This country was divided into two parts, the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean*, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were *Telmessus* or *Telmissus*, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are said to have been the first pretenders to interpretation of dreams. *Patara*, situated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of *Apollo*, no ways inferior to that of *Delphos*. At *Patara Apollo* was said to reside the six winter months, and the six summer months at *Delos*, whence the epithets of *Patarœus Apollo* [b] and *Sortes Lyciæ* [c]. This city was greatly improved and embellished by *Ptolemœus Philadelphus*, and called *Arsinoe* from his wife who bore that name, but the

[a] Herodot. l. i. c. 173. & vii. c. 92. [b] Horat. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4. [c] Virgil. Æneid. iv. ver. 346.

former

former name prevailed. *Myra* built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coaſt, mentioned in the *Acts* [d]. This city was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* province, and of conſequence in the chriſtian times an archbiſhop's ſee. *Olympus* a famous city with a mountain of the ſame name. *Phaſelis* on the borders of *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, and therefore by ſome placed in *Pamphilia*, by others more accurately in *Lycia*. This city in the time of the *Romans* was a famous neſt of pyrates, but was at laſt reduced by *Servilius*, while *Pompey* ſcoured the ſea with a numerous fleet. To the pyrates of this town former ages were indebted for thoſe ſwift veſſels, which the *Romans* from the place call *Phaſeli*, and we *Brigantines*. We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Lycia*. *Strabo* reckons it in the following towns, *Pinara*, *Cragus*, at the foot of a hill bearing the ſame name, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. *Ptolomy* adds to the *Mediterranean* part of *Lycia* two ſmall countries, viz. *Milias* on the weſt bordering on *Caria*, and *Cabalia* on the eaſt bordering on *Lycia Proper*. But *Strabo* places *Milias* on the borders of *Piſidia* and *Pamphilia*. The inland part of *Lycia* was divided by the river *Xanthus*, which riſing in two ſprings from the foot of mount *Cadmus*, and waſhing the walls of *Xanthus*, a city formerly of ſome note, diſcharges itſelf into the *Mediterranean*. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of *Lycia*, were called *Xanthians*. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all *Aſia*, is mount *Taurus*, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eaſtward to the great oriental ocean. In *Lycia* was alſo the famous mountain *Chimæra*, which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infeſted with ſerpents, the middle parts afforded paſture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occaſion to the poets to paint it as a monſter with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a ſerpent. This mountain was firſt planted, and rendered habitable by *Bellerophon*, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monſter.

Soil and climate. The ſoil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholſome. It is plentifully watered with ſmall rivers running down from mount *Taurus*, which often ſwell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increaſed by the melting of the ſnows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Their origin. As to the origin of the *Lycians*, *Herodotus* and others [e] inform us, that they were deſcended from the *Cretans*; for

[d] Act. xxvii. 5. [e] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Strab. lib. xiv. p. 557. Pausanias, lib. vii.

Sarpedon

Sarpedon being driven out of the iſland by his brother *Minos*, and landing in *Aſia* with thoſe *Cretans* who had ſided with him, ſettled in *Mylias*, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the ancient proprietors, whom *Herodotus* calls *Milyans* and *Solymi*. During the reign of *Sarpedon* they continued to be called *Cretans*, but after his death took the name of *Lycians* from *Lycus* the ſon of *Pandion* king of *Athens*, who, being forced by his brother *Ægeus* to quit his native country, had fled to *Sarpedon*. Hence the poets, and with them *Strabo*, ſeem to confound the *Lycians* with the *Carians*, who were undoubtedly deſcended from the *Cretans*. But *Diodorus Siculus* [f] and *Plato* [g] before him, counts the *Lycians* among the *Greek* nations of *Aſia*, as being deſcended from the *Argivi*. But not to dwell on ſuch uncertainties, the *Lycians* were once a very powerful and warlike people, conſidering the ſmallneſs of their country. They had, according to *Strabo* [h], three and twenty, according to *Pliny* [i] ſix and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their power on the ſeas as far as *Italy*.

Their manners, government, &c.

THE *Lycians* are highly commended by the ancient writers for their ſobriety and manner of adminiſtering juſtice. They had in latter ages twenty-three conſiderable cities, each of which ſent their deputies to a general aſſembly or diet, the great cities three, the leſſer two, and the leaſt one only. In this aſſembly all matters of conſequence were canvaſſed, and determined by the majority of votes. They choſe in the firſt place the preſident of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they adminiſtred juſtice, ſettled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, *&c.* Whence we may conclude, that their government, at leaſt in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no ways abſolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, as *Strabo* informs us [k], but with this difference, that the conſent of the *Roman* governor, and, in matters of moment, of the ſenate, was requiſite for the validity of ſuch acts and decrees as had paſſed in their aſſembly. Their government was at firſt monarchical, and the country parcelled out into ſeveral petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus*, and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the ſame time; if we will not rather ſuppoſe the government to have been ariſtocratical, and

[f] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16. [g] PLATO in Minoe. [h] STRAB. ubi ſup. [i] PLIN. l. v. c. 27. [k] STRAB. ubi ſup.

theſe

theſe families to have bore the greateſt ſway in the adminiſtration. But be that as it will, in proceſs of time all *Lycia* became ſubject to one prince; for *Herodotus* in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming of *Xerxes*'s fleet mentions but one king of *Lycia*, by name *Cybernifcus* [l]. This nation, as moſt of the other nations of *Aſia*, was firſt ſubdued by *Cræſus* or the *Lydians*, and after the downfal of the *Lydian* kingdom, by *Cyrus*. The courage, reſolution, and intrepidity with which the *Lycians* of *Xanthus* oppoſed *Harpagus* the *Perſian* general, deſerves particular notice. For inſtead of tamely ſubmitting, like their neighbours, to the *Perſian* yoke, they attacked with a handful of men *Harpagus*'s numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the diſadvantages imaginable. But being over-powered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, where they had ſhut up their wives, children, ſlaves, and all their riches; and then engaging themſelves by a ſolemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man [m]. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were ſubdued by the *Perſians*, but paid an annual tribute to the king of *Perſia*. They fell with the *Perſians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and after the death of *Alexander* were governed by the *Seleucidæ*. Of theſe *Antiochus the Great* being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, *Lycia* was granted to the *Rhodians*; but theſe diſobliging the *Romans* in the war with *Perſeus*, *Lycia* was declared a free country, and continued to be ſo till the reign of *Claudius*, who, provoked at their inteſtine diſſenſions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR cuſtoms were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Cretans* and *Carians*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. But they had one cuſtom peculiar to themſelves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, ſo that if any one was aſked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourſe to the female line. Beſides, if a free-born woman married a ſlave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but on the contrary, if a man of ever ſo great a family married a ſlave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours, or bearing any public employment [n]. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the ſame with that

[l] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 78.
[m] HERODOT. l. i. c. 176.
[n] HERODOT. l. i. c. 173.

of

of the inhabitants of *Crete*, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the *Greek* islands.

The succession of the kings of *Lycia*, and the years of their respective reigns are overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention but of three kings of all *Lycia* that we are sure of.

Amisodarus, who is fabled to have nourished the monster *Chimæra*.

Jobates, who married his daughter *Sthenobæa*, or, as others call her, *Antæa* to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against the *Tirynthians*, in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them. His daughter *Sthenobæa* falling in love with *Bellerophontes*, the son of *Glaucus* king of *Ephyra*, and having sollicited him in vain to comply with her unchaste desires, complained to her husband as if she had been solicited by him. Whereupon *Prætus*, being unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality by putting a stranger to death in his own kingdom, sent him into *Lycia* with letters to *Jobates* his father-in-law, requesting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates* thinking it a base thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a stranger, sent him with a small body of troops against the *Solymi*, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he should there find his doom. But *Bellerophon* returned from this, and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only safe, but victorious; whereupon *Jobates* being reconciled to him, and discovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

Many years after reigned *Cybernisicus*, who was one of *Xerxes*'s admirals in his expedition against *Greece*[m]. And this is all we find upon record concerning the ancient kings of *Lycia*.

The History of the ancient Cilicians.

Name and divisions.

Cilicia, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix* the son of *Agenor*, and brother to *Cadmus*, who is said by them to have settled in this country, as we have observed elsewhere[n]. *Josephus*[o] tells us, that it was anciently called *Tarsis* from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, who first peopled this part of *Asia*; and of the same opinion are

[m] Herodot. l. vii. c. 78. [n] Vol. II. p. 357, 358. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7.

Stephanus [q], *Zonarus* [r], and *Hierom* [s]; but the latter by *Tarsis*, in scripture sometimes understands *Carthage* [t], sometimes a province in *India* [u], and sometimes the sea [w]. *Bochart* [x] derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phænician* word *Challekim*, or *Challukim*, signifying a stone, that part of *Cilicia*, which the *Greeks* call *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very stony, and to this day called by the *Turks Tas Wileieth*, that is, the stony province.

Cilicia properly so called lies between the 36th and 40th degree of north latitude, and is bounded by *Syria* on the east, or rather by mount *Amanus*, which separates it from that kingdom, by *Pamphilia* on the west, by *Isauria*, *Cappadocia* and *Armenia Minor* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the last province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out against the *Ottoman* race. This province is so surrounded by steep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of resolute men against a whole army how numerous soever, there being but three narrow passes leading into it, commonly called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or the gates of *Cilicia*, one on the side of *Cappadocia* called the pass of mount *Taurus*, and the other two called the pass of mount *Amanus*, and the pass of *Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The *Persian* army marched through the straits of mount *Amanus*, while that of *Alexander* was encamped at *Issus* not far from the straits of *Syria*, which lie more to the south, and were guarded by a body of *Macedonians* under the command of *Parmenio*; the straits of mount *Taurus Alexander* had passed in entering *Cilicia*, the *Persians* who guarded that important pass having retired at the approach of the *Macedonians*.

Cities of Cilicia Aspera.

THE whole country was divided by the ancients into *Cilicia Aspera* and *Cilicia Campestris*; the former called by the *Greeks Trachæa* or stony, is bounded by *Isauria* on the north, *Pamphylia* on the west, *Cilicia Campestris* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. The cities in this part of *Cilicia* mentioned by the ancients, are *Sydra*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Syedra*, *Nagidus*, a *Samian* colony, *Animurium*, *Arsione*, *Celenderis*, or *Celandris*, *Aphrodisias*, so called from *Venus*, who was worshipped there in a stately temple, *Holmus*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Holmia*, *Sarpedon* famous for a noble temple consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Lephyrium*, according to *Ptolemy*, the last city of *Cilicia Aspera*, which *Strabo* ex-

[q] STEPH. verbo Ταρσος. [r] ZONAR. tem. i. [s] HIERONYM. in quæst. Hebraic. [t] Idem, in cap. 23. Esa. [u] Idem, ad Marcell. [w] Idem, in cap. 10. Esa. [x] BOCHART. Phal. l. i. c. 5.

tends to *Solæ*. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Scylax* make no distinction between the two *Cilicia's*. Near *Lephyrium* was a grove much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by *Pomponius Mela* [y]. *Sebaste*, which *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* chose for his residence after he was by *Augustus* appointed king of *Cilicia Aspera*; this city was situate on a small island called *Eleusa*, and not on the continent, where *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have placed it. These were the towns of most note on the coast of *Cilicia Aspera*; the inland cities were, *Seleucia* built by *Seleucus Nicator* on the banks of the *Calycadnus*, and peopled by the inhabitants of *Holmus*; it was a free city under the *Romans*, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from several medals, at least to the time of the empetor *Gordian*. *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, *Lamus*, and in latter times *Scandeloro* on the confines of *Pamphilia*, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the *Caramanian* kings.

Cities of Cilicia Proper.

The chief cities of *Cilicia*, properly so called, or *Cilicia Campestris*, were, according to *Strabo*, *Soli*, or *Solæ*, built by the *Rhodians* and *Achæus*. This city was destroyed by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in his wars with the *Romans*, and rebuilt by *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius* [z] tells us, that this city was built by *Solon* on his return from the court of *Crœsus*, and peopled by a colony from *Athens*; and adds, that these *Athenians*, having in process of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the *Barbarians*, became remarkable for their rude pronounciation, and uncouth expressions, whence any impropriety of speech was called a *Solecism*. But this is contradicted by others [a], who derive the word *Solecism* not from the *Solenses* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus* [b]. *Tarsus*, which produced the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, and was, if we believe *Strabo* [c], in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to *Athens* or *Alexandria*. We are told that it borrowed its name from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, by whom or by his descendants it was built; but *Strabo* out of *Aristobulus* acquaints us, that it was built by *Sardanapalus*, and proves his assertion from an ancient monument found in those parts with this inscription, *Sardinapalus the son of* Anacyndaraxes *built the cities of* Anchiale *and* Tarsus *in one day* [d]. *Tarsus* was at first the metropolis of all *Cilicia*, and after *Constantine*'s division, of

[y] Pomp. Mela, apud Apollodor. i. c. 6. sect. iii. [z] Laert. in vitis Philosoph. [a] Strab l. xiv. p. 456. [b] Vid. Plut. in vita Solon. [c] Strab. l. xiv. p. 463. [d] Vol. iv. p. 301.

Cilicia Prima. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, which St. *Paul* thought fit to make use of according to the *Portian* law [d]. The *Tarsians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Julius Cæsar*, exchanged the antient name of their city with that of *Juliopolis*; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the *Greeks Tersia* or *Teraſſa*; the *Turks*, as *Bellonius* and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamsa*. *Anchiale*, built by *Sardanapalus*, as we hinted above, or, if we believe *Athenodorus*, by *Anchiale* the daughter of *Japhet*. *Anazarbum* situated on the river *Pyramus*, and in the *Roman* times the metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda*. *Suidas* tells us, that it was first called *Cyinda*, and afterwards *Anazarbum* from one *Anazarbus*, who was sent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly mistaken, since *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from mount *Anazarbus* at a small distance from the place where this city stood. *Anazarbum* was the birth place of *Dioscorides*, and continued in a very flourishing condition to the division of the empire. *Epiphania*, who gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*. *Mopsuestia*, the see of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, a great patron of the *Nestorian* heresy in the time of *Chrysostom*. *Issus* situated on a gulph to which it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulph on which it stands the gulph of *Ajazzo*. *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great* between *Issus* and the straits which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. *Ptolemy* places this city in *Syria*, but *Strabo* more rightly on the bay of *Issus*. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing cities of the world. *Alexander* in building it employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* burnt by *Eroſtratus* [e], and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from *Judæa* [f], allowing the *Jews* the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities and exemptions which he granted the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for such as traded on the *Mediterranean*, the *Red-Sea* and the *Nile*, it continued in a very flourishing condition, till trade took another course on the discovery of a way to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at present called by the *Turks*

[d] Act. xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii.
[e] Plin. l. v. c. 10.
[f] Joseph. contra Apion. l. ii.

Scan-

Scanderon, by the *Italians Alexandretta*; remarkable for nothing else but ſome ruins, which ſhew what it was in better times[f]. Several other cities are mentioned by the ancients, but as they were no ways conſiderable, and are at preſent quite unknown, we ſhall not dwell any longer on this ſubject.

Rivers.

THE rivers of any note in *Cilicia* are, the *Pyramus*, which riſes on the north ſide of mount *Taurus*, and empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* between *Iſſus* and *Magarſus*; the *Cednus*, which ſprings from the *Antitaurus*, paſſes through *Tarſus*, and diſembogues itſelf into the *Mediterranean* near the city of *Anchiale*; it is famous for the rapidity of it ſtream, and coldneſs of its waters, which proved very dangerous to *Alexander*; the *Calycadmus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, and ſeveral others of leſs note, water this province, and diſcharge themſelves into that part of the *Mediterranean*, which the ancients called the ſea of *Cilicia*, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from eaſt to weſt.

Soil and climate.

THAT part of *Cilicia*, which the ancients call *Cilicia Campeſtris*, was, if we believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, one of the moſt fruitful countries of all *Aſia*; but the weſtern part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horſes, of which 600 are yearly ſent to *Conſtantinople* for the ſpecial uſe of the *Grand Signior*. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholeſome, but equally dangerous on the coaſt, eſpecially to ſuch as are not cuſtomed to it.

Their origin.

THIS country, according to *Joſephus*[g], was firſt peopled by *Tarſhiſh* the ſon of *Javan* and his deſcendants, whence the whole country was called *Tarſis*, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of *Tarſus*, as ſome have wrote. The ancient inhabitants were in proceſs of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians*, who under the conduct of *Cilix* firſt ſettled in the iſland of *Cyprus*, and from thence paſſed into the country which from their leader they called *Cilicia*. *Strabo*[h] tells us, that this *Phœnician* colony paſſed from *Cyprus* into *Phrygia*, where they lived in ſubjection to the kings of *Troy*, and after the *Trojan* war poſſeſſed themſelves of that country, which was afterwards called *Cilicia*. In tract of time ſeveral colonies from other countries ſettled in this kingdom, namely from *Syria* and *Greece*, whence the *Cilicians* in ſome places uſed the *Greek* tongue, in others the *Syriac*, but the former greatly corrupted by the *Perſian*, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

[f] Vol. I. p. 404. [g] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [h] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 342.

Their manners, government, &c.

THE *Cilicians*, if we believe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. They first began together with the *Pamphylians* in the time of the *Mithridatic* war to infest the neighbouring coasts, and being emboldened with success soon ventured as far as the coasts of *Greece* and *Italy* itself, where they took innumerable slaves, whom they sold to the *Cypriots*, and the kings of *Eygpt* and *Syria*. *Publius Servilius* was first employed against them, who gave them a great overthrow in a sea-engagement, took *Phaselis* and several other strong-holds, whither they used to retire, and ravaged the whole country. But scarce was he with-drawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the *Ionian*, *Mediterranean*, and *Archipelago*, with their vessels so as to entirely obstruct the navigation. Whereupon *Pompey* himself did not think it beneath his greatness to undertake a war against them, which he ended in the space of one month, having at the same time attacked them both by sea and land with 500 ships, and 130,000 men.

IN ancient times the *Cilicians*, before they settled in that country which we call *Cilicia*, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, *viz.* the *Theban* and the *Lyrnessian*; in the former ruled the family of *Eetion*, in the latter that of *Evenus*. These kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of *Thebes* and *Lyrnessus*, two cities in the famous plain called the *plain of Thebes*, often mentioned both by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as having been the occasion of frequent disputes between the *Lydians* and *Mysians*, and in the *Roman* times between the neighbouring princes of *Asia Minor*. After the settling of the *Cilicians* in that country which from them was called *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily submitted, continuing subject to the *Persians* till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* by kings of their own nation. *Herodotus* indeed counts *Cilicia* among the *Persian Satrapies*[1];

[1] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 90.

(G) Which gave rise to the proverbs, *Cilix haud facile verum dicit*; *Cilicium exitium*; and to the saying of *Pherecrates*, *Dii semper nobis imponunt, more Ciliacium*; that is, *A* Cilician *scarce ever speaks the truth*, Cilician *cruelty*. *The gods, like the* Cilicians, *always deceive us* (32).

(32) *Vid. Chiliad. Erasmi. Verbo Cilix.*

but

but from other writers it is manifeſt that the *Cilicians* were governed by kings of their own in the time of *Xerxes* [k], and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. After the downfal of the *Perſian* empire *Cilicia* became a *Macedonian* province, and on the death of *Alexander* fell to the ſhare of *Seleucus*, and continued under his deſcendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. As a proconſular province it was firſt governed by *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and after him by *Cicero*, who reduced ſeveral ſtrong-holds on mount *Amanus*, in which ſome *Cilicians* had fortified themſelves, and held out againſt his predeceſſor, for which he was ſaluted by the army with the title of *Imperator* or *General*. All *Cilicia* being thus brought under ſubjection, it was firſt divided into *Cilicia Campeſtris* and *Trachæa*; the former became a *Roman* province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the *Romans* till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when the family of *Tracodementus* being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Iſauria*; the firſt took in all *Cilicia Campeſtris*, the ſecond the coaſt of *Cilicia Trachæa*, and the laſt the inland parts of the ſame diviſion; and in this ſtate it continued till the diviſion of the empire.

Their kings

As to the ſucceſſion of the *Cilician* kings we are almoſt quite in the dark. Thoſe we find mentioned by the ancients, are *Eetion*, who reigned before their migration into *Cilicia*, and aſſiſted *Priam* againſt the *Greeks*. He was king of *Thebes* only, in the defence of which city he was with his ſeven ſons killed, as we read in *Homer* [l], by *Achilles*. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector*'s wife, was his daughter. *Evenus* reigned in *Lyrneſſus* during the *Trojan* war, and is likewiſe mentioned by *Homer* [m]. He was ſucceeded in his petty kingdom by his ſons *Mines* and *Epiſtropus*, who ſiding with the *Trojans* were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syenneſis* I. who was contemporary with *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, as we have hinted in the hiſtories of *Media* and *Lydia*. *Horomedon* mentioned by *Herodotus* [n]. *Syenneſis* II. who aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece* [o], and is greatly commended by *Æſchylus*. *Syenneſis* III. who aſſiſted, though much againſt his will, *Cyrus* the younger againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by the kings of *Perſia*; whence we conclude him to have been the laſt that reigned

Year of the flood, 1947. *Before Chriſt*, 401.

[k] Vid. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. Diodor. l. xvi. Curt. l ii.
[l] Homer. Iliad. Z. [m] Idem, Iliad. B. [n] Herodot. l. vii. c. 58. [o] Herodot. ibid.

in *Cilicia* before the country was subdued by *Alexander*. Of the kings that reigned several ages after in *Cilicia Trachæa* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. XVI.

The fabulous and heroic times; containing the history of the ancient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Corinth, *of* Sparta *to* Lycurgus, *and some others of less note, to their severally becoming commonwealths.*

SECT. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

Original of the Greeks.

IT being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of *Greece*, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves from the lowest beginnings to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws, discipline, and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies; we cannot reasonably expect that our readers will rest satisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the *Grecian* writers have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whose ancient monuments, though disguised under the tales of the most unnatural actions of the gods, such as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet when divested from the fable, afford at least so much light to those dark times, that

(A) It will not be amiss to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha, with offering some tolerable account for that heap of monstrous fables under which the history of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from some, if not from all the following reasons:

1. From

North

West

East

South

PART OF THE ADRIATIC SEA

ITALY

Gulf of Tarento

IONIAN SEA

Leucadia

Cephalenia

Zacynthus

Corcyra I.

Taulantii

Lyncestis

MACEDONIA

Pæonia

Pelagonia

Mygdonia

Deſaretæ

Oreſtis

Pieria

Chaonia

EPIRUS

THESSALIA

Magneſia

Athamanes

Molossi

Acroceraunei Montes

Pindus

Parnaſſus M.

AETOLIA

LOCRIS

PHOCIS

BOEOTIA

EUBOEA

Achaia

PELOPONNESUS

Argolis

Laconia

Meſſenia

Mare Myrtoum

Gulf of Salonichi

Gulf of Criſſæus

Gulf of Singiticus

Gulf of Strymonicus

Gulf of Laconicus

Gulf of Meſſenius

EGÆAN SEA

SEA OF CRETE

PART OF ASIA

Hellespont

Chersonesus

Troia

Alexandria

Lectum

Assum

Canæ prom.

Smyrna

Hermus Flu.

Cayster Flu.

Ephesus

Mycale

Miletus

Bargile

Halicarnaſſus

Cnidus

Rhodus

Lindus

Camirus

Carpathus

Casus

Dionysiades

Heracleum

Samonium prom.

Icaria I.

Samos

Lesbus

Chios

Lemnos

Samothrace

Thaſus

Tenedos

Imbrus

Cythnus

Cea

Andros

Tenos

Delos

Myconus

Naxus

Paros

Amorgus

Los

Thera

Anaphe

Sicinus

Melos

Siphnus

Seriphus

Gyarus

Leros

Calymne

Telus

Chalcia

Cos

Rhodes

Crete

Ida Mons

Dicte

Lappa

Gortyna

Cydonia

Cythæum

Hyracina

Phaenicis portus

Lasæa

Hierapytna

Claude

Cythera

Insula

Aegilia

Cerigo

Cerigotto

Strophades

Echinades

Ithaca

Paxi

Leucadia

Lissus

Dyrrachium

Apollonia

Brundiſium

Tarentum

Saſon

Aulon

Amantia

Hydrus

Hydruntum

Oricum

Crotona

Caſſiope

Ambracia

Sperchius R.

Thermopylæ

Aulis

Thebæ

Delphi

Crissa

Creusa

Megara

Eleusis

Athenæ

Marathon

Corinthus

Rhium

Nemea

Mycenæ

Epidaurus

Argos

Troez

Nauplia

Tegea

Megalopolis

Olympia

Elis Vrbs.

Pylus

Alpheus R.

Mantinea

Clitorium

Cyparissus

Pheræ

Sparta

Gythium

Thessalonica

Pella

Berrhœa

Thermæ

Pydna

Olympus

Peneus R.

Larissa

Ossa

Pelion

Scopelus

Peparethus

Sciathus

Alonesus

Sinthus

Singus

Toronè

Stagira

Athos M.

Strymon R.

Philippi

Neapolis

Amphipolis

Abydus

Troia

Ilium

Sigæum

Assum

Lectum

Methymna

Mitylene

Malia Prom.

Sigrium Prom.

Ereſsus

Chryse

Pteleum

Cyclades

Sporades

Carian Sea

Ægean Sea

Ancient Greece with the Islands adjoyning to it

B. Borren ſculp.

that an hiſtory of this country would be juſtly thought imperfect without ſome ſhort account of them.

THE limits of *Greece*, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual ſending out of colonies, or by conqueſts, which ſtill carried their name with them, and will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our preſent epocha, extended from north to ſouth, that is, from the long ridge of mountains which divided it from *Macedonia*, and from the river *Strymon*, by which it was parted from *Thrace*, to the promontory of *Tenarus*, the utmoſt ſouthern extent of *Peloponneſus*, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from eaſt to weſt, that is from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* ſea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained *Geography of* Greece.

1. From the genius of thoſe languages in which theſe ancient monuments were written, which was altogether figurative, and whoſe elegance conſiſted in the boldeſt and moſt ſublime alluſions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themſelves, who being all poets, and recording theſe tranſactions in ſhort ſonnets to be learned by heart, and ſung upon proper occaſions, did ſtill inhance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the moſt ſtrained, and ſurpriſing allegories, that they might make the deeper and more laſting impreſſion both on thoſe who ſang, and thoſe who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or ſuperior to other cotemporary nations, or perhaps rather, from a ſhame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to ſay brutiſh anceſtors, who, like wild beaſts, did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the ſtrongeſt arm. The conſciouſneſs of which made ſome of them fetch their original from certain great heroes, begot by ſome lecherous god, either upon ſome kind goddeſs, or ſtraggling nymph, whilſt others contented themſelves with pretending that they ſprung like muſhrooms out of their own native ſoil.

4. This might be alſo another reaſon, why they transformed into fictitious monſters, thoſe real ones amongſt them, whoſe cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high eſteem they had for thoſe renowned heroes, who cleared the country of thoſe peſts of mankind. They could not, it ſeems, look upon the arduous, and yet ſucceſsful labours of a *Minos*, a *Hercules*, or a *Theſeus*, in this ſo beneficial a province, without ſuppoſing them to have been more than mortal men, or at leaſt, without an ambition to make them paſs in future ages for the offspring of ſome of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo the ancient *Hebrew* heroes, both in their extraction, and in their wonderful exploits; thus we find a great part of the character of *Hercules* to be a mere compound of thoſe of a *Sampſon*, *Gideon*, *Jephtha*, and other *Jewiſh* worthies. The ſame may be ſaid of ſeveral others (1).

(1) *Vid. Grot. de Verit. Huet. demonſt. Evang. & al. mult.*

the

the following kingdoms: In *Peloponnesus*, *Sicyon*, *Argos*, and *Messenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia Propria*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. Out of it, or in *Græcia Propria*, those of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Locris*, *Epichnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætholia*. In *Epirus* the *Molossi*, *Amphilochi*, *Cassiopæi*, *Dræopes*, *Chaones*, *Threspotii*, *Almeni*, and *Acarnania*. In *Thessaly* it contained the countries of *Thessaliotis*, *Estiotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, *Magnesia*, and *Phthia*[a]. All these have at one time or other been severally governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of *Argos*, *Attica*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, of the *Argonautic* expedition, and of the *Trojan* war[b]. The fuller description and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; the rest we must content ourselves with a bare mention of, because we know very little except their names.

Their various names.

FOR this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of those various inhabitants of ancient *Greece*. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of *Graioi* and *Graicoi*[c] (B). These they quickly changed for those of *Achæi* and *Hellenes*[d], by which they are generally called in ancient authors (C). Another name by which they were known in several parts of *Greece* was that of *Pelasgi*, which the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the ancientest people of it, do challenge

[a] De his vid. PTOL. HERODOT. D. SICUL. MELA. CLUVER. & al. mult. [b] PAUSAN. APOLL. & al. [c] CALLIMACH. Hymn. in Jov. SOPHOC. & al. [d] THUCIDYD. l. i. ARISTOT. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. STEPH. BYZANT. &c.

(B) From *Græcus* the father, or, according to others, the son of *Thessalus*, who gave name to *Thessaly* (2). But by a modern critic (3) derived from *Ragau* the same with *Reu* the son of *Peleg* (4), by a transposition of a letter, to soften the sound.

(C) The first supposed from *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Hellen*, and father of *Ion*; or according to the fable, the son of *Jupiter* (5); the other from *Hellen* above-mentioned, the son of *Deucalion*, and father of *Dorus*, from whom came the *Dores*, afterwards a famous nation in *Greece*.

Thucidides observes rightly however, that the name of *Hellenes* did not universally obtain over *Greece*; since *Homer*, who wrote so long after the siege of *Troy*, doth only call them so, who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis* (6).

(2) *Eusеb. Chronic. Isidor. Orig. l.* xiv. *c.* 4. *Plin. Nat. Hist. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *Suid. & Steph. Bizant. in Voc.* Γραικος & Θεσσαλια. (3) *Salmas. de re Hellenist. p.* 2. *c.* 1. *ap. Hind. introd. in Hist. Græc.* (4) 1 *Chron.* i. 25. *Gen.* xi. 18, 19. (5) *Vid. Byzant. sub voce* Ιωνια. (6) *Thucidyd. l.* i.

from

from their pretended founder *Pelaſgus*, who, we find, did get ſuch foot in *Peloponneſus*, that the whole peninſula was from him called *Pelaſgia* [e]. We find theſe *Pelaſgians*, for whom ſome critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), ſpread in many other parts of *Greece*, as in *Attica*, *Theſſaly*, and *Epirus*; in which laſt they have been ſuppoſed by ſome [f] to have laid the foundation of the *Dodonean* oracle. But the moſt ancient name of all, is univerſally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themſelves derive from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, or, as the fable hath it, of *Apollo* by *Creuſa* the daughter of *Erichtheus*, and grandſon to *Deucalion* [g]. But it is more probable, as *Joſephus* affirms [h], that their original is of much older date, and that *Javan* the ſon of *Japhet*, and grandſon of *Noah*, and his deſcendants, Iones *deſcended from* Javan.

[e] Id. ſub voc. Πελοποννησ. [f] Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. v. Vid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. & BYZANT. ſub voce Θεσσαλια. [g] Vid. HERODOT. l. viii. c. 44. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. Achaic. [h] Ant. l. i. c. 7.

(D) Theſe (7) ſuppoſe that the deſcendants of *Peleg*, the fourth in deſcent from *Shem* the ſon of *Noah*, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the father of the *Scythians*, were the firſt who peopled *Greece*; and that they only ſoftened the name of *Peleg*, or according to the ſeptuagint and vulgate, *Phaleg* their progenitor, and called them *Pelaſgians*. The laſt of thoſe authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the *Hebrew* and ancient *Greek*, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the *Doric* comes neareſt to the eaſtern tongues; and from the remainder of thoſe tongues, eſpecially in thoſe places where the *Pelaſgians* have been, which *Bochart* thought of *Phœnician*, but our author will rather have of *Hebrew* extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a paſſage in *Epiphanius*, who ſays (8), that *from the age of* Therah *downward*, Phaleg *and* Ragau *removed towards the clime of* Europe, *to part of* Scythia, *and were joined to thoſe nations from which the* Thracians *came*.

This laſt paſſage, wherever *Epiphanius* got it, has been ſufficiently confuted by *Bochart* (9), who ſhews that both *Phaleg* and *Ragau*, and their deſcendants, continued ſtill in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. And we have elſewhere ſhewn †, that the *Scythians* were the deſcendants of *Magog*, and not of *Phaleg* or *Ragau*. They were the ſons of *Japhet*, and not of *Shem*, who divided the iſles of the gentiles (10). We ſhall therefore leave the *Pelaſgians* to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the ancient *Greeks* in the following note.

(7) *Grot. Salmaſ. & Stillingfleet. orig. Sacr. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (8) *Epiſt. ad Acac. & Paul.* (9) *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 14. † *See before, Vol. I. p.* 375. *& ſeq.* (10) *See Gen.* x. *ver.* 2. *ad* 5.

were

were the firſt who peopled theſe countries, as the learned *Bochart* ſeems to have proved by very ſtrong arguments [i] (E).

It is true, indeed, that among the *Greeks* themſelves, only the original *Athenians*, and ſuch colonies as ſprang from them, were called *Iones*, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of *Greece* by that name; witneſs the teſtimony of *Heſychius* [k], and the ſcholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes* [l], and thoſe paſſages of holy writ mentioned in the laſt note. We omit the names of ſeveral other people among the ancient *Greeks*, which were ſuppoſed to have been the oldeſt of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the firſt peoplers of that country; ſuch were the *Aones*, *Hyanthes*, *Leleges*, *Dryopi*, *Caucones*, *Temmices*, and others, mentioned by *Strabo* [m], but which may be better ſuppoſed to have been reliques of the old *Carians*, who, *Thucidydes* tells us, made frequent incurſions into *Greece* [n].

The manners of the ancient Greeks.

If we look upon this infant ſtate of *Greece*, with reſpect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confeſſion of their own writers, to have been one continued uncultivated deſart, inhabited by ſavage creatures, ſcarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at beſt, ſheltering themſelves from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees [o]. The firſt improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food for the more wholſome acorns, building themſelves huts to ſleep in, and covering their bo-

[i] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 3. Hind. Introduct. in hiſt. Græc. [k] Sub voce Ιαωα. [l] Ap. [m] Geogr. l. vii. [n] Lib. i.
[o] Vid, Horat. Satir. & Pausan. in Arcadic.

(E) Firſt from the authority of *Joſephus* above quoted. 2. From the name itſelf of the patriarch, יון without the points, ſounding more properly *Jon* than *Javan*. 3. From the authority of *Moſes*, who ſays (11), that by theſe (the ſons of *Japhet*) were the iſles of the *Gentiles* divided; which according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means, not iſlands properly ſo called, but all maritime countries, at any diſtance from *Paleſtine*, eſpecially thoſe which are along the *Mediterranean*. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call *Græcia* by the name of יון, *Jon* or, as pointed, *Javan*. According to which the *Jews* have all along to this day called the *Greek* tongue יונית *Javanith*.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of *Eliſha Javan*'s eldeſt ſon (13), which were ſtill to be found in that of *Elis*, one of the ancient kingdoms of *Peloponneſus*.

(11) *Gen.* x. 5. (12) *Vid. int. al. Iſai. cap. ult. ver.* 19. *Dan.* viii. 21. x. 20. (13) *Gen.* x. 4.

dies with the skins of beasts. All this it seems they were beholden for to *Pelasgius* abovementioned [p], whose memory was highly reverenced among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their manners. On the contrary, they who had no occasion to fight for any thing but a hole to sleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of these new acquisitions. This in time put them under a necessity of joining themselves into companies under some head, that they might either more safely plunder their neighbours, or preserve what they had got. Laws they had none except that of the strongest arm; so that they only lived safest and most quietly, who inhabited the most craggy and barren spots of ground, whilst those, who were more pleasantly or fruitfully seated, were continally liable to be dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was that *Greece* for a long time had no settled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Their gigantic size and strength, if we may believe *Plutarch* [q], added so much to their insolence and cruelty, that they seemed to glory in committing the greatest acts of violence and barbarity on those that unhappily fell into their hands.

THE case did not alter much for the better after they came to form themselves into regular societies, to cultivate the lands, and build themselves towns and cities for safety. *Attica* seems the only place that was free from those incursions, because it was destitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but those cities fared worse which were situate on the sea-coasts, because they were in continual danger of being plundered either by sea or land; for pirates did not less infest all those seas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cause why most of the ancient cities of *Greece* were built at some distance from the shore; but even in these, as all their safety consisted in the resistance they could make against an invader, so that their inhabitants were under a necessity of going constantly armed, and to be ever on their guard. *Pirates and robbers.*

ANOTHER mischief arising from these continual piracies and robberies was, that it occasioned the far greater part of their land to lie uncultivated, so that men only planted and sowed as much as was barely necessary for their present support; and where there was such an universal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any discoveries in other useful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at sea. Hence it is also, that whilst other ancient

[p] Id. ibid.

[q] In Theseo.

nations,

nations, as the *Jews*, the *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, *Phœnicians*, &c. had improved them to a very great degree, as we have ſeen in their ſeveral hiſtories, the *Greeks* alone ſeem to have been the only ſtrangers to them; inſomuch that one may reaſonably queſtion, by *Homer*'s making oxen the ſtandard of the value of things, whether they knew the uſe of money even in his days. One art however one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they ſeemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverſe may be inferred from what the ſame poet tells of ſome of his heroes putting whole ſquadrons of them to flight.

Trades.

Arts and ſciences.

We ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel, that they had no letters till *Cadmus* brought them thither out of *Phœnicia*, whoſe alphabet conſiſting only of ſixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewiſe that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other ſciences, they continued much longer ſtrangers to them; and it was not till ſome of their great men began to travel into *Egypt*, and other kingdoms, and the *Celtes* made their frequent incurſions into *Greece* †, that they began to have ſome knowledge and reliſh for them. We are indeed told, that *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, and ſome others, who went into the firſt of thoſe countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the *Egyptian* divinity, and religious rites from thence[r]. But as for aſtronomy, geometry, philoſophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the firſt from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt*, and the laſt from *Perſia*[s]; ſo ignorant we find them of the firſt of theſe ſciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of ſleeping and waking; nor the years, but by the time of ſowing and reaping.

Their government.

Their government was ſtill more rude and barbarous; every city, and almoſt every village or obſcure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheleſs they gave the name of king. Hence that vaſt number of ſmall inconſiderable kingdoms with which this country ſwarmed, and of the greateſt part of which we know little elſe than their names; and that of one or ſometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of thoſe of more note, into which they were afterwards blended by alliances or conqueſt. Laws, at leaſt a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the *Athenian* archons; till then all depended on the will

† See vol. VI. p. 5. & ſeq. [r] Herodot. l. i. c. 49—58. D. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſt. l. i. [s] Vid. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græc.

and

and definitive ſentence of their kings; only in dubious and important caſes, it was uſual for them to conſult ſome oracle, of which they had variety; the two moſt famous were that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, ſituated on the hill *Parnaſſus* (F).

THEIR religion was ſtill worſe than all the reſt, being little elſe than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, of

(F) It will doubtleſs be expected that we ſhould ſay at leaſt ſo much of theſe oracles, as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, ſince they were eſteemed of ſuch concern, that ſcarce any public affairs were tranſacted (or hardly any private ones, if the perſons were in circumſtances to pay for it) without conſulting ſome of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort deſcription of that of *Delphi*, as it was the moſt celebrated and frequented of any either in *Greece* or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, but becauſe *Apollo* was ſuppoſed more peculiarly to preſide over, and to inſpire men with the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account alſo it was eſteemed to outdo all others in the clearneſs and certainty of its anſwers; and by the great concourſe of people who reſorted to and inriched it with preſents, it did likewiſe outſhine all the reſt in ſplendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, ſhall be ſeen in its proper place: here we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort account of the manner in which it was wont to be conſulted and delivered, and by way of ſpecimen to the reſt; as for thoſe of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee them in our learned archbiſhop *Potter*'s *Grecian* archeology.

1ſt, Thoſe who conſulted the oracle, were to offer ſome conſiderable preſent to the god. 2dly, They offered alſo ſome ſacrifices to him, and according as theſe carried a good or bad omen, ſo the *Pythoneſs* conſented or refuſed to conſult the deity. 3dly, The queſtion to be asked, was to be couched in as few words as poſſible. We omit ſome other circumſtances of leſs moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the perſons conſulting, and the nature of the queſtion to be asked.

2. The time for conſulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the ſpring; the ſeventh day of that month was called *Apollo*'s birth-day, becauſe originally the *Pythoneſs* gave no anſwers but on that day, till they came ſo thick to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time; ſo that in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The perſon who delivered the anſwer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in caſe the ſame misfortune ſhould happen to them, their ſhame might

(1) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæſt.* 9.

of the *Egyptian* theology, brought thither at firſt by *Cecrops*, an *Egyptian* exile, and founder of the *Attic* monarchy, who, according to *Pauſanius*, did firſt introduce the worſhip of *Jupiter*

might be out of danger of being diſcovered by pregnancy. Yet even theſe were obliged to go apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dreſs, that they might give no temptation to their cuſtomers (2).

Pythia, the name that was given the woman that delivered the oracle, is variouſly derived, by ſome, in memory of the ſerpent *Pytho*, killed by *Apollo*, by others otherwiſe; but moſt probably from *Pytho*, which was but another name for *Delphi*, the place where this oracle was given, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this *Pythia*, having waſhed herſelf in the fountain *Caſtalis*, at the foot of *Parnaſſus*, and ſhaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, ſhe crowned herſelf with a garland of thoſe leaves, and ſometimes alſo did eat ſome of the berries; and then aſcended the celebrated *Tripod* or *Tripus*, and ſitting down upon it, waited for the impulſe of the god.

What kind of machine this wonderful *Tripod* was, is variouſly canvaſſed, and to as little purpoſe. Some take it to have been a braſs pot filled with duſt, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the *Pythoneſs*, and thence came out at her mouth; others ſay it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which ſhe conceived the mind of the deity: others ſay, that it was large enough for her to plunge herſelf into; but the moſt probable opinion is, that it was a table or ſeat on which ſhe either leaned or ſat (3).

It was called *Tripod*, becauſe it had three feet, alluding, according to ſome, to the three great celeſtial circles, *viz.* the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably, if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, paſt, preſent, and future. They had more than one of theſe *Tripods*. The moſt ancient of them was that which the people of that country cauſed to be ſet over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is ſaid to have been wrought by *Vulcan*, and preſented to *Apollo* by *Pelops* king of the *Eleans*; but the moſt famous one was that which the fiſhermen drew up with their nets, and being adjudged by the oracle to the worthieſt of the ſeven wiſe men who flouriſhed then in *Greece*, and through modeſty refuſed by him, was dedicated to this *Delphic Apollo*. The two firſt appear to have been of braſs, but the laſt was of gold; ſome think there were likewiſe more than one *Pythia* at the ſame time, without any good foundation (4); however, when ſhe who officiated as ſuch, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, ſhe began ſometimes to ſwell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and fleſh, like one in the ſtrongeſt phrenſy, at

(2) *Lyſiſtr. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtop. ap. Potter Archæolog. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (3) *Cæl. Rhodig. lect. antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 15. *ap. eund.* (4) *Vener. de divinat.*

Jupiter in his new kingdom. *Orpheus*, *Dedalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new supplies of *Egyptic* idolatry and superstition; and *Greece* was soon after furnished with a

at other times her spirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxysm has been so terrible, that it hath scared away the priests, as well as the consulters, and one of these *Pythioneſſes* is said to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or serpent has been seen to return the answer from under the *Tripod*, and that the *Pythia* was once killed by him.

The answer was returned *viva voce*, and in hexameter, or heroic verse. *Pausanias* attributes this form of answering to the famed *Phœmonoe* the first *Delphic Pythia*. But the hymn of *Beou*, a *Delphic* lady, attributes it to *Olen*, who with his *Hyperboreans* instituted this oracle, and changed their rustic prose into the smooth and heroic verse.

But though this oracle was the most famed for the clearness and truth of its answers, insomuch that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, so as to be easily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. *Herodotus* gives us some instances of this kind of amphibolous answers given to *Crœsus*, of which that unfortunate king, a munificent votary to the *Delphic* god, justly complains, as having more than once or twice misled him to his ruin (6).

The reader may see a number of other instances of the same nature in *Pausanias* (7), besides those which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the consulters, yet seemed to be directed by some foreseeing being, because they still answered the prediction, tho' in a different sense. Of this nature was that which forewarned *Epaminondas* to beware of what the *Greeks* called the *Pelagos*; by which he, understanding it to mean the sea, which they called πελαγος, forbore to go into any ship or galley, whereas it was the *Mantinean* wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the same nature is the *Carthaginian* general said to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle, that he should be buried in *Lybia*; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the *Romans*, he should return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of *Lybissa* in *Bœotia*, but according to our author called by the *Nicomedians Lybia*, in which he died.

It was for this reason that these predictions, attributed by the *Heathens* to some godhead, were by the primitive fathers ascribed to the devil, who, tho' uncapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater guess into it than any mortal; but we leave the disquisition of such questions to divines, as well as the times and causes of these oracles ceasing in the heathen world, though this last we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to resume the sequel of the *Jewish* history.

(5) *Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Orac. Vid. & eund. in Phoc. & Potter ubi supra.*

(6) *Lib.* i. *c.* 46, 47. (7) *In Arcad.*

number of deities, ſuited to the taſte of their brutal votaries, and with a ſanction and precedent for every unſocial and unnatural vice. To this deſperate and univerſal degeneracy of the *Grecian* nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to aſcribe in ſome meaſure all the fabulous accounts which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of thoſe famous heroes, who beſtowed ſo much pains and time to reform and aboliſh it. Of this number were *Minos*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, and many more, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, ſome of whom cleared the ſeas, others the land, of that peſtilent race, and others, laſtly, by wholſome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts and ſciences, laid the happy foundations for the politeneſs and grandeur, for which they were ſo juſtly famed in after-ages.

The chronology of this epoch.

THIS fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have ſung, and hiſtorians recorded, concerning the foundation of the ancient *Grecian* monarchies, the exploits of the *Grecian* heroes, their wars and other tranſactions from the end of the *Trojan* and upwards to the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom, the moſt ancient of all; amounts to 905 years, that is, from *A. M.* 1915. when *Ægialeus* is ſaid to have laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the deſtruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2820. (G) [t]. But as under this period are contained the hiſ-

[t] Vid. USSER. Ann. ſub utroque an. ex Caſtor. ap Euſeb. Chronic.

(G) We need not tell our readers that this chronology is far enough from being unqueſtionable; thoſe who have read Sir *Iſaac Newton* on this ſubject, will eaſily agree with him, that the reigns of the ſeveral kings of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, &c. are ſpun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty-five and forty years apiece, which is almoſt double the time that thoſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael* reigned.

It is alſo not unlikely that the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom is vaſtly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between *Apis* and *Epaphus*, or *Epopeus*, whom our author thinks to have been two names for the ſame perſon, were only feigned, and inſerted here, to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told that it began 232 years before the time of *Inachus*, or 1313 years before the firſt *Olympiad* (8); but what certainty can there be in a tradition of ſuch a length.

The ſame fault may be ſuppoſed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, ſince their foundation is likewiſe previous to the *Olympiads*, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and in many inſtances notoriouſly falſe.

(8) *Caſtor ap. Euſeb. Chron. Vid. Newt. Chronol.*

tory

tory of the ſeveral following monarchies: 1ſt, That of *Sicyon* abovementioned: 2. Of *Argos* and *Mycena*: 3. *Attica*: 4. *Bœotia*: 5. *Arcadia*: 6. *Theſſaly*: 7. *Corinth*: 8. *Sparta*, and ſome others, from their foundation to their becoming incorporate with others, or to their ſeverally reſolving themſelves into commonwealths; this laſt circumſtance will oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha, down to the times of their reſpective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each diſtinct head.

Other tranſactions belonging to the epoch.

OTHER material tranſactions under this period are chiefly thoſe that follow, the *Ogygian* and *Deucalion* floods; the murder committed by the daughters of *Danaus* on their huſbands; the labours of *Hercules*; the unfortunate adventures of *Oedipus*; the *Argonautic* expedition; the war of *Minos*; the exploits and adventures of *Prometheus*, *Epimetheus*, and *Atlas*; thoſe of *Perſeus* and *Bellerophon*; the rapes of *Io*, *Europa*, and *Helena*; the war of the *Epigoni* or ſeven champions, againſt *Thebes*; the *Trojan* war, ſpoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greateſt part of the *Grecian* chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in ſuppreſſing robbers and pyrates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppreſſed, and forming the *Greek* nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbariſm into a polite, warlike, and glorious people, of all which we ſhall give an account in their due order.

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of SICYON.

The foundation of the Sicyonian *kingdom.*

Names.

SICYON has the firſt place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the reſt, and becauſe it boaſts a ſucceſſion of twenty-ſix kings, whoſe ſeveral reigns make up an epoch of nine hundred and ſixty years and upwards. Its original name was *Ægiala*, given to it by *Ægialeus*, the ſuppoſed founder and firſt monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain, but it exchanged it afterwards for that of *Apia*, from *Apis* the fourth king from *Ægialeus*, and in proceſs of time it had that of *Sicyon* given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its ſuppoſed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninſula of *Peloponneſus* was called *Sicyonia*, until its diſſolution, and even beyond it [a].

[a] STEPHAN. de Urb. STRAB.

Situation. THIS litrle kingdom was ſituate on the north part of *Peloponneſus*, ſince called the bay of *Corinth*. It had the province of *Achaia* on the weſt, and the *Iſthmus* which joins the peninſula to the continent of *Greece* on the eaſt. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is ſuppoſed to have been ſituate upon the river *Aſopus* in about thirty-eight degrees and a half of north latitude, and twenty-three degrees and a half of eaſt longitude, having the bay of *Corinth* on the north, the reſt of the *Peloponneſus* on the other three points [b]. *Strabo* and *Livy* ſay, that it was parted from the kingdom of *Corinth* by the river *Nemea* †; and *Ptolemy* adds, that it was at firſt called *Micone*, and afterwards *Ægiali*; he gave it two cities, *viz. Pletius* and *Sicyon*, both which he places at ſome diſtance from the ſea *.

Natural artificial rarities. ITS territory is rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, beſides ſome iron mines. Its metropolis was in proceſs of time very much adorned by *Sicyon* and his ſucceſſors, with temples, altars, monuments, and ſtatues of all their gods and ancient monarchs. It would be juſtly eſteemed the ancienteſt monarchy in the world, not excepting even thoſe of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is, about 200 years before *Noah*'s death, as ſome have computed it from *Euſebius*, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the firſt olympiad [c]. But that miſtake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him cotemporary with *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father, and to have began his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about *A. M.* 1236 [d], which brings it ſomewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; beſides it is not improbable, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, that chronologers have ſplit *Apis Epaphus* (the fourth deſcent from *Ægialeus*) into two kings and between them, have inſerted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder *Ægialeus* 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus* [e] (the ſon of *Inachus*, and founder of *Phoronicum*, ſince called *Argos*.) The truth is, we know nothing of thoſe princes, but their names, and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The ſame indeed may be ſaid of the greateſt part of their ſucceſſors. We meet with no memorable action or conqueſt performed by any of them during the long ſpace of 960 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is ſo fruitful of the moſt

Chronology.

[b] STRAB. l. viii. p. 256. Ibid. p. 263 MEL. & al. † STRAB. lib. viii. p. 263. LIV. lib. xxiii. c. 15. * Geogr. lib. iii. c. 15.
[c] HEYL. ex EUSEB. Chronic. [d] USSER. RAWLEY & al.
[e] NEWT. Chronol. introd. p. 6.

ſurprizing

ſurprizing exploits in moſt other cotemperary kingdoms. However we ſhall here ſubjoin a liſt of thoſe twenty-ſix monarchs, with the length of their reigns, as we find it tranſmitted to us.

Kings of *Sicyon*.

	Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.
1 *Ægialeus*	52	13 *Marathon*	13
2 *Europs*	45	14 *Marathus*	30
3 *Telchin* or *Selchin*	20	15 *Æchyræus*	55
4 *Apis*	25	16 *Corax*	30
6 *Thelxion* or *Thelaſion*	52	17 *Epopeus*	35
6 *OEgirus*	34	18 *Laomedon*	40
7 *Eurymachus al. Thurimachus*	45	19 *Sicyon*	45
8 *Leucippus*	53	20 *Polybus*	40
9 *Moſſapius*	47	21 *Inachus* or *Ianiſchus*	42
10 *Peratus*	46	22 *Phœſtus*	8
11 *Plemneus*	48	23 *Adraſtus*	4
12 *Orthopelis*	63	24 *Polyphides*	31
		25 *Pelaſgus*	20
		26 *Zeuxippus*	32
		In all Years	962

THERE is little elſe to be found in hiſtory worth notice concerning theſe monarchs, beſides what we hinted above. Thoſe that are the moſt remarkable in the liſt are, 1. *Ægialeus* the founder; 2. *Apis* from whom the country was called *Apia*; 3. *Ægirus*, the ſuppoſed founder of the ancient city of *Ægira*, ſituate on a high and almoſt inacceſſible hill; once the capital of *Achaia*, properly ſo called, and now ſuppoſed to be the ſmall village of *Hylocaſtro*; 4. *Marathon*, of whom the famous fields of *Marathon* had probably their name. *Epopæus* who built a ſtately temple to *Minerva*, and adorned it with his own trophies; 5. *Sicyon* from whom the whole country and peninſula took the name of *Sicyonia*. He is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have either built or at leaſt enlarged the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name, ſo that it was not only one of the nobleſt cities in *Greece*, both on account of its magnificent ſtructures and ingenious workmen, but was ſtill a conſiderable place in the time of the *Venetians* being maſters of *Morea*, under the new name of *Baſilica*, though it hath been for near this century laſt paſt reduced to a heap of ruins, and hath only three

Turkish and about as many *Christian* families living in it (A) †.

After the death of *Zeuxippus* the last king in the list, that estate is said to have been governed by the priests of *Apollo Carneus*, five of whom held the sovereignty only during one year each; after which *Amphyction* held it nine years successively, and *Charidemus* the last of them continued in it eighteen years [f]. After this hierarchy had lasted thirty-two years the *Heraclidæ*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, and who were by that time returned into *Peloponnesus*, became masters of it, or, according to *Pausanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became subject to that of *Argos* [g], the next ancient kingdom to that of *Sicyon*.

† Sir Geor. Wheeler voy. lib. iii. [f] Euseb. Chron.
[g] In Corinth.

(A) This total ruin of the place is attributed to a grievous pestilence, supposed to have been inflicted as a punishment on the *Turks* near a century ago, for having turned a church into a mosk, which they conclude from the *Vaivode*'s, who had given the orders, falling down dead the first time the alcoran was read in it; immediately after which that grievous distemper fell upon the inhabitants, which swept them almost all away; so that it hath never been repeopled since.

The town, which was situate on the top of a hill, about three miles from the gulph of *Lepanto*, hath still several noble monuments of its ancient, as well as modern grandeur, particularly the walls of its famed citadel, of some fine churches, and mosks, and a large ancient edifice, call'd the *Royal Palace*, with aqueducts to supply it with water. The reader may see the rest of its old remains, in Sir *George Wheeler* above quoted.

SECT. III.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Argos.

We have already hinted in the last section, that not the kingdom only of *Sicyon*, but the whole *Peloponnesus* was called *Ægiala* and *Apia* from the first and fourth kings of it. There were likewise two kings of the same name in *Argos*; the one the younger son of *Inachus* the founder of the kingdom, and the other the son of *Phornutus* the elder brother of *Ægialeus* [a]. Hence these two have been confounded with those of *Sicyon*, and their kingdoms thought to have been of as ancient, if not of older date than the *Sicyonian*, and

[a] Apollodor. l. ii. c. 1. Vid. Hind. hist. Græc.

the

the country to have received its name not from the *Sicyonian*, but from the *Argivic* monarch. In ſo dark a diſpute we can only ſay, that the *Argive Ægialeus* being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, ſeeing his brother *Phornutus* left the kingdom to his own ſon, it is not ſo likely that the country ſhould receive its name from him, as from that of *Sicyon*. However the kingdom ſoon changed its name for that of *Argolis*, from *Argos* the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who was ſiſter to *Apis*, upon whom the kingdom devolved, becauſe *Apis* died without iſſue. It was alſo called *Hippim* and *Hippoboton*, from the neighbouring paſtures, in which *Neptune* is ſaid to have fed his horſes [b], or rather from an excellent breed of horſes, which that country was famed for.

Situation and extent.

THIS kingdom is ſituate on the north-eaſt ſide of *Peloponneſus*, ſurrounded on the eaſt by the two bays of *Saron*, now *Golfo di Napoli*, and of *Argos*, and has the kingdom of *Sicyon* or *Achaia Propria* and *Arcadia* on the north and weſt, and that of *Laconia* on the ſouth. What its ancient limits were, is hard to ſay; but it was very much enlarged by ſome of its monarchs, ſo that it extended itſelf from eaſt to weſt from 32 deg. 40 min. eaſt longitude, or about ſeventy miles, and north and ſouth from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles.

Natural and artificial rarities.

ITS chief river is the *Inachus*, ſo called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties itſelf into the bay of *Argos*, now called *Golfo d' Engia* near the port of *Aſini*. On this river was ſituate the metropolis (called alſo *Inachus* from its founder and firſt monarch) and famous among other things, for its excellent ſituation on a ſpacious, rich, and well-watered plain, from which it is ſuppoſed to have received its name (B), and

[b] PAUSAN. in Corinth.

(B) So ſays *Strabo*, who thinks it to be a *Macedonian* or *Theſſalian* word, ſignifying a plain or champain country (πεδιον) †, in which ſenſe it is alſo taken by *Homer*. It is therefore a miſtake in thoſe who have ſuppoſed this city and territory, to have been dry or barren, becauſe the poet gives it the epithet of thirſty; when it was ſo well watered not only by the *Inachus* above-mentioned, but by ſeveral other rivulets, ſprings, &c. and *Homer*'s word ſhould rather have been tranſlated deſirable, or to be thirſted after. Beſides, it is plain he did not there mean the city of *Argos*, but the whole peninſula, which was then called by that name. For it is plain, as we ſhall ſee by the ſequel, that *Agamemnon*, who, the poet ſays, was forbid to return to *Argos*, kept his court not in the city of that name, but at the capital of *Mycene*.

† *Geogr. lib.* viii. *p.* 170, *et ſeq.*

for its celebrated citadel, called *Tariſſa*, ſeated on an eminence, on which ſtood alſo a noble temple dedicated to *Jupiter*. In this city was alſo the brazen tower, into which *Danae*, being confined by her father, was deflowred *by that laſcivious god*. It was likewiſe much inriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horſes, bred about its territory, from which the name of *Hippium* was given to it. 2. Next to *Argos* was *Mycena*, which became in proceſs of time the ſeat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by *Horace* for her riches, as her rival *Argos* was for her horſes. 3. *Træzen*, once the royal ſeat of *Pitteus*, the grandfather of *Theſeus*. 4. *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted there in memory of *Hercules*'s killing a lion which infeſted that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the ſon of *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, who had been killed by a ſerpent, whilſt his nurſe *Hyſipyle* went to ſhew the *Argivi* to a ſpring of water. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of this adventure in the ſequel. 5. *Epidarus*, in which ſtood the moſt famed temple of *Æſculapius*, reſorted to from moſt parts of *Europe* and *Aſia* for the cure of all diſtempers. 6. *Nauplia*, ſo called from it founder *Nauplius* king of *Ebena*, and for its excellent ſituation and harbour, whence it had the name of *Nauplia Navale*, now *Neapolis*, from which the gulph on which it is ſituate hath its modern name[d].

Government.

THE government of *Argos*, and afterwards of *Mycena*, continued altogether monarchical from its firſt foundation to its eſtabliſhing itſelf into a downright democracy. *Pauſanias* indeed obſerves, that the *Argives* were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long ſucceſſion of princes; the *Heraclydæ*, who were of the family of *Perſeus*, recovered the kingdom from that of *Pelops*, about eighty years after the taking of *Troy*, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that ſpace that they gained ſo much ground upon their kings, that they left them little elſe than the bare name; but by what laws they were anciently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far theſe monarchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to ſay.

The chronology of Argos.

THIS kingdom *Euſebius* tells us out of *Caſtor*[e], was founded 1080 years before the firſt olympiad, that is, according to *Uſher*, in the year of the world 2148, ſo that *Inachus* the founder of it was cotemporary with *Abraham*, and with *Thurimachus* the 7th king of *Sicyon*. It continued under the

[c] STEPH. de Urb. [d] MELA. HEYL. CLUVER. [e] Chronic.

name

name of the *Argolic* kingdom till the reign of *Acrisius* the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to *Mycena*, a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700, and about the year 554 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of *Mycena*, till the dissolution which happened about the year 2920, when the *Heraclidæ* made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty-one monarchs. The *Argolic* kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings after this division, until the *Heraclidæ*, whose family had been set aside by that of *Eurisheus* the implacable enemy of *Hercules* and all his race, above an age before. These dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of *Argos* had not continued above forty years, before *Meltas* their last king having made a push to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, lost both his kingdom and life, after which the *Argive* government was changed into a democracy.

A List of the Kings of *Argos* before its Translation to *Mycena*.

1 *Inachus*
2 *Phoroneus*
3 *Apis*
4 *Argus*
5 *Pirasus, al. Criasus*
6 *Phorbas*
7 *Triophas*
8 *Crotopus*
9 *Sthenelus*
10 *Danaus*
11 *Lynceus*
12 *Abas*
13 *Prætus*
14 *Acrisius*
15 *Perseus*, the founder of the kingdom of *Mycena*.
16 *Talaon*
17 *Adrastus*
18 *Ægialeus*
19 *Diomedes*

Kings of *Mycena*.

1 *Perseus*
2 *Eurisheus*
3 *Atreus and Thyestes*
4 *Agamemnon*
5 *Ægisthus*
6 *Orestes*
7 *Tisamenus al. Penthilus*

Kings of the *Heraclidæ* at *Argos*, after they had recovered *Peloponnesus*, and divided it into three kingdoms.

1 *Temenus*
2 *Cisus*
3 *Lacidaus*
4 *Meltas*

Inachus. 1. *Inachus*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (A), is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his ſiſter *Meliſſa*, by whom he had two ſons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*: he is ſuppoſed to be the father of *Io*, and therefore the *Greeks* are ſometimes called from him *Inachi*.

Phoroneus 2. *Phoroneus* ſucceeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before diſperſed about the country into one city, which was called from him *Phoronium* [f]; he is ſaid to have had a ſon by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*, and a daughter named *Niobe*, who became the firſt paramour of the luſtful god, *Jupiter*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named *Argos*. From *Phoroneus*, his ſuppoſed ſiſter *Io* is ſometimes called *Phoronis* by the poets [g].

Apis. 3. *Apis* ſucceeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed againſt him, which was upheld by *Thekim* or *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon* (B), to whoſe treachery he was ſacrificed. Some affirm that he fled into *Egypt*, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worſhipped under the title of *Serapis*, and in the form of an ox. We have already obſerved in the hiſtory of that kingdom †, that *Serapis* was worſhipped under a human form, bearing a buſhel on its head. As for their *Apis*, though he was indeed worſhipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of *Argolic* extraction. We meet with ſeveral of the name, one in *Sicyon*, one in *Argos*, and this in *Egypt*; all of them ſo confounded by *Mythologiſts*, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos. 4. *Argos*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, ſucceeded him; he is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of the capital city, and

[f] Pausan. in Corinth. [g] Horat. & al. † See before, Vol. I. p. 470.

(A) Or rather becauſe he came thither by ſea. We have had occaſion, in a former chapter, to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the deſcendants of thoſe firſt founders of kingdoms, of raiſing them ſuch fabulous genealogies, in order to diſguiſe the obſcurity of their origin, by aſcribing it to ſome god, to the ſea, rivers, nymphs, and ſuch like extraordinary progenitors. We ſhall refer the readers to the caution we gave them there concerning theſe miraculous offſprings †.

(B) This ſhews how little dependance there is in the writings of this epocha, ſince even this laſt reigned, according to *Euſebius*'s chronology, near 100 years before *Inachus* the founder of the *Argolic* kingdom, unleſs they have miſtaken him for *Peratus*, who flouriſhed about the latter end of *Apis*'s reign.

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 98. *Note* N *ſub fin.*

to.

to have called it, and the whole kingdom by his name [h]. He is said to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by the *Grecians* before his reign, who came from that time to be called *Argivi* from him.

Criasus.

5. *Criasus*, by others called *Peirasus* and *Peranthus*, the son of *Argos*.

Phorbas.

6. *Phorbas* the son of *Criasus*, supposed to have been contemporary with *Atlas* and *Prometheus*.

Triopas.

7. *Triopas* the son of *Phorbas*, whose brother, named also *Phorbas*, settled himself in the island of *Rhodes*.

Crotopus.

8. *Crotopus*, in whose times the *Argives* felt the dire effects of *Apollo*'s anger on the following occasion: that god had had a private amour with *Psamathe* the king's daughter; and she to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the rushes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. *Apollo*, to punish the *Argives* for this crime, sent the monster, or fury *Pene*, who snatched their children from their mother's bosom, and destroyed them. This monster being killed at length by *Cœrebus*, *Apollo* sent them a grievous pestilence. *Cœrebus* having consulted the oracle how his anger might be appeased, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god where-ever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did.

Sthenelus.

9. *Sthenelus*, son of *Crotopus*, reigned sixteen years, after which he, or as others think, his son *Geleanor*, was driven out by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*.

Danaus.

10. *Danaus* had been banished *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, for refusing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother. His pretence for refusing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he should be killed by a son-in-law. Being therefore expelled *Egypt*, he came to *Argos*, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being descended from *Epaphus* the son of *Io*, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of *Inachus*. Both he and *Sthenelus* agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the second meeting of the assembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, which was grasing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen against the present possessor. *Sthenelus* was supposed to be meant by the bull, and *Danaus* by the wolf, because he was a stranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king [i].

As soon as *Ægyptus* heard of this election, he resolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and strengthening himself by so many alliances a-

[h] Apollod. l. ii. c. 1. [i] Pausan. ubi supra.

gainst

gainſt him. He raiſed a powerful army, and ſent it with his fifty ſons at the head of it, againſt the new king of *Argos*; and theſe reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promiſe to ſtab their huſbands on the very firſt night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named *Hypermneſtra*, who privately conveyed her bridegroom *Lynceus* to *Lyrcæa*, a town not far from the metropolis. *Danaus* was ſo exaſperated at her diſobedience, that he ordered her immediately to be put to death for it; but ſhe was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Argives*, and was again received into favour, and *Lynceus* declared his heir and ſucceſſor. As for his other forty-nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endleſs puniſhment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

Lynceus. 11. *Lynceus*, the ſon of *Ægyptus*, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his ſtead. In commemoration of his wife's having ſaved his life, and of the *Argives* having acquitted her, they dedicated a ſtatue to *Venus*, and the *Argives* inſtituted a feaſt in memory of the ſignal *Hypermneſtra* had given to her huſband of his being out of danger, and called it the feaſt of *Flambeaus*.

Abas. 12. *Abas* was the ſon of *Lynceus* and *Hypermneſtra*, and father of *Prætus* and *Acriſius*, by *Ocalea* the daughter of *Mantineus*. Theſe two ſons, who were twins, are ſaid to have ſtruggled together in their mother's womb, a ſure preſage of that more fatal ſtruggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two firſt who made uſe of targets in the battles they fought againſt each other [k].

Prætus. 13. *Prætus* found means to ſtep firſt upon the throne, and

[k] Pausan. in Argolic. Apollod. l. ii. c. 2.

(C) This fable, ſome mythologiſts interpret of their being doomed to fill the ciſterns of the citadel, which *Danaus* built at *Argos*, with water, and probably alſo thoſe of the city, which, according to the deſcription an ancient geographer gives us of it (1), ſeems to have wanted a conſiderable ſupply of that element. For though it be built upon the river *Inachus*, yet by reaſon of its nearneſs to the gulf, it is probable, that the waters of it might be too brackiſh to be drank. However the citadel being built, as was obſerved in a late note, on an eminence, it muſt be ſuppoſed to have been ſupplied with water from ſome ſuch ciſterns.

(1) *Strab. Geogr. l.* viii.

held

held it about seventeen years. It was in some part of this time, that *Bellerophon* king of *Corinth*, having committed manslaughter, came to *Argos* to be expiated by *Prætus*, whose queen *Stenobæa* being charmed with the beauty of that prince, sollicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuse him to her husband of having attempted her chastity. *Prætus*, not suspecting the truth of the accusation, sent immediately the young *Corinthian* prince to his father-in-law *Jobates*, with letters, in which he desired him to make away with the innocent stranger. *Jobates* sent him upon several dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithstanding, *Bellerophon* came off victorious, as we shall see when we come to speak of the kings of *Corinth*[l]. In the mean time *Prætus* met with something to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother *Acrisius*, who proving too strong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Jobates* king of *Lycia*. These two soon returned into *Argos* with an army, took the city of *Tyrias*, and obliged *Acrisius* to agree to a treaty, by which *Prætus* had *Tyrin*, and other maritime, and *Acrisius*, *Argos*, and the inland towns[m]. *Prætus* had forty-three daughters by his wife *Stenobæa*, or, as she is called by *Homer*, *Antæa*; and they with the rest of the women of that country, were seized with a distemper which they called the fury of *Bacchus*; but were cured by an excellent physician and soothsayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom as a reward for his skill. *Melampus*, that was the physician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother *Bias*; but *Prætus* had soon after this partition a son named *Megapenthes*, who succeeded him in the other third called *Tyrin*; but it is likely that these three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of *Argos* after the death of those philosophers, as we shall see after we have ended the history of the kings of *Mycena*, whose part from that time makes the most considerable figure.

Acrisius. 14. *Acrisius* on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife *Eurydice*, called *Danae*, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that she would have a son, by whom he should be killed. To prevent therefore that young princess having any conversation with mankind, he caused her to be close confined in a strong brasen tower, and under such strict watch, that she might in all likelihood have been out of danger of

[l] Idem, ibid. Ovid. Metam. &c. Apollod. ubi supra.

[m] Pausan. ubi supra.

fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himſelf, as the poets feign, into a golden ſhower, which ſliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D) [n].

THE fruit of theſe ſtolen embraces was *Perſeus*, who was no ſooner born, than *Acriſius* ordered him and his mother to be put into a cheſt, and thrown into the ſea; but *Jupiter* took care to convey them ſafe to *Seriphus*, where *Dictys* the brother of *Polydectes* king of that iſland, brought *Perſeus* up as his own ſon. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her ſon prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this oppoſition, and reſolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, ſent him into *Africa* to fetch the famous *Gorgon*, *Meduſa*'s head, not doubting but the attempt would coſt him his life. But to his ſurprize he ſaw the young prince return with the *Gorgon* (E), and crowned with a two-fold ſucceſs, having in that expedition ſaved *Andromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* king of *Joppe*, a maritime town in *Phœnicia*, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which ſervice, ſhe was given to him in marriage.

AT his return into *Seriphus*, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the luſtful and inhoſpitable king. Here he found that his mother and *Dictys* had been forced to run into a ſanctuary, to ſkreen themſelves from his brutiſh violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into ſtones at the ſight of the *Gorgon*,

[n] APOLLOD. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden ſhower ſeems to have been only ſome conſiderable bribe to thoſe who guarded the tower. Some think that it was her uncle *Prætus* who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an ancient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, *Meduſa* had ſucceeded her father *Phorcas* in his kingdom, which was ſituate along the lake *Tritonis*, and that ſhe was a *Virago*, who, for want of other employment, was much uſed to hunting, and to fight with her *African* ſubjects; and that *Perſeus* coming upon her in the dead of the night, with the choiceſt forces of *Peloponneſus*, ſurpriſed and beheaded her, and carried her head away into *Greece*, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may ſee what has been ſaid of it by the judicious author laſt quoted.

(F) The whale is ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe than a ſhip ſo called, into which *Phœnix* had ſecured her in order to convey her away (4).

(2) *Vid. Pauſ. in Argol. & Apollod. l.* ii. *paſſ. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l.* iv. *et al.*
(3) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra, & Corinth. Ch.* xxi. (4) *Conon. Narrat.* 40. *Roſſ. Mythag. Poetic. Hind. Greec.*

ſet up *Dictys* upon the throne. From thence he went with his mother *Danae*, and his wife *Andromeda*, into *Argos*; but *Acriſius*, frightened at the news of his being alive, and having performed ſuch noble exploits, had retired into *Lariſſa*, a city of *Pelaſgia*, ſituate on the river *Peneus*, whoſe king *Tantalus* having ſoon after cauſed ſome funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceaſed father, *Perſeus* came thither among a great concourſe of *Grecian* princes, and by an unfortunate caſt of the diſk (G) which fell upon *Acriſius*'s foot, who was there preſent, killed him, and unwillingly fulfilled the oracle upon him °.

15. *Perſeus*, though next heir to the kingdom of *Argos*, in right of *Danae* his mother, yet choſe to exchange it with his couſin *Megapenthes* for that ſmall one of *Tyrins*, which had been left to him by his father *Prætus*, rather than to return to *Argos* after the unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm that *Perſeus* reſtored his grandfather to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is inconſiſtent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with *Megapenthes*, *Perſeus* went and built the city of *Mycenæ*, and made it the ſeat of the kingdom. This little ſtate was ſituate on the river *Inachus*, which parted it from *Arcadia* on the weſt. It had that of *Argos* on the north and eaſt, and the gulph of *Lepanto* on the ſouth. That of *Argos* was therefore ſaid to have been tranſlated thither, becauſe this new metropolis became in a ſhort time more populous and opulent than the other, and is more celebrated among the poets, though it fell into ſuch decay preſently after the diſſolution of the *Mycenian*, or, as it is commonly called, the kingdom of *Agamemnon*, that *Strabo* tells us there were ſcarce any footſteps left of it in his time, though ſome *Roman* hiſtorians ſeem to hint as if ſome part of that once famed city were ſtill ſtanding when the *Romans* conquered *Macedonia* †. After *Acriſius*'s death, the kingdom being thus divided into ſeveral pieces, and among different families, *Perſeus* having reigned about eighteen years in that of *Tyrins*, left it to his ſon *Alcæus*, and he to *Amphitryon*, by whoſe wife *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have begot *Hercules*, and to have lengthened Perſeus.

° Pausan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. ubi ſupra. † Polyb. in except. ex Valeſ. Liv. lib. xxxii. c. 39.

(G) The diſk was a round piece of iron, lead, braſs, or ſtone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gameſters uſed to exerciſe their ſtrength and skill. He who could throw it fartheſt won the prize (5).

(5) *Potter, Archeolog. Vol. I. Ch. 21. p. 443.*

that

that amorous night as long as three, to add the more ſtrength to the child [p]. In the mean time *Amphitryon* having unawares killed *Electryon*, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to *Thebes*. Here the child *Hercules* began to give ſuch early proofs of his courage, extraordinary ſtrength and fierceneſs, that he was ſent to be brought up among ſome ſhepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (H) [q].

Euryſthenes. 16. *Euryſtheus* the ſon of *Sthenelus*, who was come to the crown of *Mycena*, or, as others have it, ſucceeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed ſon of *Amphitryon* his couſin-german, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time find means to diſpoſſeſs him of it. His fear and hatred of him ſoon grew to ſuch a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who was not inſenſible of it, becauſe he was ever engaging him upon ſome deſperate expedition, went to conſult the oracle, and being anſwered that it was the pleaſure of the gods that he ſhould ſerve *Euryſtheus* twelve years, was caſt into ſo deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madneſs, during which, among other deſperate deeds, he put away his wife *Megara*, and murdered all the children he had by her, which are ſuppoſed to have been twelve, becauſe the king impoſed the ſame number of labours upon him as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his ſenſes [r]. Theſe labours being for

[p] Pausan. ubi ſup Diodor. Biblioth. hiſt. lib. iv. [q] Apollod. ibid. [r] Diod. Apollodor. ubi ſupra.

(H) We have already obſerved, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. *Diodorus* and *Euſebius* mention three: *Diodorus* aſcribes all theſe fabulous actions to the youngeſt, who was the ſon of *Alcmena* (6). *Servius* ſpeaks of four, and *Varro* of forty-four; but the moſt remarkable of theſe are the ſix mentioned by *Tully*; as follows (7): The firſt, begot by the ancient *Jupiter* and *Lyſito*, who contended with *Apollo* for the tripod.

The ſecond, the ſon of *Nile* and an *Egyptian*, was the inventor of the *Phrygian* characters.

The third, was a native of *Crete* (and the ſon of the *Celtic Jupiter*): he was one of the *Idæi Dactyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*.

The fourth, was the ſon of the ſecond *Jupiter* and *Aſteria*, ſiſter to *Latona*, and father of *Carthago*; he was worſhipped by the *Tyrians*.

The fifth, was the *Indian Belus*. And

The ſixth, was this *Hercules*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Amphitryon*, but begot by the third *Jupiter* upon *Alcmena*.

(6) *Hiſt. l.* iv. (7) *De Natur. Deor. lib.* iii.

the

the moſt part fabulous, and ſome of them, as we have obſerved more than once, being probably ſtolen from the hiſtory of *Sampſon* and other *Hebrew* worthies, we ſhall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our hiſtory of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I). 17.

(I) The firſt labour impoſed upon him was the killing of a lion in *Nemea*, a wood of *Achaia*; whoſe hide was proof againſt any weapon, ſo that he was forced to ſeize him by the throat, and ſtrangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his skin about his ſhoulders.

In the ſecond he killed the *Hydra*, a monſter with two heads, one of which was no ſooner cut off, than two ſprung up in its room.

In the third he brought the *Erymanthian* boar alive upon his ſhoulders, at the ſight of which the king is ſaid to have been ſo frighted, that he ran and hid himſelf in a brazen hogſhead. It was likewiſe in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns, and of prodigious ſwiftneſs.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanſe *Augeus*'s ſtable in one day, which he did by turning the river *Alpheus* into it.

In the ſixth he chaſed away the miſchievous birds of the lake *Stymphalis*, who are feigned to have lived upon human fleſh, and to have been at length deſtroyed by *Hercules*'s arrows, or according to others, to have been only ſcared away from thence (9).

His ſeventh was to fetch a famous bull from the iſle of *Crete*, with which *Paſiphe* the wife of *Minos*, is ſaid to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped *Jupiter* to overcome the *Titannick* giants, he reconciled *Prometheus* to him, and looſed him from mount *Caucaſus*.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the fleſh of the ſtrangers that paſſed by that way. *Hercules* firſt threw their inhuman maſter to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to *Euryſtheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*. Their breed is ſaid to have continued till *Alexander*'s time. Betwixt this and his new task, he is ſuppoſed to have gone upon the *Argonautic* expedition, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

In the ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*; and

In the tenth the oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia*, or *Spain*, in the furtheſt parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmoſt limits of the then known world. Theſe ten labours he atchieved, as the fable ſays, in a little above eight years. In this expedition, he is likewiſe affirmed to have killed *Antæus*, a famous giant of a monſtrous ſize, who when weary with wreſtling or labour, was immediately refreſhed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of *Tangier*. *Hercules* overcame him in wreſtling, and ſlew him; and after him the tyrant

(8) *Vid. Pauſan. in Arcad. c. 22.*

(9) *Apolled. l. ii. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.*

Atreus. 17. *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops*, and grandſon of *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, aſcended the throne of *Mycenæ*, after the death of *Euryſtheus*, who left no iſſue. As for the line of *Perſeus*, it only ſubſiſted in *Hercules*. *Atreus* is always joined with his brother *Thyeſtes* as partner of the kingdom. Theſe two are juſtly branded, the one for his inceſt, and the other for his horrid murders. *Thyeſtes* for defiling his brother's wife; and *Atreus* for murdering his ſons, and feaſting him with their fleſh (K).

It was in his reign that the *Heraclidæ*, for ſo were called the ſons and deſcendants of *Hercules*, came under the conduct of their champion *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycena*, from which they had been driven by *Euryſtheus*. The controverſy was to be decided by ſingle combat, and under theſe conditions, that if *Hillus* killed *Euchemus*, who had undertaken to be champion for *Atreus*, then this laſt ſhould relinquiſh his kingdom to the *Heraclidæ*; and if *Hyllus* was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into *Peloponneſus* till fifty years were expired. It happened that *Hyllus* was killed by his antagoniſt, ſo that *Atreus* obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the *Heraclidæ* went to *Tricorinthus*, and others to *Dorus*, to whoſe father *Hercules* had left the region of *Æſtiæotis* in truſt for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the *Dores*. Their grandmother *Alcmena* diſappearing about this time, as ſhe was returning to *Thebes*, had divine honours inſtituted and paid to her[s]. *Atreus* was ſoon after their departure killed by *Ægiſthus*, and ſucceeded by his own ſon.

[s] Pausan. Apollod. ubi ſupra & al.

rant *Buſiris* in his way through *Egypt*. This bloody man uſed to ſacrifice all his gueſts and ſtrangers upon his altars, and deſigning to have done the ſame by *Hercules*, was ſlain by him, together with all his attendants.

His two laſt tasks were fetching *Cerberus* out of hell, and the *Heſperian* golden apples, kept by a dragon, which laſt is interpreted to have been ſome fine herd of cattle kept by ſome ſtout man, and brought out of *Africa* to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(K) The poets feign that the ſun went back at the ſight of this horrid feaſt. As for *Thyeſtes*, he went to conſult *Apollo* how he might be revenged on his brother, and was anſwered, that if he would lie with his own daughter *Pelopea*, he would beget a ſon, that ſhould murder both *Atreus* and his ſon *Agamemnon*. He did ſo, and *Ægiſthus* the fruit of this ſecond inceſt, fulfilled the prophecy.

18.

18. *Agamemnon*, who was reckoned at that time the wealthieſt and moſt powerful potentate in all *Greece*. His dominion extended not only through a conſiderable part of *Peloponneſus*, but alſo to ſeveral neighbouring iſlands. So that having a larger fleet, a greater number of ſea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his cotemporary kings. This was the main reaſon of his being choſen general of the *Trojan* expedition for the recovery of *Helena*, his brother *Menelaus*'s wife. Agamemnon.

THE ſucceſs of that expedition, the ſacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and other circumſtances relating to this prince, have been ſeen in a former chapter †. After the burning of that city, beſides ſeveral other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the diſpoſition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel aroſe between *Agamemnon* and his brother. The latter was for ſailing homewards out of hand, and the other for ſtaying to ſacrifice to *Minerva*. The conſequence was, that they parted in great anger. *Agamemnon* having weathered ſeveral ſtorms, which the goddeſs *Pallas*, as the poets feign, had ſent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards; arrived at laſt at *Mycenæ*, where he was murdered by his couſin german *Ægiſthus*, and his wife *Clytemneſtra*, who during his abſence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

19. *Ægiſthus* was the ſon of *Thyeſtes*, begot on his daughter *Pelopeia*, by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the laſt note. His mother, to conceal the foulneſs of her pregnancy, expoſed him in the woods, where a ſhepherd finding him, nurſed him with goats milk, from which he was called *Ægiſthus*. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with *Clytemneſtra* during *Agamemnon*'s abſence, made them both fear leſt they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore ſoon determined to the fact, and having murdered *Agamemnon* ſeized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour were at length murdered by *Oreſtes Agamemnon*'s ſon. Ægiſthus.

20. *Oreſtes*, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately conveyed to *Strophius* in *Phocis* by *Electra* his father's ſiſter; but as ſoon as he was come to riper years, he returned to *Mycenæ*, and having murdered the uſurper, and his own mother, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and that of *Argos*, whoſe throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the Oreſtes.

† See before, Vol. iv. c. x. ſect. viii.

ſiege of *Troy*. The occaſion of this flight we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the remaining kings of *Argos*, after its being parted from that of *Mycenæ*. *Oreſtes* ran raving mad ſoon after at the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by the furies. Being again reſtored to his ſenſes, and vexed to find that *Hermione* his uncle *Menelaus*'s daughter, whom her grandfather *Tyndarcus* had promiſed to him in marriage, had been eſpouſed to *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*, he went and killed him in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and married *Hermione*, by whom he got alſo the kingdom of *Sparta* *.

WITH *Oreſtes* we may mention here his faithful and conſtant friend *Pylades* the ſon of *Strophius*, with whom he had been brought up. Theſe two are famed for having been ſo like each other in face, ſhape, temper, and affection, that they ſeemed to have but one ſoul, and were not to be diſtinguiſhed from one another. Inſomuch that when *Thoas* king of *Taurica*, would have put *Oreſtes* to death, they both affirming to be the ſame perſon, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not poſſibly find out which was the right perſon, but admired their extraordinary friendſhip, which was indeed ſuch, that it paſſed into a proverb.

Penthilus. 21. *Penthilus*, or according to others *Tiſamenes*, ſucceeded his father *Oreſtes* in both kingdoms; but in leſs than three years was killed in a battle which he fought againſt the *Achæi*, whom he had driven from *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, and had reduced to the neceſſity of driving the *Ionians* out of *Ægialia* into *Attica*. After his death the *Heraclidæ*, who had already got the greateſt part of *Peloponneſus*, made themſelves maſters of theſe two kingdoms alſo, which they held until the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Macedonians*.

AFTER the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, and of the latter into three parts, as we have ſeen above; we find *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaon* and *Eurinome* reigning in *Argos*, and deſcended from *Perſeus*. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to *Polynices* prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, upon the following accident. Theſe two princes were come to *Argos*, the former to beg the king's aſſiſtance againſt his brother *Etocles*, who had deprived him of his yearly ſhare in the government, and the latter was fled thither from *Calydonia* for manſlaughter. Theſe two happened to have a ſquabble in ſome of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed *Adraſtus*, and forced him to come and enquire the occaſion of the diſturbance. He had been formerly adviſed by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion,

* APOLLOD. PAUSAN. & ubi ſupra.

the

the other to a boar, and had been doubtleſs very much puzzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out, he found, to his joy and ſurprize, an agreeable ſolution of it. *Polynices* bore a lion, and *Tydeus* a boar upon his ſhield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters *Argia* to the former, and *Deipyle* to the latter, whoſe ſon ſucceeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

SOON after this, being reſolved to aſſiſt *Polynices*, he raiſed a good army, and procured the beſt commanders he could to accompany him. Among theſe was one *Amphiaraous* a good officer and great ſoothſayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till *Polynices* bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem. They offered to make his wife *Eriphyle* umpire whether he ſhould go or not, and having bribed her before-hand with a coſtly bracelet, ſhe decided in the affirmative; upon which *Amphiaraous*, who foreſaw that none of the chief officers would eſcape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithleſs wife, left ſtrict charge with his two ſons, before he departed, that as ſoon as they were come of age they ſhould kill her, and make war againſt the king of *Thebes* [u].

Adraſtus marching with his army through the *Nemean* foreſt met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of *Thoas* king of *Lemnos*, whom ſhe had ſaved, when the reſt of the *Lemnian* women had killed by one conſent all the males of that iſland, with intent to turn *Amazons*. For this her filial piety, they had ſold her to pyrates, who brought her to *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, whoſe ſon *Archemorus*, or as others call him *Opheltes*, ſhe was nurſing, and had then in her arms. The *Argives* deſired her to direct them to ſome water, and ſhe laying down the boy went to ſhew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child, had been killed by a ſerpent, ſhe went and hid herſelf for fear of her maſter's anger, and *Amphiaraous* ſent her ſons word ſoon after where their mother was. The *Argives* killed the ſerpent, and in memory of the dead child, they are ſaid to have inſtituted the games called *Nemean*, in which *Adraſtus* won the race by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe *Arion*. *Tydeus* got the prize at whorlbats, *Polynices* at wreſting, *Amphiaraous* at running and quoits, *Parthenopeus* at ſhooting, and *Laodicus* at darting [w].

FROM the *Nemean* woods they went and encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, a celebrated hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the prieſteſſes of *Bacchus*, to whom the hill was conſecrated, uſed to keep there. Here they ſent *Tydeus* to *Thebes*, to demand of *Etocles* the per-

[u] DIODOR. Bibl. l. iv. APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Id. ibid.

 formance

formance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refusal, desirous *Tydeus*, partly to shew his own courage, and partly to try that of the *Thebans*, gave several challenges to their most noted champions, in which he still came off conqueror. The *Thebans*, envious of his success, sent fifty of their choicest men to way-lay him in his return to *Cithæron*, who were all killed except one, whom he sent back to *Thebes*, to acquaint *Etocles* with his courage and success. The *Argives* on the other hand hearing what had passed, resolved upon the siege of the city; the ill success of which we shall see in its proper place. All that needs be said here is, that *Adrastus* owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse, and *Amphiaraous* is said to have been swallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horses near the river *Ismene*, or perhaps drowned altogether in that river. The other five generals did likewise lose their lives, so that it proved even as *Amphiaraous* had foreseen, that *Adrastus* alone should survive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the *Athenians*, and to beg their assistance, that the *Argives* might at least be enabled to recover the dead bodies of his soldiers and subjects, which the *Thebans* refused to deliver up. The *Athenians* readily granted his request, and forced the *Thebans* into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

Ægialeus. He was succeeded by his son *Ægialeus*, who about ten years after the defeat before *Thebes*, entered into a confederacy with *Diomedes* the son of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five sons of the other generals who had lost their lives in that expedition, to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*, and if possible to level that city with the ground. Thence these seven captains were called *Epigoni*. The oracle being consulted, promised them success provided they chose *Alcmæon* the son of *Amphiaraous* their general. They did so, and came off victorious accordingly, as we shall see in the next section.

Diomedes After this *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, the son-in-law of *Adrastus*, who was also king of *Ætolia*, came to the crown of *Argos* in right of his wife, and was the last king of it. After his successful enterprise against *Thebes*, he listed himself in that against *Troy*, and was one of that small number of princes who returned safe home. Upon his arrival at *Argos*, he found that his wife *Ægiale*, whom *Venus* had plagued with a *furor uteri*, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the siege of *Troy*, had entertained a criminal familiarity with *Cometes* the son of *Sthenelus*, one of the heroes that went to that siege. When she found that her husband had discovered her intrigue, she attempted to kill him, but he first retired to the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia*, then

a ſmall kingdom of *Italy*. Here he found *Daunus* the king of it ſtraitly beſieged, who promiſed him part of his kingdom, if he could beat his enemies. *Diomedes* did it with ſucceſs, and built a city there, which he called *Argos Hippim*, whence in proceſs of time, it changed its name into *Argyrippa*. He was afterwards killed by *Daunus*, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into ſwans, or birds very much like them.

In the mean time the *Heraclidæ*, ſince their firſt expulſion out of *Peloponneſus*, by *Euriſtheus* king of *Argos*, had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to regain it. The firſt, as we have ſeen, was in *Atreus*'s time under *Hyllus*; another under his ſon *Cleodæus*; a third under his grandſon *Ariſtomachus*. This laſt prince left three ſons, *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*, who, when they came of age, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of a new invaſion, and received this ambiguous anſwer, that it would ſucceed if they went by the way of *Stenygrus*; but they thinking the narrow paſſage of the *Iſthmus* to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and *Ariſtomachus* loſt the battle and his life in the attempt [x] (K).

The *Heraclidæ* were alſo promiſed better ſucceſs, provided they put themſelves under the command of a general that had three eyes, but where to find ſuch a one was the difficulty; at length they met an *Ætolian* named *Oxylus*, who was returning from *Peloponneſus* into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horſe, or mule he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was imme-

[x] Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. & ſeq. Pausan. in Bœotic.

(K) The *Pythoneſs* being upbraided with it by his ſons, made anſwer, that their anceſtors had brought their misfortunes upon themſelves by miſtaking her words. Thus when *Hyllus* was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he miſlook it, the third crop; and that now by *Stenygrus* was not meant the neck of land, but the deep ſea on the right hand of the peninſula. Upon this anſwer they went to build a navy at *Ætolia*, ſince called upon that account *Naupactus*. During their ſtay here, *Ariſtodemus* the youngeſt of the three was killed by lightening, and left two twins, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*. Soon after this a more ſevere misfortune befel them; for their fleet was deſtroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afreſh, and anſwered, that *Apollo* had ſent thoſe plagues upon them, becauſe they had murdered his prophet *Carnus*. There had indeed been ſuch a man among them whom *Hippotes* killed, becauſe he took him to be ſome magician, who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be baniſhed ten years.

diately ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, upon which they choſe him for their general, and promiſed him the country of *Elis* as a recompence [y]. They then gave out that they were going to enter the peninſula at the *Iſthmus*, which drew all the *Peloponneſian* forces thither, and ſailing up the *Stenygrus*, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at *Molycrium* without any oppoſition.

THREE of the kingdoms of *Peloponneſus* they challenged as their undoubted right, namely *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Lacedæmon* (L). The firſt of theſe they got with ſome difficulty, and *Tiſamenus* the king of it, was either killed [z], or eſcaped by flight [a]. *Mycenæ* they conquered with the ſword, and expelled all the *Neſtorian* family, who went and ſettled at *Athens*, where *Alcmæon* and *Pæon* became the heads of two conſiderable families in that city †. As for *Lacedemon*, *Sparta* being betrayed to them by one *Philonomus* [b], they entered it with the ſound of the flute, which inſtrument became much in vogue, as it was thought, both to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks [c]. They alſo kept their promiſe with their three-eyed general, who being deſcended from *Ætolus*, had a right to the country of *Elis*, from which the latter had been baniſhed by *Salmoneus* king of the *Ephei*, who were now in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe agreed with the *Heraclidæ*, that the pretenſions of *Oxylus* ſhould be decided by ſingle combat, according to the *Grecian* cuſtom, and the *Ephean* champion being killed, *Elis* was reſtored to its right owner. After theſe ſucceſſes the three brothers having raiſed three altars to *Jupiter Patrius*, reſolved to divide their conqueſt by lot. *Chreſphontes* is ſuppoſed by ſome juggle to have made the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, the richeſt and moſt fruitful of the three, to fall to his ſhare. *Temenus* had *Argos*, and *Lacedemon* was divided between *Euriſthenes* and *Procles*, the ſons of *Ariſtodemus* [d], as ſhall be ſeen in its place.

[y] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. c. 8. [z] PAUSAN. Eliac. STRAB. Geogr. lib. x. [a] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. † PAUSAN. Argol. [b] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. lib. x. [c] Id. l. viii. [d] POLYEN. Stratagem. Vid. HIND. hiſt. Græc. lib. ii.

(L) The firſt of theſe was their right, as being the deſcendants of *Perſeus*; whereas the then king *Tiſamenes*, who was of the race of *Pelops*, had no right to the crown. *Mycenæ* and *Lacedemon* they claimed in right of *Hercules*, who having conquered them, had left the firſt to *Neſtor*, and the laſt to *Tyndareus*, in truſt for his own children.

Temenus

Temenus, now fixed in *Argos*, betrayed such an extraordinary fondness for his son-in-law *Deiphontes*, who was descended from *Ctesiphus* the son of *Hercules* by *Dejanira*, that his other sons, who had reason to fear he would appoint him his successor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. *Temenus* being dead, one author tells us, the army abhorring the parricides, set the crown upon *Deiphontes* and his wife [e]; but *Pausanius* tells us that it fell to his eldest son *Cisus*. Temenus *at* Argos.

However that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to lose ground very fast, as we observed before. To *Cisus* succeeded *Lacidamus*, who had little else than the title of a king. His son *Meltas*, impatient of such restraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to restore it to its ancient dignity; but the people were by that time grown so powerful and headstrong, that as soon as they found out his design, they put an effectual stop to it, and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death [f].

The kingdom of *Mycenæ*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Messenia*, was not much longer lived. For though these two did outvie that of *Sparta* by far, at first, yet the latter soon grew to such a height of power and splendor, as both to eclipse and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions, we shall defer the further account of them till we come to speak of *Sparta*. All that need be added here is, that *Cresphontes*, who, as we observed before, had juggled himself into *Mycenæ*, soon lost his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles, with two of his sons, for his extraordinary caresses to the people. His third son *Ægyptus*, or rather *Æpytus*, fled to *Cypselus* king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, and when of age, obtained his assistance to regain his kingdom, killed the usurper of it, and by wisely dividing his favours and largesses between the nobles and the people, gained the affections of both to such a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called *Heraclidæ*, were from thenceforth called *Æpytidæ* in honour of him [g]. But this popular liberality, though now so successful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the subjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the excision of monarchy and a total change of government.

[e] Polyen. ubi supra. Apoll. ubi supra. Pausan. in Messenic.
[f] Apollod. ubi supra.
[g] Vid. Pausan. in Messenic.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The history of the ancient kingdom of ATTICA.

Geography ATTICA was ſituate along the north coaſt of the gulph of *Saron*, bounded on the weſt by *Megara*, mount *Citharon*, and part of *Bœotia*; on the north by the *Euripic* gulph, now *Stretto di negro ponte*, and the reſt of *Bœotia*; and on the eaſt by the *Europius* above-mentioned. It reached in length from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about ſixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. eaſt longitude. Its breadth from north to ſouth, where it is broadeſt, was about fifty-ſix miles, and decreaſing as it came nearer to the ſea [a] (A).

Soil, climate, and inhabitants. THE ſoil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable induſtry of the people; hence it was that it often enjoyed a profound quietneſs, when other more fruitful countries were expoſed to frequent incurſions. So that having above all others preſerved its ancient inhabitants, it gave riſe to their extravagant notion, that they, like other inſects, were the ſpontaneous product of the ſoil; and as a badge of it, *Thucydides* tells us, they wore a golden graſhopper in the curls of their hair. The climate is very moderate, the air ſerene, eſpecially about *Athens*, ſo that it is far more healthy and free from diſtempers, eſpecially the plague, than the reſt of *Greece*, where this laſt is very frequent and deſtructive. However they were much more advantagiouſly ſituated for commerce, having ſeveral good ports, the chief of which was that of *Pyreus*, whoſe haven, diſtant from *Athens*, the metropolis of *Attica*, about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each ſide with two ſtrong walls reaching from the one to the other, for the ſecurity of the merchandize that went up to that capital. It

[a] MELA, CLUVER. BYZANT. & al.

(A) This country was anciently called *Acte* (1). *Pauſanias* adds, that the country called in his time *Attica*, was formerly named *Actæa* (2). And *Mela* gives it the name of *Atthis*; neither are its boundaries agreed to among ancient geographers. *Pliny*, in the place above quoted, extends them quite to the *Iſthmus*; ſo that, according to him, it muſt have included *Megaris*, or the country of *Megara*; but the far greater part make them two diſtinct countries, and ancient hiſtorians repreſent *Megara* as the rival of *Athens*, capital of *Attica*, and as being frequently at wars with it (3).

(1) *Plin. lib.* iv. *c.* 7. (2) *In Attic. c.* 11. (3) *Vid. int. al. Spon's Greece. Vol. II. lib.* v.

had

had moreover a wide harbour, capable of containing above 100 ſhips [b]. There were ſome other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to *Athens* was *Eleuſis* on the ſame gulph, and near the coaſts of *Megara*, upon which account it had been once ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (B). 2. *Rhamnus*, famed for the temple of *Amphiaraous*, and the ſtatue of *Nemeſis* (C). But the largeſt and moſt opulent was the metropolis, called at firſt *Cecropia*, from *Cecrops* the founder of it; but afterwards *A-* Athens.
thens, from the goddeſs *Minerva* (D), whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, and to whom that city was dedicated, and in whoſe honour were inſtituted the yearly games called *Panathenæa*. It was chiefly famed, beſides its ſtrength, beauty and opulence, 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence *Fides Attica* became a common proverb; 2. For being the nurſery of the beſt ſcholars and orators, choiceſt wits, and greateſt philoſophers; and 3. For having produced the greateſt

[b] THUCYDID. l. ii.

(B) This city is ſaid to have been built by one *Eleuſius*, who having entertained *Ceres* there, when ſhe went in ſearch of her daughter, ſhe taught him agriculture, as an acknowledgment for his hoſpitality. Hence that goddeſs is ſometimes called *Eleuſina* by the poets (4).

(C) The goddeſs of juſtice, called alſo *Rhamnaſia* from this town where her temple ſtood (5).

(D) The occaſion of it, as the ſtory goes, is that *Cecrops* not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree, and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horſe appeared. The oracle being conſulted, anſwered, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of *Minerva*, and the fountain (or horſe) that of *Neptune*, and that that which they eſteemed the moſt beneficial to mankind ſhould adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being aſſembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god; but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddeſs, and the city was called from her *Athenæ*. *Neptune*, in revenge for the affront, drowned their territories about it, and the men to appeaſe his anger, paſt three votes againſt the women, the one, that they ſhould not be called *Athenians*, but *Atticans*; the ſecond, that they ſhould have no vote in public matters; and laſtly, that no children ſhould thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embelliſhed this ſtory after their way, by pretending that thoſe deities did viſibly contend for thoſe places, as they did alſo for ſeveral others, and that either *Jupiter*, or themſelves, left the arbitration of the diſpute to ſome proper Judges. We ſhall meet with ſome further inſtances of this kind of contention in the ſequel (6).

(4) *Vid. Steph. de urb. in voc. Isocr. ubi ſupra, Pauſan. in Attic.*

(5) *Id. Plutarch, &c.*

(6) *Apol-*

number

number of brave generals of any city in the world, *Rome* not excepted, upon all which accounts it was juſtly eſteemed one of the eyes of *Greece*.

Rivers. THE chief river in this kingdom is the *Aſopus*, which divided it from *Bœotia*, and flowing from the lake *Copais*, thro' *Bœotia* and *Attica*, and ſplitting itſelf into two ſtreams, which divide the famous plains of *Marathon*, empties itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea. As to the *Ibiſſus*, *Erdianus*, and *Cephiſſus*, they were rather brooks than rivers, and make more noiſe in hiſtory than they do in their courſe; but *Attica* having ſuch a number of havens, could the more eaſily diſpenſe with few rivers.

Government. THE government, from its firſt foundation to the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical, under a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. What is moſt remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a diſlike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it out of a deep reſpect to the laſt monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generouſly ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his ſubjects, the grateful *Athenians* reſolved that no man from thenceforth ſhould bear the title of king, and gave that of *Archon* to his ſon and ſucceſſor [c], which continued during ten ſucceſſions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the *Archontic* government was, that the former deſcended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that theſe were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

Riches. THE riches of this kingdom, occaſioned by its great commerce and frugality, are ſaid to have amounted to 1200 (*Attic*) talents a year [d]; this vaſt income gave them a conſiderable ſuperiority over all their neighbours, not only as it inabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they, but alſo as they could make uſe of it to gain any other eſtates on their ſide; and as their coin was commonly ſtamped with

Coin. the figure of an ox, hence was the phraſe ſo frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen †. Hence alſo came the common proverb, *Bovem habet in lingua*, when a man was thought bribed to ſpeak contrary to his own ſentiments. But nothing doth more viſibly diſplay the wealth, ſtrength, and populouſneſs of the *Attican* nation, than the number of tribes into which it was divided, and the vaſt number of cities and towns belonging to each tribe, ſome of which were large, populous, and fenced with ſtately walls,

[c] JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 6. PAUSAN. Achaic. [d] THUCYDID. ubi ſupra. † Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſ.

towers,

towers, &c. We have not room in a work like this to ſpeak particularly of theſe tribes, much leſs of their cities, but ſhall refer our curious readers to *Meurſius*, or rather to Mr. *Spon*, who hath greatly amended him †. Theſe tribes were 13 in number, all which had a right to the greateſt places of the government, and to ſend each their fifty *Prytanes*, which compoſed one of their greateſt tribunals, which ſat in their *Prytaneum*, and were denominated from ſome of the moſt famed *Attican* heroes. We ſhall juſt ſubjoin their names, and the number of towns which belonged to each of them, as far as the laſt quoted author hath been able to collect them from medals and other ancient monuments.

I. *Alcmantid* tribe contained 13 towns or diſtricts. II. The *Æantid*, 5. III. The *Antiochian*, 18. IV. The *Attalid*, 2. V. The *Ægeid*, 12. VI. That of *Erectheus*, 12. VII. That of *Hadrian*, 3. VIII. The *Hippothoontid*, 16. IX. That of *Cecrops*, 10. X. The *Leontine*, 16. XI. The *OEneid*, 13. XII. That of *Ptolemais*, 4. XIII. That of *Pandion*, 9. To theſe our author adds 40 more, belonging to uncertain tribes, ſo that the whole amounts to 178. If it ſhould be asked, how ſo ſmall a canton as this of *Attica* could have ſuch a number of towns and diſtricts, ſome of them ſo large and opulent? We need but caſt our eyes on *Holland*, which is much about the ſame extent, and yet even greatly exceeds it in all other reſpects, except its advantagious ſituation for trade, and the healthineſs of its climate.

Chronology

THIS kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saits* [c], a people who lived at one of the mouths of the *Nile* called *Saiticum*, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 792, or according to *Euſebius*'s chronology, 780 years before the firſt olympiad (D). It continued under its monarchs 487 years, according to the ſame chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the *Athenians* felt any grie-

† Voy. into Greece, tom. 2. lib. v. [c] DIODOR. SIC. lib. i.

(D) Some authors, who make *Ogyges* to have been king of *Attica* at that time in which it was deſtroyed by the deluge which bears his name (7), place the foundation of this kingdom ſtill further off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this *Ogyges* was is not eaſy to gueſs: ſome make him an *Egyptian*, and ſome an *Arcadian*: ſome think he reigned in *Attica*, and others at *Thebes*. Under this uncertainty we chuſe to date the foundation of the kingdom from *Cecrops*, who, if *Ogyges* had really reigned there, may at leaſt be reckoned the reſtorer of it, and the perſon from whom the ſucceſſion of *Attic* princes is derived.

We

(7) *De hac vid. Hellanic, Caſtor, Thal, Polybiſt, Euſeb, & al.*

grievances that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other: Only we may obſerve here once for all, that thoſe ancient monarchs, both here and in other parts of *Greece*, were ſeldom conſulted by the people, except in caſes of danger, each city having its own magiſtrates and courts to govern them; ſo that they acted at firſt rather as generals or commanders, than as kings, till in proceſs of time they found means to ingroſs all the civil power likewiſe. The *Archontic* government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their laſt king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, *A. M.* 3412, there elapſed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from *Cecrops* to *Solon* amounts to 960 years.

The ancient kings of *Athens*.

		Years they reigned.			Years they reigned
1	*Cecrops*	56	10	*Theſeus*	30
2	*Cranaus*	9	11	*Mneſtheus*	23
3	*Amphictyon*	10	12	*Demophon*	33
4	*Erichthonius*	50	13	*Oxyntes*	12
5	*Pandion* I.	40	14	*Aphydas*	1
6	*Erechtheus*	50	15	*Thymætes, al. Thymedes*	8
7	*Cecrops* II.	40			
8	*Pandion* II.	25	16	*Melanthus*	37
9	*Ægeus*	48	17	*Codrus*	21
				Total of years	487

We muſt own however, that according to this ſuppoſition of his being the firſt founder of the kingdom, thoſe of *Thebes* and *Sparta* will ſtand foremoſt in point of antiquity, though in no other reſpect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at firſt in our plan of this work.

This *Cecrops* is feigned by the poets to have been partly man, and partly ſerpent or dragon (8), that is, according to *Juſtin* (9), becauſe he was the firſt that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to *Demoſthenes*, and the reſt of the vain *Grecians*, becauſe he had the wiſdom of a man, and the ſtrength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of *Egypt*, and poliſhed himſelf into a man in *Greece*; but more probably, either as he was the firſt inſtitutor of marriage, or becauſe he underſtood the *Egyptian* and *Greek* tongues (10). Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the *Red-Sea* with *Pharaoh*'s hoſt, in whoſe time he lived.

(8) *Apollod. l.* ii. *Polybiſt. Rawleigh. Heyl. & al.* (9) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 1. (10) *Euſeb. Chron. vid.*

The

The names of the thirteen *Archons* who ſucceeded theſe kings were,

				Years they reigned.
1	*Medon*	the ſon of	*Codrus*,	20
2	*Accaſtus*		*Medon*,	36
3	*Archyppus*		*Accaſtus*,	19
4	*Therſippus*		*Archyppus*,	41
5	*Phorbas*		*Therſippus*,	30
6	*Megacles*		*Phorbas*,	28
7	*Diagnetus*		*Megacles*,	25
8	*Phereclus*		*Diagnetus*,	19
9	*Ariphron*		*Phereclus*,	20
10	*Theſpiæus*		*Ariphron*,	27
11	*Agameſtor*		*Theſpiæus*,	17
12	*Æſchylus*		*Agameſtor*,	23
13	*Alcmæon*		*Æſchylus*,	2
			Total of years	307

1. *Cecrops* built the city of *Athens*, as we ſaid before, married the daughter of *Actæus*, ſuppoſed to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in right of her laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who deified *Jupiter*, and ordained ſacrifices to be offered to him [f] as the ſupreme deity. He is likewiſe affirmed to have been the firſt who ſet up altars and idols, offered ſacrifices, and inſtituted marriage among the *Grecians*, who before his time, it ſeems, lived promiſcuouſly, and coupled as their fancy led them. *Pauſanias* tells us that he forbid ſacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any ſort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the *Athenians Pelanous*, and in *Greek* Βους, which ſignifies likewiſe an ox. This led *Euſebius* into the miſtake which we find in the firſt book of his chronicle, where he affirms that *Cecrops* was the firſt who ſacrificed an ox to *Jupiter*; whereas that creature, ſo eſteemed by the *Athenians* on account of its ſerviceableneſs in agriculture, was not ſacrificed by them till the time of *Erectheus*, who offered one to *Jupiter Polieus*, or protector of the city; [g] and then *Pauſanias* tells us that the prieſt who knocked it down, being ſeized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down, and fled out of *Attica*. He is likewiſe affirmed to have taught his ſubjects the art of navigation; and for the better adminiſtration of juſtice and intercourſe among them, to have

[f] Pausan. in Attic. [g] Apollod. l. iii. c. 3.

divided

divided them into the firſt four tribes called *Cecropis*, *Autochton*, *Actea*, and *Paralia*. Some likewiſe make him the founder of the *Areopagus*, of which more in the ſequel; others place it in his ſucceſſor's reign. From *Cecrops* the *Athenians* affected to call themſelves *Cecropidæ*, during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of *Erectheydæ*, in honour of *Erectheus* their ſixth monarch. *Cecrops* reigned fifty years, according to *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, and left only three daughters, *viz. Herſe*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandroſos*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a following note. As for his ſon *Eryſicthon*, he died before his father. So that after *Cecrop*'s death, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthieſt citizens of *Athens*, and in the greateſt credit, found means to aſcend the *Attic* throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

Cranaus. 2. *Cranaus* enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having unfortunately married one of his daughters, named *Attis*, to *Amphictyon* the ſon of *Deucalion*, was by him dethroned, and forced to retire into the city of *Lamprea*, where he led a private life to the laſt, and where the *Lampreans* ſhewed his tomb. From his daughter *Attis* the country, till then called *Actæa*, took the name of *Attica*.

Amphictyon. 3. *Amphictyon* (E) after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the laſt quoted authors, twelve years, was himſelf depoſed and outed by

Erictho-nius. 4. *Erichthonius*, who was the reputed ſon of *Vulcan* and *Tethys* (F). He is ſaid to have been the firſt inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet; or, as others have it, was the firſt inſtitutor of horſe and chariot races, at the feſtival called *Panathenæa*, in honour of *Minerva*. He is alſo affirmed to have been the firſt who brought, or at leaſt ſtamped ſilver into a coin. He reigned fifty years.

Pandion. 5. *Pandion* the ſon of *Erichthonius*, and father of *Progne* and *Philomela*; whoſe hard fate, ſo famous among the poets,

(E) Not that *Amphyction* who was the firſt inſtitutor of the court of the *Amphictyons* or common council of *Greece*, but his uncle.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have ſprung *ex ſpermate Vulcani in terram delapſo*, by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva* who alſo brought him up. The fable adds, that ſhe having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to *Cecrops*'s three daughters, with expreſs orders not to open it upon any account. *Pandroſos* obeyed the goddeſs; but her two ſiſters, more curious than ſhe, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with ſuch a phrenſy, or, according to the fabulous phraſe, ſo tormented with furies, that they flung themſelves down the ſteepeſt place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

is supposed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years (G).

6. *Erectheus*, *Pandion*'s son, was reckoned the most powerful prince of his time; wherefore *Boreas* king of *Thrace*, who sought his alliance, demanded his daughter *Orithia* in marriage, and being denied, carried her away by force. *Erectheus*, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle against the *Eleusians*. He left several sons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the decision to their brother-in-law *Xuthus*, who adjudged the kingdom to *Cecrops*, who was the eldest. For this the two other brothers bore *Xuthus* such ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge, when driven from *Thessaly* by his brethren. Erectheus.

7. *Cecrops* II. the eldest son of *Erectheus*, is generally allowed to have been the first who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houses and cottages, scattered here and there, without order or regular distance; but he was after forty years reign driven out by his two discontented brethren *Metion* and *Pandorus*, and forced to fly into *Ægialea*, and died there. Cecrops II

8. *Pandion* II. the son of *Cecrops* II. was likewise driven out of *Athens* by the sons of his uncle *Metion*, who took the administration for some time. *Pandion* fled into *Megara*, where *Pylas* then reigning, gave him his daughter *Pelia*, and afterwards made him his successor. During his abode there he had four sons, with whom he came into *Athens* (H), whence he expelled the sons of *Metion*, and after he had reigned Pandion II

(G) *Pandion* was the first who held the crown in right of succession, and from whom it afterward became hereditary. In his reign *Triptolemus* is affirmed to have taught the *Athenians* agriculture, which he had learned from *Ceres*; in whose honour the *Eleusinia* were instituted, and so called from the town of *Eleusis* in *Attica*. This famed festival was celebrated with utmost secrecy, and emphatically stiled the *Mysteries*; and it was death to divulge the least ceremony belonging to it *. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that this second *Pandion*, and his predecessor *Erectheus*, are the same with *Pandion* I. and *Erichthonius*, placed as the 6th and 7th princes in our list; so that, according to him, the two *Cecrops* and *Pandion* must be struck out of the list; which, however, we will not venture to do, till we have better authority for it, and leave it to the reader to admit or reject them.

(H) It is indeed much more likely that he never returned into *Athens*, but that after his sons were grown up, he sent them to recover that kingdom from the *Metionidæ*; so that having all shared alike the danger, they thought it reasonable to share alike the conquest.

* *Pausan. Apol. ubi sup.*

reigned twenty-five years, either left the kingdom among his four ſons, or they agreed to divide it among themſelves after his death; notwithſtanding which, the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldeſt [h] *Ægeus*.

Ægeus. 9. *Ægeus*, when he came to the crown, finding himſelf deſpiſed by his ſubjects, becauſe he could get no children by his wives, and ſometimes inſulted by his brother *Pallas*, who by that time had got no leſs than fifty ſons, ſirnamed from him *Pallantidæ*, beſides daughters, went to conſult the *Delphic* oracle, and was anſwered that he muſt forbear the uſe of women till his return into *Athens* [i]. This puzzling anſwer forced him to apply himſelf to *Pittheus* king of *Troezen*, who was then famed for his extraordinary wiſdom and ſkill in expounding oracles, where this prince eaſily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter *Æthra*, whom he got with child. As none but theſe three were privy to the ſecret, *Ægeus*, before his return to *Athens*, hid a ſword and a pair of ſhoes under a ſtone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princeſs, that if the child proved a boy, ſhe ſhould ſend him to *Athens* with thoſe tokens, as ſoon as he was able to lift up the ſtone. He charged her moreover to uſe all imaginable ſecrecy, leſt the ſons of his brother *Pallas*, getting knowledge of it, ſhould way-lay and murder him in his way to *Athens*.

Æthra being ſoon after delivered of a ſon, *Pittheus* gave out that *Neptune* was the father of it; and when he was ſixteen years old, ſhe brought him to the ſtone, which ſhe ſaw him lift up with eaſe, upon which ſhe diſcovered to him the whole ſecret of his parentage, bid him take up the ſword and ſhoes, and prepare himſelf to go to his father. Both ſhe and *Pittheus* however adviſed him to go by ſea, alledging that ſince *Hercules*'s departure, who had been the great ſcourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again ſo infeſted with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. *Theſeus*, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time ſhewed uncommon marks of courage and ſtrength, no ſooner heard *Hercules* named upon ſuch an occaſion, than he was fired with a deſire to imitate ſo noble a pattern; ſo that all their intreaties could not diſſuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his

[h] Pausan. Apollod. ubi ſupra. [i] Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.

The ſpace therefore of twenty-five years allowed by chronologiſts (7) to their father's reign, ſeems rather deſigned to mark the interval of the interregnum or uſurpation from *Cecrops*'s expulſion to his grandſon *Ægeus*'s reign.

(7) *Pauſan.. ibid. vid. & Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.*

way to *Athens* having no connection with either his father's reign or his own may be beſt ſeen in the margin (H).

WHIST *Theſeus* was ſtill in *Troezen*, his father laboured under no ſmall perplexities from his ſubjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almoſt driven him to deſpair. *Androgeus* the ſon of *Minos*, king of *Crete*, who was come to *Athens* to be preſent at one of their feaſts, had unhappily contracted ſuch an intimacy with the fifty ſons of *Pallas*, that the jealous old king, fearing ſome fatal conſequence from it, had cauſed that prince to be privately murdered. Others ſay that the young prince having undertaken to encounter the *Marathonian* bull, was killed by it. However that be, *Minos* having received the news of his ſon's death, and made ſeveral vain attempts to revenge it on the *Athenians*, prayed to the gods to do it for him; upon which the *Athenians* were puniſhed with peſtilence, famine, and ſeveral other plagues; and were told by the oracle, that they muſt expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos*, reſolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, impoſed a yearly tribute upon them of ſeven young men, and ſeven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur* (I), during the ſpace of ſeven [k], or according to others

[k] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

(H) His firſt encounter after he left *Troezen*, was with *Periphetes* the ſon of *Vulcan*, firnamed alſo *Corynetes*, or *Club-bearer*, from the club he uſed to fight with, whom he ſlew in ſingle combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was *Sinnis* the ſon of *Polyphemon*, firnamed *Pityocamptes*, from his bending the heads of two tall pines, and tying paſſengers between the oppoſite branches, which by their ſudden return, did tear them in pieces: him *Theſeus* put to the ſame death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce *Cromyonian* ſow called *Phæa*, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders, and lewdneſs.

Sciron, a famous robber, who uſed to throw paſſengers down a ſteep rock, after he had made them waſh his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next ſignalized himſelf in the *Eleuſian* games by killing *Cercyon* a famous *Arcadian* wreſtler, he went to *Termione*, where he killed *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe called *Procruſtes*, by diſtending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he uſed to do to thoſe who unhappily fell into his hands.

Laſtly, He went and fetched the famed bull of *Marathon*, and brought him alive to *Athens*, where he ſacrificed him to *Apollo* (8).

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Paſiphe Minos*'s queen; and who

(8) *Philochor. ap. Hiod. Hiſt. Græc. lib. i.*

others nine years [1], these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that *Ægeus*, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that *Minos* had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when *Theseus* having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous inchantress *Medea*, in her flight from *Corinth*, and had been deluded with hopes that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children; had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. *Theseus*, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was yet discovered by *Medea*, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger, and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, *Theseus*, willing to give his father an agreeable surprize, did luckily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hasted to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, he owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of *Theseus*, did so quash the sanguine hopes of *Pallas* and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

After this *Theseus*, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the *Minotaur*,

[1] Plutarch. ubi supra.

as soon as born, was by the king's order thrown into a labyrinth, and fed with human flesh; but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been surnamed *Taurus* or *Bull*. He seems also to have been in great power at the *Cretan* court, either for his constant victories at the games which *Minos* had instituted in memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all the *Athenian* captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and embarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black to sail by, and the other white to be hoisted up at their return, in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at *Crete* he offered himself to *Minos*, and demanded the liberty to fight the *Minotaur*, or rather his champion *Taurus*, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect that his queen, a woman of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. *Theseus* after this, had all the success he could wish: he killed his enemy, released all the *Athenian* captives, prevailed upon *Minos* to remit the tribute, and obtained his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage (K). Unfortunately for *Theseus* and his company, as well as for his father *Ægeus*, their extraordinary joy for their late success, made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed; and the old king, who went from time to time to espie them from a high rock, observing the ship afar off, still hanging out its sable colours, doubted not but that his son had like the rest fallen a victim to the *Minotaur*; and in a fit of sudden despair threw himself into the sea, which from him was since called the *Ægean* sea; so that when *Theseus* landed at *Athens* he found the city divided between grief for his old father's death and joy for the safe return of his valiant son and successor. *Ægeus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theseus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, to spend his time in the

(K) This last was not indeed with her father's consent; but she having been an eye-witness of his valour, and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her however in the isle of *Naxos*: and some add, that after the conquest of the *Minotaur*, *Minos* fell in love with *Peribea*, one of the seven virgins which *Theseus* had brought with him, and would have detained her. *Theseus* strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the *Cretan* king, that among other ill language which he gave him, he told him that he was not the son of *Neptune*, unless he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the sea. *Theseus* immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which *Amphitrite* had put upon his head. *Minos*, however, would not be pacified without *Peribea*, and *Theseus* still persisting in his denial, was by his order cast into the labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* used to be kept; but he stayed not long there, before *Ariadne* furnished him with a clue, by the help of which he extricated himself out of it, and setting out with his fleet for *Athens*, left *Ariadne* behind at the island above-mentioned, where *Bacchus* fell in love with her, and carried her off, whilst *Theseus* sailed homewards towards *Athens*.

civil affairs of his kingdom; so that he began, upon his first accession to it, to think how to divest himself of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he divested himself of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of their laws. The rest he committed to proper magistrates, chosen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. The first he invested with the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulating all the things that related to religion. The other two chose their inferior magistrates from among themselves to take care of whatever related to their separate orders: so that the kingdom was in some measure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greatest post; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the husbandmen had the greatest profit; and the artists excelled them in number (L). He likewise abolished all their distinct courts of judicature, and built one common-council-hall, called *Prytaneum*, a sumptuous building which stood for many ages [m]. We observed before, that the *Athenian* money was stamped with an ox; this coin was supposed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theseus*'s killing the bull of *Marathon*, or the *Minotaur*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was most subservient.

AFTER he had thus new modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the second, who had succeeded *Pylas* his father-in-law, as we have seen above. It was then that *Theseus* erected that famous pillar in the *Isthmus*, which shewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inscription on the one side, *This is not* Peloponnesus *but* Ionia; and on the other, *This is* Peloponnesus *not* Ionia. What we read concerning his two expeditions against the *Amazons* is so blended with fable, so differently related [n],

[m] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. Vid. & THUCYDID. l. ii. [n] Conf. HERODOT. PLUTARCH. & MEURS. in Thes. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 4.

(L) In memory of this new regulation it is, that he is affirmed to have instituted, or more probably perhaps revived the festival called *Panathenæa*, mentioned a little higher, as likewise that called *Metoecia*, besides the famous *Isthmian* games, in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were so called from the *Isthmus* in which they were celebrated. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers thither, and as a further encouragement for them to come and settle there, he endowed them with the privileges of natives.

and

and ſo uncertain, that we ſhall give it in a ſhort note, becauſe they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athens* (M).

SOMETIME after theſe expeditions, *Theſeus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous* the ſon of *Ixion*, and being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of *Centaurs*, or rather *Theſſalian* horſemen, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female gueſts; and drove the reſt out of the country. Theſe two went from thence to *Sparta*, and ſtole away the famed *Helena* out of the temple of *Diana Ortia*, where ſhe happened to be a dancing °. This princeſs was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter*, by *Leda* the wife of *Tydarus* king of *OEbalia* in *Peloponneſus*; and though then but nine years old was already famed for the greateſt beauty in the world; inſomuch that *Theſeus*, though then, as is reckoned, above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof againſt her charms. However, the time and place, and circumſtances of this rape are variouſly reported, we have followed *Plutarch*'s account of it as the moſt allowed. According to him the two raviſhers were purſued as far as *Tegea*; but they happily made their eſcape out of *Peloponneſus*, and thinking themſelves now ſecure of their prey; they agreed to caſt lots for her, upon condition that he to whoſe lot ſhe fell, ſhould help the other in getting ſome other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for *Theſeus*, he aſſiſted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proſerpina*

° PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. APOLLOD. PAUSAN. in Attic.

(M) The firſt expedition was only undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whoſe companion in all ſuch exploits *Theſeus* always affected to be. As a reward therefore for his aſſiſtance, that victorious hero gave him *Antiope* one of the *Amazonian* queens whom he had taken priſoner. *Juſtin* ſays, *Hippolyte* the other queen, and that *Hercules* kept *Antiope* for himſelf.

However, this gave occaſion to a ſecond expedition, in which ſome affirm, that the *Amazons* made a deſcent into *Attica*, to recover their loſt queen, having with them beſides their own forces obtained a powerful ſupply of horſemen from *Sagillus* king of *Scythia*, with his ſon *Paſagorus* at their head, who did afterwards, upon ſome miſunderſtanding, withdraw his troops, and left them in the lurch *. Others ſay, that *Theſeus* went and attacked them near the *Caſpian* ſea: however, they all agree, that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of theſe two expeditions, he took the queen *Hippolyte*, whom he afterwards married. After this, the *Amazons* were forced to clap up a peace with the *Athenians*, and theſe either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of *Tellus Olympia*.

* See before, p. 88.

daughter of *Aidonius* king of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*, who being the next beauty to *Helena*, was guarded by the dog *Cerberus*, and was not to be won but by the death of that monster. However, when the king understood that they designed to steal her away, he threw *Pirithous* to be torn in pieces by *Cerberus*, and *Theseus* into prison, from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of *Hercules*.

DURING his absence *Mnestheus* the son of *Peteus*, grandchild of *Erechtheus*, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war which *Castor* and *Pollux* waged against him for the recovery of their sister *Helena*, raised a powerful faction against him: and as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, *Mnestheus* harrangued the citizens, and told them that since their quarrel was only against *Theseus*, their safest way was to open their gates to them, and *Theseus* finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (N). His design was to have sailed to *Crete*, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there, from *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*, his now brother-in-law (O); but he was unfortunately cast by a tempest upon the island of *Scyros*. Here he was at first kindly received by king *Lycomedes*, but was soon after

(N) The ungrateful *Athenians*, who expressed more joy for their new king, than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost, they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation against them, was from thenceforth called *Aratherion*, or the place of curing (10).

(O) *Theseus* had a son by the *Amazonian* queen, named *Hippolytus*, and having soon after married *Phædra* the sister of *Deucalion*, the son and successor of *Minos*, by whom he had two sons; he sent *Hippolytus* to be brought up by his own mother *Æthra* queen of *Troezen*; but he coming afterwards to be present at some *Athenian* games, *Phædra* fell in love with him, and having sollicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment, accused him to *Theseus* of having made an attempt upon her. The fable says, that *Theseus* prayed to *Neptune* to punish him by some violent death, and that as *Hippolytus* was riding along the sea-shore, *Neptune* sent two sea calves who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; but as for *Hippolytus*, *Diana* being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon *Æsculapius* to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

(10) *Plutarch. in Thes.*

killed

killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some say that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or as is most likely, at the instigation of his *Athenian* rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, though others say, that that place being his usual walk after supper, his foot unfortunately slipt in the dark. We omit for brevity's sake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in *Plutarch*'s life of him. All we shall add here is, that the *Athenians* did sometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that *Cimon* the famous son of *Miltiades* did raze the whole island of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

11. *Mnestheus* or *Menestheus*, was the son of *Peteus*, and great grandson of *Erectheus*, the sixth king of *Athens*, and consequently had a better right to the crown than *Theseus*, whose father was uncertain, and who was at best but the son of *Ægeus*, and this but the adopted son of *Pandion*, as we have seen above. Whilst therefore *Theseus* was either pursuing his amours, or was imprisoned for the rape of *Proserpine*, it was easy for his rival to persuade the *Athenians* to raise him to the throne. What gave him another list to it was, that *Castor* and *Pollux*, taking advantage of *Theseus*'s confinement, came and besieged *Aphidne*, a town in *Attica*, where he had sent his mother and his wife *Helena*; and these two heroes having taken and rescued their sister, out of revenge to her ravisher, helped his competiror to mount the throne.

Menestheus being thus chosen, was in no great care about the sons of *Theseus*, but dreaded his known valour, in case he should ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed so far upon the *Athenians*, what with gifts and caresses, that they would not suffer him to come into *Attica*. And as soon as he heard that he was retired into the island of *Scyros*, he prevailed on *Lycomedes* to dispatch him by the stratagem we lately mentioned. *Menestheus* reigned twenty-four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the siege of *Troy*, where having lost his life, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Thesean* line.

12. *Demophon* one of the sons of *Theseus* by *Phedra*, succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces that were before *Troy*. He was one of those that came back safe from that siege: in his return he landed in *Thrace*, where *Phyllis*, king *Lycurgus*'s daughter entertained him for some time at bed and board. Upon his departure

he

he promiſed to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, conſiſting originally of fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argives*, for trying of wilful murders, and laying in wait to kill (P). *Demophon* ſubmitted himſelf afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his ſubjects by the turn of his horſe, as he was coming from *Troy*. It ſubſiſted a conſiderable time in the ſame form; till *Draco*, one of their *Archons*, new modelled it, excluded the *Argives* out of it, and made it conſiſt of fifty-one *Athenians*, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age [p]. *Demophon* reigned thirty-three years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, or according to others his brother.

13. *Oxyntes* who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his ſon.

14. *Aphydas* who was murdered by *Thymætes* in the firſt year of his reign.

15. *Thymætes* the baſtard ſon of *Oxyntes*, betrayed his baſe nature in many things beſides the murder of *Aphydas*, by which he got the crown. We ſhall only mention the laſt inſtance of it which juſtly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight years when *Xanthus* king of *Bœotia* had a conteſt with him about one of their frontier towns. *Xanthus* offered to decide the matter in ſingle combat, and *Thymætes* as cowardly declined it. It happened that *Melanthus* a

[p] Euseb. Chron. lib. i.

(P) The occaſion of erecting this court, and of the *Argives* being admitted to ſit as judges in it, was as follows: *Agamemnon*, others ſay *Diomedes*, returning with his forces from *Troy*, were driven one night into an *Athenian* port called *Phalerus*, and thinking themſelves in an enemy's country, began their uſual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the ſurpriſed *Athenians* fell foul upon and killed a conſiderable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium, or ſtatue of *Minerva*, which was brought from *Troy*, lying upon the ground among the ſlain, by which they knew that they were their friends the *Argives*. The oracle having been conſulted, ordered them to give the ſlain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to *Minerva*, and to ſet up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that this court ſhould be erected to try all caſes of murder, manſlaughter, and chance-medley. It conſiſted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of ſenſe and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its firſt ſetting up, *Agamemnon* inſiſting that there ſhould be an equal number of *Athenians* and *Argives* to ſit in it, the *Athenians* readily granted it.

noble

noble *Messenian*, who had been driven out of his country by the *Heraclidæ*, was come to *Athens* about this time, and offered to answer the chartel. Upon their very first onset *Melanthus* called to his adversary, and asked him why he brought a second along with him contrary to their articles, and whilst *Xanthus* turned about to see who followed him, he ran him through with his launce [q]. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did so please the *Athenians*, that they not only deposed their pusilanimous king, who was the last of the line of *Erechtheus*, and set their *Mycenian* champion upon the throne; but instituted a feast in memory of this action, and called it *Apatheria* from the stratagem that gave occasion to it [r].

16. *Melanthus*, as soon as he had mounted the throne, persuaded the *Athenians* to receive the banished *Messenians* and *Nestoridæ*, and after a reign of thirty-seven years left the kingdom to his worthy son *Codrus* [s].

17. *Codrus* reigned about twenty-one years, during which time the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ* had regained all *Peloponnesus* and were entering into *Attica*. *Codrus* was informed that the oracle had promised them victory provided they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, and that they had taken all proper precautions against it; but he who had resolved to sacrifice his life to the safety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them: he disguised himself like a peasant, went into his camp, fell a quarrelling with some of the *Athenian* soldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceased not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow, the *Athenians* knowing what was done, sent to demand the body of their noble prince, at which the invaders were so terrified, that they decamped without striking a blow [t].

WITH *Codrus* ended the regal succession and title of kings of *Athens*, after it had continued without any interruption 487 years, from *Cecrops* to that magnanimous preserver of his country, whose subjects conceived such veneration for him that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of the state to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of *Archons*, and chose *Medon* the eldest son of *Codrus* to that new dignity. His election however was opposed by his brother *Nileus*, who pretended he could not submit to *Medon*'s authority, because he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it [u], all the *Archons* that succeeded him were from him sir-

Year of the flood 1279. *Before Christ* 1069.

[q] Vid. FRONTIN. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5. [r] POLYEN. Stratag. l. i. c. 9. [s] PAUSAN. Achaic. [t] JUST. ex Trog l. ii. c. 6. [u] CASTOR. ap. EUSEB. ubi supra.

named

named *Medontidæ*, becauſe they were all choſen by ſucceſſion: ſo that the *Athenian* government continued in the family of *Codrus* under twelve perpetual *Archons*, ſomewhat above the ſpace of two-hundred years more.

THEIR names need not be repeated here, as we have added them to the liſt of the *Athenian* kings: neither ſhall we dwell upon the tranſactions which happened under each ſeveral archonſhip; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of change, did ſhew from time to time their diſlike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a reſemblance to monarchy, and giving its poſſeſſor too great a handle to tyrrannize over them. They began to give ſome marks of their diſcontent under their firſt *Archon*. *Attica* had enjoyed ſo much quiet during a long ſeaſon, that it ſwarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more harraſſed with wars, ſo that they were forced to diſcharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coaſts of *Leſſer Aſia*. Upon the very firſt of theſe expeditions *Nileus* and the reſt of *Codrus*'s ſons, who could not brook to be under their brother *Medon* drew a great number of *Athenians* to them, joined with the *Ionians* and *Thebans*, and left *Athens* for *Leſſer Aſia*, where they diſperſed themſelves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. *Epheſus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myus*, *Teos*, *Lebedos*, *Clazomenæ*. *Erithræ*, *Phocea*, *Chios* in the iſle of that name, and *Samos*. Theſe were at firſt each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be ſeen in due time.

THIS perpetual archonſhip however upheld itſelf ſo long, in ſpight of the people's diſlike to it, that it paſſed through thirteen hands, from *Medon* the ſon of *Codrus*, to *Alcmon* the laſt who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his ſhort reign, which laſted but two years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: ſo that *Charops* the ſon of *Eſchylus*, was forced to accept of it upon thoſe terms or none. This change happened about the beginning of the ſeventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* was born. This new decemnial dignity had ſcarce paſſed through four hands, before they began again to call for a freſh reduction of it; for *Hippomenes* the laſt of *Codrus*'s line, in whoſe archonſhip this tumult happened, had ſcarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his ſon and daughter (N), cauſed him

Year of the flood 1296. *Before Chriſt* 1052.

(N) He cauſed his ſon to be torn in pieces by horſes for adultery, and his daughter he ſhut up with a horſe without food, to be devoured

him to be depoſed. However, they did not then gain their point; it continued ſtill through three different hands, till at length *Eryxias* the laſt of them either dying, or being depoſed in the laſt year of his archonſhip, the *Athenians* appointed new archontes to be choſen from among the moſt conſiderable citizens for birth, wealth and intereſt, and voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* did afterwards new-model and confirm, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

voured alive, for having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous puniſhment. *Suidas* (11) tells us, there was a place in the city called Ἱππο-κῆ-κυρης, *Hippokai Kyres*, in memory of the horſe and the young lady.

(11) *Sub voc.* ἱππομένος.

SECT. IV.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdoms of Bœotia *and* Thebes.

Ancient names.

WE find two ancient kingdoms called by the name of *Bœotia*, the one, and by far the more ancient and conſiderable of the two, founded, or rather reſtored by *Cadmus*, and named by him *Bœotia*, from the ox which is ſaid to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of *Thebes*. The other was in *Theſſaly*, and is ſaid to have been founded by *Bœotus* the ſon of *Neptune*, and brother of *Æolus*, by *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* king of *Æolis*. This laſt having ſent his daughter to *Metapontium*, a city of *Italy*, ſhe was there delivered of thoſe two ſons, the eldeſt of whom ſhe called after her father's name *Æolus*; and he poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſlands in the *Tyrrhenian*, now *Tuſcan* ſea, and built the city of *Lipara*. *Bœotus*, the younger ſon, went to his grandfather and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city *Arne* from his mother. All that we know of theſe is, that they held this ſettlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the *Theſſalians* did expel them from it, and forced them to ſeek for a new one; upon which they came and poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which had been till then called *Cadmeis*, and gave it the name of *Bœotia*. *Diodorus* and *Homer* tell us that theſe *Bœotians* did ſignalize themſelves at the *Trojan* war, and the latter adds, that five of *Bœotius*'s grandſons, *Peneleus*, *Leitus*, *Prothoenor*, *Arceſilaus*, and *Clonius*, were the five chiefs who led their *Bœotian* troops thither.

ACCORD-

ACCORDING, therefore, to *Diodorus* *, this laſt country, though founded into a kingdom, at leaſt ever ſince the time of *Cadmus*, was not called *Bœotia* till the baniſhed ſons of *Bœotus* gave it that name, about three hundred years after the building of *Thebes*; but the moſt current account, eſpecially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by *Cadmus* himſelf, in memory of the ox by whom he had been directed thither, according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned that it had ſeveral other names, according to thoſe of its ſuppoſed founders: Thoſe who aſcribed it to *Ogyges* called both it and its capital *Ogygia*, tho' it is more probable he was ſeated in *Attica*, where he gave name to the deluge which happened in his time. Others called it *Cadmeis* from *Cadmus*, and as thoſe two kings are recorded without any convincing particulars of their reigns, we muſt reſt ſatisfied with this general remark, that *Calydnean* and *Ogygean* are applied as epithets to things of the remoteſt antiquity. This country is alſo called *Aonia*, from *Aon* the ſon of *Neptune*, and *Hyanthis*, from *Hyas* the ſon of *Atlas*. That province is now called *Stramulippa*, and *Thebes*, its ancient capital, *Thive*, but corruptly by the *Greeks*, *Stibes* or *Stives*.

Geography

IT bordered on the eaſt to *Attica*, and was in time joined to it, as we have ſeen in the laſt article, and was parted from it by the mountain *Cithæron*. On the north, by the ſtreight *Euripus*, now called the *Negroponte*, ſaid to flow ſeven times in twenty-four hours, or rather, according to *Livy*, ſuppoſed to do ſo, becauſe its tides are boiſterous and uncertain. On the weſt it had the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the ſouth the gulph of *Corinth*. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the ſame length from north to ſouth; but coming near to a point eaſtward [a]. *Ephorus* affirms, on the authority of *Strabo* †, that this country had this ſingular advantage over the reſt, that it is contiguous to three ſeas; by which he meant, that which is ſtiled the upper, which is between *Macedonia* and *Ionia*, the *Propontis* and the *Mediterranean*; and that it had a great number of

* Bibl. lib. iv. [a] STRAB. MEL. & al. † Geogr. lib. ix.

(A) The fable goes, that *Cadmus* tired with going in ſearch of his ſiſter *Europa*, whom *Jupiter*, in the ſhape of a bull, or as is ſuppoſed, in a ſhip, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into *Crete*, was adviſed by the oracle of *Delphos* to follow the track of the firſt ox he ſaw, and where he reſted himſelf to build a city, which he accordingly did, and called it *Thebes*, from the famed one in *Egypt* of that name, and the citadel he called *Cadmea* from his own (1).

(1) *Pauſan. in Bœot. et al.*

fair

fair and convenient havens upon them, by which it could carry on a commerce with *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. Here is alſo the large lake *Copais*, about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two conſiderable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country eaſtward. Theſe are the *Aſopus*, which divided the territories of *Thebes* from thoſe of the *Plateans*, and running through thoſe of *Attica*, falls into the *Ægean* ſea; and the *Iſmenus*, which empties itſelf into the *Euripus* abovementioned. The country is partly hilly, eſpecially *Aonia*, properly ſo called; the reſt is low and flat, abounding with excellent paſturage; but whoſe air is ſo thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occaſion of the inhabitants being ſuch famous dunces. *Natural rarities.*

PLACES of note in *Bœotia*, were, 1. The *Trophonian* cave (B), and the oracle ſaid to have been there given by *Jupiter*, whence he was ſirnamed *Trophonius*. 2. *Theſpia*, a town ſituate on the river of that name, and ſhadowed on the north by the famous *Helicon*, whence the muſes, to which theſe were dedicated, were called *Theſpiades*. 3. *Aulis*, a ſea-port on the *Negropont*, famous for being the place where the *Grecian* chiefs ſwore the deſtruction of *Troy*. 4. The famed ſtreights of the mountain *Oeta*, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the ſtreights of *Thermoylæ*, from the hot waters in that neighbourhood; but the moſt famed place was the city of *Thebes*, ſituate near the river *Iſmenus*, and ſirnamed *Heptapylos* from its ſeven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, as we obſerved before, and to have been made by him the capital of the *Bœotian* kingdom, from which his ſucceſſors (who did adorn it with many ſtately temples, palaces, and other ſumptuous buildings, we ſhall have occaſion to mention by and by,) were alſo called kings of *Thebes* [b]. *Places of note.*

THE government was altogether monarchical, like thoſe we have ſeen already, but perhaps more deſpotic here than in the reſt, and having no other laws than the king's will; ſome of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their ancient cuſtoms, except what *Plutarch* tells us in his morals, of their manner of *Laws and cuſtoms.*

[b] PAUSAN. in Bœot.

(B) So called from an old ſoothſayer, who inhabited it, and uſed to be conſulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many waſhings, anointing, and the like ſuperſtitious preparations. It is added that thoſe who had once been in it, were never ſeen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, he has been in the *Trophonian* den.

intro-

introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to underſtand that ſhe was fixed with her huſband for life, and muſt not expect to return to her parents. The foundation of this ancient kingdom, we ſhall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by *Cadmus*, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make *Ogyges* or any other hero to have reigned in *Bœotia*, we cannot gather any light from even what we have left out of the fable writers. Even the times which elapſed between *Cadmus* and the celebrated war between the two contending ſons of *Oedipus*, and which is the moſt ancient piece of hiſtory that we have of all *Greece*, are ſo ſtuffed with the vileſt and moſt abſurd fables of gods turned into ſatyrs and devils, and of men turned into monſters of cruelty and luſt, that we hope we ſhall be excuſed for ſkipping over all that has not ſome affinity with the hiſtory itſelf. The time in which chronologiſts place the rape of *Europa* being about the year of the world 2550 [c], and of the flood 900, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be ſuppoſed to have been within a very few years after, or about the year 2555 or 2556. From thence to the time of its being totally deſtroyed by the *Epigoni* it had ſtood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the *Cadmean* race, but uſurpers. After this there reigned in *Thebes* two kings more of the race of *Oedipus*, and three of the race of *Peneleus* the great grandſon of *Bœotus*. Beſides theſe we find *Homer* mentioning *Etion* as king of *Thebes*. We have ſpoken of him in another place †, and ſhall omit him here in our liſt, becauſe it doth not appear that he was of the *Cadmean* race, nor is he mentioned by *Pauſanias* among the *Theban* kings, though he may have ſignalized himſelf in the defence of that city.

Chronology

Year of the flood 900. *Before Chriſt* 1448.

The LIST of the Kings of *Thebes*, according to our Author, is as follows:

1 *Cadmus*
2 *Polydorus*
3 *Labdacus*
4 *Lajus*
5 *Amphion* an uſurper.
6 *Zethus* his brother.
Lajus reſtored.
7 *Oedipus*
8 *Eteocles* and
9 *Polynices*
10 *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*.
11 *Therſander* ſon of *Polynices*.
12 *Tiſamenes*
13 *Auteſion*
14 *Damaſichton*
15 *Ptolomeus*
16 *Xanthus*

[c] HIND. Hiſt. Græc.

† See before, p. 135.

After

After this laſt the *Thebans*, grown weary of kingly government, reſolved themſelves into a commonwealth, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

Cadmus, according to the *Greeks*, was the ſon of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, and brother of *Betus*, or, according to others, of *Tyre*; but according to the *Sidonians* his countrymen, he was no more than the king's cook: theſe add, that his wife *Hermione* was likewiſe a mere miniſtrel at court, with whom he ran away into *Greece* †. The former tells us, that his father ſending him and his two brothers in queſt of *Europa*, had forbid them to return without her. *Cadmus* therefore, having ſought her far and long in vain, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, came into *Bœotia*, where, as we have ſeen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at firſt oppoſed by the *Hyantes* and *Aones*, who were then in poſſeſſion of that territory: The former he overcame in fight, and forced them to retire into *Locris*; but the latter he admitted, upon their ſubmitting themſelves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people. From the above account of his deſcent, ſome have fancied him to have been of *Ægyptian*, but others, more probably, of *Phœnician* extract, for there he was ſettled for ſome time, and that country is ſaid to have been named from his brother *Phœnix* *. He is, however, generally allowed to be of the family of the *Cadmonites* (mentioned by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*) who were *Hivites*; and his time falling in with that of the conqueſt of *Canaan*, ſeems to confirm his leading a colony of them into *Greece* (C), and is a more

† Vid. ATHENÆUS. l. xiv. c. 22. See Vol. II. p. 319, & ſeq.

* PAUSAN. ubi ſup.

(C) Who and whence thoſe people were whom *Cadmus* brought hither, is variouſly conjectured: ſome think, that he and they came from *Thebais* in *Egypt* (2), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of *Phœnicians*; but we think *Bochart*'s conjecture (3) the moſt reaſonable, that they were *Canaanites* driven out of their land by *Joſhua*, whoſe time falls in with *Cadmus* exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moſes* (4), who were the ſame with the *Hivites*, and were called *Cadmonim*, or *Eaſterlings*, becauſe they inhabited mount *Hermon*, the moſt eaſtern part of *Canaan*, from which the ſame author ſuppoſes *Cadmus*'s wife to have been called *Hermione* or *Harmonia*.

(2) *Vid. Uſſer. an. ſub. A. M.* 2549. *Before, Vol. II. p.* 188, *et ſeq.*

(3) *Canaan. l.* i. *c.* 19. *See before.*

(4) *Gen.* xv. 19.

more plauſible account by far, than that which the fabulous poets give of his coming thither.

THE latter adds, that when *Cadmus* married his wife *Hermione*, whom they make the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the gods came to *Cadmus*, and aſſiſted at his wedding; and that he had by her one ſon named *Polydorus*, and four daughters, *Semele* the mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter* (D), *Ino Autonoe*, and *Agave*. After this the *Enchelæ*, who were at war with the *Illyrians*, being commanded by the oracle to chuſe him their general, he left *Thebes* to his ſon *Polydorus*, and headed them; and here it was that he and his wife are feigned to have been turned into ſerpents (E), or, as ſome interpret it, to have degenerated from their priſtine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another ſon, whom he either called *Illyrius* from the name of the *Illyrians*, his new conquered ſubjects, or elſe that people took their name from him.

Brings letters into Greece.

Cadmus is univerſally allowed to have introduced the uſe of letters into *Greece* from *Phœnicia*. The alphabet, which was the *Phœnician*, of which we have ſpoken in a former

The fable of theſe two being turned into ſerpents, he thinks to have ſprung from their retaining their common name of *Hivites*, which in the *Syriac* ſignifies a ſerpent.

Theſe conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital *Thebes*, for the famed book of *Judges* mentions a city of the ſame name in the land of *Canaan* (5), and written in the plural Θηβη by *Joſephus* (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of thoſe who derive it from *Theba*, the daughter of *Prometheus* (7).

(D) The reaſon why the poets make *Cadmus* grandfather to *Bacchus*, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into *Greece*: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of thoſe, who make *Bacchus* to be the ſame with *Nimrod*, and of thoſe who make him the ſon of *Jupiter Ammon*, ſince in either opinion, he muſt have been vaſtly more ancient (8).

However *Bacchus* is feigned to have been the firſt who found out the uſe of wine, to have gone upon a three years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into *India*, even to the utmoſt parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the *Barbarian* inhabitants of thoſe parts: and laſtly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great ſerpent, he ſtrowed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting againſt each other till they were all killed except five; hence a dear gotten victory came to be called *Victoria Cadmea*.

(5) *c.* ix. 50. *Thebæ.* *Sicul. lib.* iv.
(6) *Ant. l.* v. *c.* 5.
(7) *Vid. Steph. Byſant. ſub*
(8) *Vid. Bochart. ubi ſupra, c.* 18.
(9) *Vid. Diodor.*

volume

volume *, at first had but sixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He also was the first that set up schools there. He taught them moreover trade and navigation, and brass had the name of *Cadmean* given it, in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the use of it into those parts [e].

WHETHER *Cadmus* retired to *Illyrium*, as we have seen, and died there, or whether he returned to *Thebes*, is uncertain. All that we know farther is, that he left the *Theban* government to his son *Polydorus*, in whose reign his great favourite nephew *Pentheus*, the son of *Echion* by *Agave*, having had the insolence to profane the rites of *Bacchus*, was torn in pieces by his mother and sisters. *Polydorus*, whose son *Labdacus* was as yet under age, when he found himself dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to *Nycteus*, whose daughter *Antiope* (F), the greatest beauty then in all *Greece*, being soon after carried off by *Epopeus* king of *Sicyon*, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother *Lycus*, whilst he undertook a war against the ravisher of his daughter. He went soon after him at the head of his *Theban* troops, and a bloody fight ensued, in which *Nycteus* received a mortal wound, and lost the battle; upon which he caused himself to be brought back to *Thebes*, where he left once more his brother guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on *Epopeus*, and to rescue his daughter *Antiope*. In the mean time *Epopeus*, flushed with his victory (G), neglected a slight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death some time after, and put an end to the war. *Lycus* recovered his niece, and as she was coming back to *Thebes* she fell in

* Vol. II. p. 347.

[e] Vid. HERODOT. lib. v.

(F) This young princess who was married to *Zethus*, is supposed to have been carried off by her own consent, because her dying father gave him orders to punish her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that she was pregnant, he contented himself at first with divorcing her, though he was afterwards perswaded by his next wife to clap her into a prison, out of which she was afterwards released by her two sons (10).

(G) He is said to have built a temple to *Minerva*, as an acknowledgment for his late success, and that when it was finished, he prayed to the goddess, that if she accepted of it, she would shew some particular token of it; upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(10) *Pausan. in Corinth. c. 5.*

(11) *Id. ibid.*

labour, and was delivered of two ſons, *Amphion* and *Zethus* (H), of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak by-and-by.

Labdacus. 3. Labdacus, *when of age, finding that* Laomedon, who had ſucceeded *Epopeus* in *Sicyon, was attacked by two powerful enemies,* Archandes *and* Architeles, *the ſons of* Achæus, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt *Antiope* to be reſtored; and *Laomedon*, though then aſſiſted by *Sicyon*, whom he had invited from *Athens* (I), yet choſe rather to deliver up that princeſs, than to exaſperate the *Theban* king by a refuſal *. We have ſeen what reception ſhe met with in a late note. *Labdacus* dying ſoon after, left his ſon *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*.

Lajus. 4. *Lajus* being then very young, *Amphion* and his brother *Zethus*, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. *Lycus*, who was left guardian of the king and kingdom, having made it his firſt care to ſecure the perſon of the young prince, the only ſurviving one of the *Cadmean* race, went and gave battle to the invaders, was defeated by them, and loſt his life, upon which *Thebes* was taken, and the young king privately conveyed away. *Amphion* ſeized the *Theban* crown, and called its metropolis, or at leaſt the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe*, their aunt by the mother's ſide (K), whilſt the up-

* Pausan. in Corinth. ch. 6.

(H) Theſe twins, *Homer* ſays (12), were begot, not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*, who fell in love with *Antiope*. Their firſt exploit was to reſcue their mother out of her confinement, and to murder *Zethus* and his wife, as was hinted in a late note; after which they ſeized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

Antiope is alſo called *Nyctеis* from her father *Nyctеus*, and the ancient *Samotic* poet celebrates her in verſes to this purpoſe; *That ſhe had* Aſopus *for her father*; Epopeus *and* Jupiter *for her gallants*; *and* Amphion *and* Zethus *for her ſons* (13).

(I) Who, the *Sicyonians* ſay, was not the ſon of *Marathon*, the ſon of *Epopeus*, but of *Metion* the ſon of *Erectheus* (14). *Heſiod* makes him the ſon of *Erectheus*, and another of *Pelops* (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may ſee what we ſaid of him in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

(K) Some pretend, that ſhe was one of the three daughters of the river *Aſopus*, or rather of *Aſopus* the *Philaſian*, from whom that river had its name; but the *Bœotians* affirm, that ſhe was the daughter of *Aſopus* the *Bœotian*, probably the ſame who was alſo called *Nyctеus*, the father of their mother *Antiope*, whom *Aſius* above quoted calls *Aſopus*.

(12) *Odyſſ. l.* ii. (13) *Aſius ap. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (14) *Id. ibid.* (15) *Ibyc. ap. eund.*

per

per city or citadel retained its ancient name of *Cadmea*. It is to theſe two heroes that *Homer* attributes the incloſing and fortifying the former with a famous ſtrong wall, with ſeven gates, and a number of ſtately towers at a convenient ſpace from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long againſt the *Theban* forces (L). A grievous plague raged ſoon after, which deſtroyed great multitudes, and among the reſt *Amphion* and his family. His brother *Zethus*, who ſucceeded him, fell under other misfortunes; his only ſon was killed by his own mother, the grief of which ſhortened his days, and gave the *Thebans* an opportunity of ſetting *Lajus* again upon his throne.

Lajus having married *Jocaſta*, or, as ſhe is called by others, *Epicaſte*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by *Apollo*'s oracle, that if he had a ſon by her, he ſhould be killed by him. *OEdipus* was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom *Lajus* therefore gave to a ſhepherd to be ſlain (M); but he, moved with compaſſion, left him expoſed in a place, where he was ſoon after taken up by the herdſman of, and preſented to *Polybus* king of *Corinth*, who healed his feet, and from the ſwelling which the boring and anguiſh had left in them, called him *Oedipus*, and brought him up as his own [f]. When he came of age, and underſtood that he was not the ſon of the *Corinthian* king, he went to the oracle of *Delphos* to enquire after his parents, and at the ſame time *Lajus*, led by his fate, went likewiſe to enquire what was become of his ſon. They met at *Phocis*, and ſome ſcuffle happening between them, *OEdipus* unwittingly killed his father, and went to *Thebes*, where he married his mother *Jocaſta*, and

[f] Conf. PLUTARCH. in Theſ. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & al.

(L) What the fable adds concerning the miraculous effects of *Amphion*'s lyre in the building of thoſe walls, is ſo well known, that we need not ſay any thing further about it, than that *Amphion* had firſt brought muſic into *Greece*, from *Lydia*, where he had learnt it (16), and that it was ſo admired for its novelty and excellence, that he eaſily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilſt he diverted them with the muſic of his harp; and probably alſo by his eloquence, which he was no leſs a maſter of, perſuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live ſociably and in community.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beaſts.

(16) *Vid. Plin. lib.* vii. *ch.* 56. *Pauſan. in Bœotic. et al.*

obtained the kingdom, by expounding the *Sphinx*'s riddle (N). *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were the unhappy fruit of their inceſtuous embraces (O). Some add that he had alſo two daughters by her, but others ſay they were by another woman.

As ſoon as *OEdipus* was appriſed, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and inceſt, the horror of his guilt threw him into ſuch a fit of diſtraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and having curſed his unhappy poſterity, was led by his daughter *Antigone* to *Attica*, where he took ſanctuary in *Eumenides*'s grove, and ſoon after ended his miſerable life. As for *Jocaſta* ſhe hanged herſelf for grief even before he left the kingdom.

His two ſons, after his departure, agreed that each of them ſhould reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other; but *Eteocles* having refuſed to reſign, after he had reigned his year; *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where

(N) What this monſtrous creature was, is of greater difficulty than importance to decide. By her ſome ſuppoſe a notorious robber to have been meant; others * a baſtard daughter of *Lajus*, preferred for her wiſdom to examine the pretenders to the crown, and to puniſh with death thoſe who could not make out their title to it. The poets have given it the face, parts, and qualities of ſeveral creatures, and the *Egyptians* made her the hieroglyphic of wiſdom and ſtrength. The riddle propoſed by her, was to tell what creature it was that went in the morning upon four, at noon upon two, and in the evening upon three legs; and *OEdipus* rightly, it ſeems, interpreted it of man, who, in his infancy, crawls upon all four, walks afterwards upon his legs, till old age brings him to his ſtaff. Upon this ſolution, *Creon* adjudged the crown and *Jocaſta* to him according to his promiſe, both being utterly ignorant of the relation they bore to each other.

* *Pauſan. in Bœotic.*

(O) This is at leaſt the account which all the ancient poets except *Homer* have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raiſe the greater compaſſion for that unhappy couple, and their progeny; but *Homer* on the contrary, who introduces *Ulyſſes*, ſaying, that he had ſeen in hell the fair *Epicaſte*, who through imprudence had married her own ſon, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father, and huſband of his mother, makes him add, that *the gods, by haſtening this prince's death*, prevented the ſad effects of that inceſtuous marriage. For as *Pauſanias* juſtly obſerves (17), how could they be ſaid to ſtop the courſe of that inceſt if *OEdipus* had had four children by his mother.

He adds, upon the authority of a poem, intitled, *OEdipiad*, or the adventures of *OEdipus*, that he had thoſe children by *Euriganea* the daughter of *Hyperbas*.

(17) *Id. ibid. c.* 6.

having

having married *Adraſtus*'s daughter, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, he engaged that prince to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his right: theſe two came ſoon after with a powerful army, and were joined by *Tydeus* the father of *Diomedes*, *Amphiaraous*, *Campaneus*, *Hippomedon* and *Parthenopæus* at the head of their auxiliary forces, and all theſe diſpoſed themſelves with the troops under their command to attack the city, and beſiege *Eteocles* at the ſeven gates of his capital. *Eteocles* at the ſame time put himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, and went and conſulted an old blind *Theban* ſoothſayer about the ſucceſs of the war; and was anſwered, that victory would infallibly fall on his ſide, if *Menecæus*, the ſon of *Creon*, and the laſt of the *Cadmean* race would voluntarily ſacrifice himſelf to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city, and ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his country [g]. This did not however prevent hoſtilities being carried on with the utmoſt fury, and with a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides. Among others of the beſiegers, *Capaneus* who ſcaled the walls, was beat back with vollies of ſtones and killed, which gave riſe to the ſtory of his being ſlain by thunder-bolts. It was at length agreed that the contending princes ſhould decide the conteſt by ſingle combat, which they did with ſuch deſperate fury, that both fell by each other's ſword. The *Argives* ventured to give the *Thebans* a ſecond battle, wherein both ſides loſt ſeveral of their brave commanders, and ſuch a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almoſt ruined by it, which gave riſe to the common proverb of a *Cadmean* victory, and *Adraſtus* was the only one of all thoſe captains that eſcaped by flight. A treaty was then demanded by the *Argivic* king for burying of their dead, but *Creon*, who had then taken the government upon him, was ſo exaſperated againſt them, that he not only abſolutely refuſed it, but cauſed the princeſs *Antigone* to be buried alive, becauſe ſhe had cauſed the body of her brother *Polynices* to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was ſoon after killed by *Theſeus*, who came with an army againſt him, and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argives* to bury the ſlain, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory.

The war of the Epigoni.

In the mean time the ſons of thoſe ſeven generals who fell before *Thebes*, reſolving to revenge themſelves on that city for the ill ſucceſs of the laſt expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called *Epigoni*, and renewed

[g] Id. ibid. Vid. & Cicer. Stat. & al.

the ſiege afreſh about ten years after. They were directed by the oracle to chuſe *Alcmæon* the ſon of *Amphiaraous* their chief, under whoſe conduct they harraſſed the country till the *Thebans* gave them battle. On the other hand *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*, who by this time was come to age, and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed *Ægyaleus* one of their chiefs. But being himſelf ſoon after killed, or forced to fly into *Illyrium* [h], the *Thebans* began to ſue for a treaty, and whilſt that was tranſacting, conveyed themſelves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of *Hæſtiæa*, leaving *Thebes* to the mercy of the *Epigoni*. Some ſay that theſe being appriſed of their flight, plundered the city, and quite eraſed her walls. Others affirm, that *Therſander Polynices*'s ſon diſſuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; ſoon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and in the way ſignalized himſelf at *Myſia*, and was killed by *Telepus*. His ſon *Teſamenes*, being then too young to command the *Theban* forces, *Peneleus* was choſen chief, and was alſo killed there by *Eurypilas* the ſon of *Telepus*. After his death *Teſamenes* took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough; but the fates which purſued the unfortunate offſpring of *OEdipus* did not prove ſo favourable to his ſon *Auteſion*, who, we are told, was ſeized with ſuch a dreadful phrenzy, or, according to the poetic phraſe, was perſecuted by the furies to ſuch a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the *Dorians*.

Thebes *abandoned to them.*

AFTER his departure the *Thebans* raiſed *Damaſichton*, the ſon of *Opheltas* and grandſon of *Peneleus*, to the throne, who left it to his ſon *Ptolemeus*, and was ſucceeded by *Xanthus*, who was the laſt who enjoyed the regal dignity in *Thebes*, and was treacherouſly killed by *Melanthus* in ſingle combat, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Athens*. Thus ended the *Theban* kingdom, after it had ſtood about 300 years from *Cadmus* to *Xanthus*, upon whoſe death it became a commonwealth. For after that the *Thebans*, weary of a kingly government, reſolved to put it into many hands, and to ſettle themſelves into a commonwealth [i]. But as the remainder of the *Theban* hiſtory is beyond the epocha we are now upon, we ſhall reſerve it to a more proper place in the next chapter.

[h] Conf. PAUSAN. Bœotic. & APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 7. [i] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of ARCADIA.

ARCADIA, ſo called from *Arcas* the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Caliſta*, was anciently called *Pelaſgi*, being inhabited by the ancient *Pelaſgi*, who boaſted themſelves to be deſcended from *Pelaſgus* their pretended founder, of whom we have ſpoken in a former ſection of this chapter †, as having been ſuppoſed by a late author to be the ſame with *Peleg* the ſon of *Eber* in ſcripture. The *Pelaſgians* did alſo ſurname him *Autochton* [a], which was a name the *Grecians* gave to thoſe whoſe original was not known. It is true we find the *Pelaſgians* in ſeveral other parts of *Greece*, as was there obſerved; but their chief and primitive ſeat is generally ſuppoſed to have been this of *Arcadia*, whoſe inhabitants are univerſally allowed the ancienteſt people in *Greece*, and boaſted themſelves to be older than the moon. It had ſeveral other names, in ſo much that we are told * that *Azenis*, *Azenia*, *Gigantis*, *Lycoania*, *Parrhaſia* and *Pania*, were ſo many ancient names of it, and *Dionyſius*, who ſtiles the *Arcadians* *Apidanii*, divides them into *Parrhaſii*, *Azanii*, and *Trepezuntii*; *Heſychius* ſays, that they were alſo called *Cortini*; but that of *Arcadian*, which they had from *Arcas* their fourth king, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, was that they were moſt fond of and known by. *Names.*

THIS country was ſituate in the heart of *Peloponneſus* (A), having *Elis* on the weſt, *Argolis* on the eaſt, *Laconia* and *Meſſenia* on the ſouth, and *Sicyon* and *Corinth* on the north [b]. Its ground, which afforded excellent paſturage, made it famous for the vaſt number of herds it bred; for the tuneful ſtrains of its ſhepherds, who excelled all others in their paſtoral performances, and the ſweetneſs of their vocal and inſtrumental muſic; and for the extraordinary worſhip that was paid here to their god *Pan*. Here was alſo a famous temple of that deity in the city of *Tegea*, and another dedicated to *Minerva* *Geography*

† See before, p. 139, in the notes.

[a] XENOPH. STRAB. MEL. & al.

* EUSTAT. STEPHAN. de urb. & al.

[b] STRAB. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. MELA, & al.

(A) The *Arcadians* were conſequently at a diſtance from the ſea, and accordingly *Homer* tells us, that they had neither ſhips, nor any knowledge of ſailing (1); ſo that when they are ſaid to have imbarked for the ſiege of *Troy*, we muſt underſtand it of *Agamemnon*'s fleet, which tranſported them thither.

(1) *Iliad. lib.* ii.

in

Natural rarities.

in the city of *Stymphalus*, ſituate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here alſo bred upon the lake *Stymphalis* a kind of fowl, called from it the *Stymphalian* birds, which grew to ſuch ſize and number, that they darkened the ſun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infeſted this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by *Hercules*, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

HERE was alſo the famed lake *Phenaus*, from which ſprings the river *Styx* famous for the coldneſs of its waters, which chills them to death that drink it; it is alſo of ſuch corroſive nature, that it will eat iron and braſs [c]. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whoſe name was ſo ſacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had ſworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the uſe of *Nectar* for a hundred years.

THE *Arcadians* were at firſt a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by *Pelaſgus*, or as others, perhaps more probably, think, by *Arcas*, the third in deſcent from him, to build huts, live ſociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or beech-maſt (B), and to cloath themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts. They began afterwards to give themſelves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their ſoil. But as this country abounded with excellent paſture grounds, ſo it was expoſed to continual incurſions from thoſe, who were either forced out of their own country, or were diſcontented with it. And this put them upon the neceſſity of exchanging the crook for the ſword, and to inure themſelves to ſome warlike diſcipline in their own defence, who would otherwiſe in all likelihood have preferred a paſtoral life to any other. Hence it was that they, eſpecially the highlanders, became ſuch excellent ſoldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other eſtates. They commonly uſed to come to the wars, clad with the ſkins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they uſed with a peculiar dexterity. Their very wo-

[c] Id. ibid.

(B) Which kind of food, *Pauſanias* ſays, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, inſomuch that the *Lacedemonians*, conſulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage againſt them, received this anſwer from the Pythoneſs, That though *Jupiter* and the gods were on their ſide, yet could they expect no ſucceſs againſt a warlike people, whoſe chiefeſt dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(2) *In Arcad. c.* 1.

men

men became at length ſuch expert warriors, eſpecially in a defenſive war, that they have ſometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other ſide. Witneſs that famous expedition of the *Lacedemonians* againſt *Tegea*, when fluſhed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they ſhould take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle diſcomfited by a party of women, who had lain in ambuſh, and their king *Charilaus* with a great number of his men bound with thoſe very chains they had brought with them *. Having therefore ſuch brave females to defend their country in caſe of invaſion, they uſed to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring eſtates, in the ſame manner as the *Suizzers* do now; and this made them ſome amends for their want of commerce, occaſioned by their diſtance from the ſea.

THIS extraordinary change in ſo rude a nation was as quick as it was ſurpriſing. *Lycaon* the ſon of their founder, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the following note, improved what his father had done towards civilizing his ſubjects, by introducing the worſhip of *Jupiter* among them, though not with the ſame prudence that *Cecrops* had done among his *Athenians* (C). His ſons, of whom he had a conſiderable number, ſet themſelves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names, and which we ſhall mention in their proper places [d]. In theſe they gathered the people into bodies, and brought them ſtill nearer to a ſocial life; and in the next reign they began to ſow corn, make bread, ſpin

* HERODOT. l. i. & PAUSAN. in Arcad. [d] In Arcad. c. 3.

(C) *Cecrops*, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, forbad the ſacrificing of any living creature, whereas *Lycaon* is reported to have ſacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god is ſaid to have changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its riſe only from the ſavage nature of that prince implyed in his name, λυκος, ſignifying a wolf: the account which *Ovid* gives of him in his Metamorphoſes is as follows:

Jupiter, deſirous to know whether the wickedneſs of men anſwered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to *Lycaon*'s palace, where having made himſelf known, the people were going to ſacrifice to him. *Lycaon*, not believing his gueſt to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having miſſed his blow, he killed and dreſſed a *Moloſſian* youth, whom he kept as a hoſtage, and ſet him before his gueſt to eat; for which the exaſperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightening, and turned his inhuman hoſt into a wolf.

wool,

wool, and to make themſelves garments of it [e]. Another author adds [f], that they learned the uſe of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making of cheeſe, of oil, and ſome other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations, the *Arcadians* from being but one remove from wild beaſts, became civilized, induſtrious, inured to ſociety, huſbandry and a regular government. To all theſe we may add, that theſe advantages, which expoſed them to frequent invaſions from abroad, put them likewiſe upon the neceſſity of cultivating the martial arts, firſt in their own defence, and afterwards for intereſt and gain, whence they became ſuch brave ſoldiers, and expert warriors, as we obſerved they were. Hence it was that moſt of the *Grecian* princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but eſpecially the *Meſſenians*, with whom they ſeem to have maintained an inviolable friendſhip. But *Hercules*, of all the ancient heroes, had the greateſt confidence in them, inſomuch that we ſeldom find him engaged in any extraordinary exploit without having ſome *Arcadian* forces to aſſiſt him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their paſtoral life, for which they have been ſo highly celebrated by the poets above all other *Grecians* [g].

Arts and huſbandry.

THEIR government, like thoſe of all their neighbours, was at firſt altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the ſubjects began to claim ſomething like a negative power, eſpecially in matters of great moment, ſo that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, ſuch as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions without their conſent. This may perhaps be one main reaſon why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other eſtate of *Greece*; but this will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter. We ſhall confine ourſelves here within our epoch, and to the ſeries of kings which that

Government.

[e] Id. ibid. [f] JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. xiii. c. 7. [g] APOLLOD. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. &c.

(D) This laſt author ſays, that *Ariſtæus*, who taught the *Arcadians* all theſe things, was the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Cyrene*, a beautiful *Theſſalian* princeſs, whom that luſtful god carried off to the top of mount *Pelion*, and of whom he got four ſons, the three firſt of which ſettled in *Theſſaly*, and the other, viz. *Ariſtæus* came and reigned in *Arcadia*. This ſtory however is contradicted by *Pindar* and *Diodorus Siculus*, who affirm, that ſhe had but one ſon by *Jupiter*, namely *Monius*, who was alſo ſirnamed *Agrius*, as being a lover of hunting and feeding of cattle; and *Pauſanias* ſays, that this *Ariſtæus* inſtructed *Arcas* the fourth king of the country, without taking any notice of his reigning there. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more of this *Cyrene*, when we come to ſpeak of *Theſſaly*.

nation

nation pretended to be deſcended from *Pelaſgus* their firſt founder, and which *Pauſanias* has given us from their tradition and records. And herein if he differs ſometimes from *Apollodorus*, *Juſtin*, and other ancient writers, we may ſuppoſe he had his reaſons for ſo doing, and (if we except the remoteſt times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkneſs,) the ſtanding monuments of each country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it ſometimes happened that the kingdom was divided by the father between his ſons, and continued ſo till want of iſſue, alliances, or ſome other circumſtance, united it again. Beſides this, the ſeveral cities built by the ſons of *Lycaon*, ſeem to have been divided into cantons under their ſeveral chiefs; but whether always under one ſovereign or not, is not certain. Hence it is that we read of theſe cantons as of ſeparate people, who made alliances, not only among themſelves, but with foreign eſtates, and ſignalized themſelves during ſeveral centuries under their reſpective names, ſuch as *Tegeans*, *Trapæzans*, *Mantineans*, *Peretheans*, and many more, which we ſhall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent their being miſtaken in the ſequel of the *Grecian* hiſtory for ſo many diſtinct people from the *Arcadians*.

Arcadia was divided into upper and lower, the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth; and this, the more mountainous of the two, was famed for its breed of horſes and aſſes, whence this laſt animal came to be ſtiled the *Arcadian* nightingal. Both upper and lower abounded with cities, but which ancient authors have left us ſuch a confuſed account of, ſome being mentioned by one which are not by others, that we ſhall refer our reader to a modern author † for the fuller account of them, and only mention their names in the order he hath placed them: 1. *Megapolis*, now *Leontari*. 2. *Mantinea*, now *Goriza*, or, according to others, *Mundi*. 3. *Palantium*, ſince enlarged by the emperor *Antoninus*. 4. *Mænalus*, built on the mount of its name. 5. *Tegea*, mentioned a little higher, and was a famed aſylum for all *Greece*. 6. *Orchomenon*, ſaid to have been built on an iſland in the midſt of a large marſh. 7. *Clitor*, or *Clitorium*, which ſtood on the river of its name, and ſurrounded with noble hills. 8. *Nonacris*, ſeated on the mountains from which the famous *Stix* deſcends. 9. *Pſophis*, now *Dimazana*, ſeated on the river *Eurymanthus*, which in a manner ſurrounds it. 10. *Heræa*, on the river *Alpheus*, once famed for the ſtately temple of *Pan*. 11. *Stymphalus*, ſeated on the lake and river of its name mentioned a little higher. 12. *Phialia*, or

† Briet. parallel. de ver. Græc. part. ii. c. 3.

Phigalia, on the river *Neda*, to which the children of that town conſecrated their hair.

THE chief mountains are, 1. *Cillene*, ſaid to be the higheſt in the whole country. 2. *Pholoe*, now *Xiria*, famed for being the abode of the *Centaurs*, and for the great quantity of the plant *Centaureum* which it produces. 3. *Stymphalus*, mentioned a little higher, and now called *Pogliſi*. 4. *Parthenius*, famed for its woods, and celebrated by moſt poets and hiſtorians, particularly by *Virgil* in his *Bucolics*. 5. *Lycæus*, by ſome called alſo *Olympus*, and by the *Arcadians* the *ſacred Mountain*, whence ſprings the river *Neda*. *Pauſanias* calls it *Ceraufius*, and the preſent inhabitants *Mitena*.

IT would be endleſs to enter into a detail of all the wonders which *Plutarch*, *Pauſanias*, *Vitruvius*, and other authors tell us concerning ſome of their rivers, fountains, lakes, *&c.* and the beneficial or deſtructive qualities which they attribute to their waters, particularly to that of the river *Styx*, to ſay nothing of thoſe of *Alpheus* and *Eurota*. They tell us likewiſe ſuch wonders of ſome of the medicinal plants, fruits, *&c.* of *Arcadia*, as exceed all belief; particularly one ſort of their vines, whoſe wine bereaved men of their reaſon, and gave an extraordinary fecundity to the women; all which the curious reader may ſee in father *Briet* above quoted, who hath been at the pains to collect them out of the ancient authors abovemention'd, whilſt we come now to ſpeak of

Their kings THE ſucceſſion of the kings of *Arcadia* who reigned from their founder to *Ariſtocrates* II. who was murdered by his ſubjects for his treachery to the *Meſſenians*[h]; is as follows:

1 *Pelaſgus*
2 *Lycaon*
3 *Nyctimus*
4 *Archas*
5 *Clitor*
6 *Azan*
7 *Epytus* I.
8 *Aleus*
9 *Lycurgus*
10 *Echemus*
11 *Agapenor*
12 *Hyppothous*
13 *Epytus* II.
14 *Cypſelus*
15 *Lajus*
16 *Bucolion*
17 *Phialius*
18 *Simus*
19 *Pompus*
20 *Eginetes*
21 *Polymeſtor*
22 *Echmis*
23 *Ariſtocrates* I.
24 *Hicetas*
25 *Ariſtocrates* II.

Chronology uncertain. IT were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning. If

[h] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. c. ii. & ſeq.

Pelaſgus,

Pelaſgus, the ſuppoſed founder of this monarchy, were the ſame with *Phaleg*, or *Peleg*, the ſon of *Eber*, in whoſe days the earth is ſaid to have been divided [i]; it muſt have begun at leaſt as early as *Terah*'s time; but we hope we have ſufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore †, as well as the other conjecture of the ſame learned man, that *Peleg* was the father of the *Scythians* *. Thoſe who place the foundation of it about *Moſes*'s time ſeem ſtill to have antedated it [k], neither would we venture to place it before the expulſion of the *Canaanites* out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in ſearch of ſome more peaceful habitations. But whether in *Joſhua*'s time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelaſgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus*, *Cecrops* I. *Lelex*, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of *Egypt*; according to him, this was about 1120 years before Chriſt; but according to our chronology, in the year of the world 2448, of the flood 792, and before Chriſt 1556; at which time we have placed the foundation of *Athens* by *Cecrops*. And it can hardly be ſuppoſed that *Pelaſgus* could be of a more recent date than he, if we conſider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the ſucceſſions of their kings; and that *Pauſanias* thinks that *Lycaon* was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder [l]. Upon this ſuppoſition, therefore, that they began about the ſame time, it will follow that this of *Arcadia* laſted in the line of *Pelaſgus* about 880 years, that is, till the year of the flood 1672, and firſt of the 28th olympiad, in which *Ariſtocrates* II. and the laſt of that race, was ſtoned to death. This is the utmoſt we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whoſe beginning is ſo dark and remote. We ſhall in the next place ſubjoin what we find moſt material concerning theſe monarchs.

We have already ſaid all we know concerning *Pelaſgus* and his ſon *Lycaon*, except that this laſt built a city on the mountain *Lycæus*, and called it *Lycoſura*, cauſed *Jupiter* to be worſhipped there under the name of *Jupiter Lycæus*, and inſtituted the *Lycæan* games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous iſſue, the reader may ſee them in the margin (E). Among ſo many ſons, *Lycaon* had but one daughter named *Caliſto*, with whom *Jupiter*

[i] Gen. x. 25. vid. & Stillingfl. Or. Sacr. l. iii. c. 8. † See Vol. I. p. 381. * Vol. VI. p. 8, & ſeq. [k] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hiſt. of the world, l. ii. c. 6. ſect. 4. [l] Arcad. c. 1.

(E) Theſe cities were *Pallantium* built by *Pallas*; *Oreſthaſium* by *Oreſtheus*; *Phigalia* by *Phigaleus*, afterwards called *Phialia*,

Jupiter having had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a ſhe-bear, and *Diana*, to pleaſe that jealous goddeſs, ſhot her to death (F). *Lycaon* was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

3. *Nictymus*, and he dying, we ſuppoſe childleſs, left the kingdom to

4. *Arcas*, the ſon of *Caliſto* by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved Huſbandry, and civilized his ſubjects, in memory of which his bones were, by the advice of the *Delphic* oracle, brought from mount *Mænelus*, where he had been buried, back again into *Arcadia*, according to the *Pythoneſs*'s verſes:

Mænalia *eſt tellus horrens Aquilonibus*; Arcas
Hic jacet Arcadiæ *poſuit qui nomina genti.*
Huc lætum te ferre pedes atque Arcadis *oſſa*
Sublata egregiam jubeo traducere in urbem
Quæ trivia, et quæ quadrivia eſt & quinque viarum
Hic lucum ſtatue & ſacros fer Arcadi *honores.*

alia, from *Phialus* the ſon of *Bucolion*. *Trapezunte* from *Trapezeus*, and ſo of the reſt which were built by his other ſons *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Heliſſon*, *Aracus*, (from whom this laſt tribe pretends *Mercury* has that ſurname, in *Homer*, which ſignifies without evil, implying that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and *Thochnus*. *Hypſus* built *Hypſuntes*, *Menelea*, and *Thyrea*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*, the three cities of their name. The reſt of thoſe cantons bearing their founders names, are the *Cromians*, *Chariſtians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretheans*, *Aſeatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hercans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* the father of the *Orchomenians*, the richeſt canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of *Methrydon* †. The youngeſt of *Lycaon*'s, called *OEnotrius*, inſtead of following the example of the reſt, obtained a ſum of money and forces from his brother *Nictymus* who ſucceeded *Lycaon*, ſailed into *Italy*, and ſettled there, and was the firſt who brought a colony from *Greece* thither (3). Hence that of *Virgil*:

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ (4),
OEnotrii coluere viri.

(F) The fable adds, that *Mercury*, out of compaſſion to the young princeſs, and by *Jupiter*'s order, ſaved the infant ſhe was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where ſhe became a conſtellation; or, if you pleaſe, that conſtellation was called by her name in honour of her.

† *De his vid. Byzant. ſub voc. et Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (3) *Pauſan. in Arcad. c.* 3. (4) *Vid. Geiloyn. Not. in eund. c.* 3.

Arcas

Arcas had three ſons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called *Erato* (G), beſides a natural ſon he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. *Azan* the eldeſt called his portion by his name *Azania*. *Aphydas* had the canton of *Tegea*, and *Elatus* had mount *Cyllene* (H), from which he went afterwards and ſettling in *Phocis*, built a city, which he called by his name.

5. *Azan* was ſucceeded by his only ſon,

6. *Clitor*, who inſtituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerfulleſt prince of his time, but died childleſs; ſo that his ſhare of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to

7. *Epytus*, eldeſt ſon of his brother *Elatus*, who was bit to death by a venemous ſerpent, as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his couſin

8. *Aleus*, the ſon of *Aphydas*. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis, and built in it a temple to *Minerva Alea*. He had three ſons, *Lycurgus*, *Amphidamas*, and *Cepheus*; and a daughter named *Auge*, whom he condemned to be drowned for her criminal converſe with *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea* (I). He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

(G) Not the muſe of that name who preſides over matters of love; but a wood nymph ſuch as they called *Dryades*. Thoſe who inhabited the fields were called *Oreades*; thoſe of the water *Nereides*; and thoſe of ſprings and rivers *Najades* (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from *Cyllen* the ſon of *Elatus*. This is the ſame mountain on which *Jupiter* is ſaid to have begot *Mercury* on *Maja* the daughter of *Atlas* †.

(I) This princeſs having captivated the famous *Hercules* whilſt he was at *Tegea*, was left with child by him, which her father no ſooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a cheſt with her child, and flung into the ſea. She was taken up about the mouth of the *Caicus*, by *Teuthras* king of *Myſia*, who was ſo charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her ſon *Telephus* as his own, and made him his ſucceſſor (6).

Others ſay, that *Aleus* committed his daughter to *Nauplius*, to be drowned in the ſea, and that ſhe being delivered in her way to *Nauplia* an *Argolic* port, ſhe left her child there, and that he, inſtead of drowning the mother, ſold her to *Teuthras*. The child was ſuckled by a deer, from which he was called *Telephus*, and when of age, having been inſtructed by the oracle who his parents were, went into *Myſia*, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (7).

(5) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c.* iv. *Vol. VI. p.* 51. (6) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sicul. l.* iv. *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* † *See before.* (7) *Apollodor. l.* ii.

9. *Lycurgus*, whoſe two ſons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, the great grandſon of *Aleus*.

10. *Echemus* aſſiſted *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops* againſt the *Heraclidæ*, who firſt entered *Peloponneſus* with a powerful army, and with *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules* at their head. We have ſpoken of this expedition in a former ſection, and of the ſucceſs of *Echemus* againſt that champion, whom he killed in ſingle combat: He left his kingdom to a ſon of *Ancæus*, the ſon of *Lycurgus*, named

11. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the ſiege of *Troy* (L), and in his return thence, being, like the reſt of the ſurviving *Grecian* chiefs, toſſed about by contrary winds and tempeſts, was caſt at length upon the coaſt of *Cyprus*, and ſettled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*, who, till then, if we believe *Pauſanias*, was only worſhipped at the ſmall city of *Golgos* [m]. From him the kingdom paſſed to the line of *Stymphalus* the ſon of *Elatus*, who was the youngeſt ſon of *Arcas*.

12. *Hippothous*, the great grandſon of *Stymphalus*, was the perſon who ſucceeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the ſeat of the kingdom from *Tegea*, the ancient metropolis, to *Trapeza*; he was ſucceeded by his ſon

13. *Epytus* II. in whoſe days *Oreſtes*, the ſon of *Agamemnon*, being warned by the oracle, retired into *Arcadia*, and died, and was buried in or near the city of *Tegea* [n] (M). *Epytus* was afterwards ſtruck blind for his preſumption, in venturing

[l] Arcad. c. 2. [m] Arcad. c. v. [n] Vid. HERODOT. l. i. c. 67. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.

(K) Theſe were *Ancæus*, who being returned from the *Argonautic* expedition, was killed by the *Calydonian* wild boar, and *Epochus* who was carried off by ſickneſs.

(L) Moſt probably as an auxiliary hired by *Agamemnon*, by whoſe ſhips they were tranſported to and from that ſiege, as we obſerved in a former note.

(M) *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Lacedæmonians* having proved unſucceſsful againſt the *Arcadians*, were told by the oracle that they would continue ſo till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to conſult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable anſwer, as it is engliſhed by *Littlebury*.

In the Arcadian *plain lies* Tegea,
Where too impetuous winds are forced to blow;
Form reſiſts form, miſchief on miſchief ſtrikes;
Here mother earth keeps Agamemnon's *ſon*,
Carry him off and be victorious.

The ſolution of this puzzling anſwer was afterwards accidentally

turing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantinea*, and dying soon after, left the crown to his son

14. *Cypselus*, in whose days *Cresphontes* having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of *Messenia*, was murdered with two of his sons. The third, named *Æpytus*, by others *Ægyptus*, fled to *Cypselus*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side (N), and by his assistance regained the *Messenian* kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the usurper *Polyphontes*. We find nothing considerable during the reigns of his four next successors, *Lajas*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, and *Simus*, except that in the time of this last, an antient statue of *Ceres*, surnamed the *Black*, was set on fire, which was looked upon as a presage of that monarch's speedy death, which happened accordingly soon after: He was succeeded by his son

19. *Pompus*. This prince, by the help of the *Æginetæ*, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the sea-port of *Cyllene*, to and from which the merchandizes used to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved so beneficial to the kingdom, that in gratitude to those islanders, *Pompus* called his son and successor by their name *Æginetes*. This last was succeed by his son

tally found out by *Liches*, an eminent *Spartan*, who being one day at *Tigea*, and observing with some attention a smith working at his shop, was told by him, that in the sinking of a well, he had found a coffin seven cubits long, and that having had the curiosity to open it, to see if the body answered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

Liches comparing the place he was in, and the answer of the oracle, did easily conceive that by the smith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the doubled mischief those which are caused by *Iron*; upon which having acquainted the *Spartans* with this discovery, it was agreed that he should be banished for some fictitious crime, that he might be the less suspected, and return to *Tegea*, which he did accordingly, and having with some difficulty hired the smith's inclosure, did privately dig up the bones and carried them away to *Sparta* (8).

(N) About the beginning of his reign the *Dorian* fleet having invaded *Peloponnesus*, not by the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle; but by landing above the cape of *Rhion*, *Cypselus* was forced to make an alliance with *Cresphontes*, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head against them, in consideration of which his son helped *Æpytus* to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(8) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 67, 68.

(9) *Pausan. ubi supra.*

21. *Polymeſtor*, in whoſe days happened that fierce invaſion we ſpoke of at the beginning of this ſection, in which the *Lacedemonians* being come againſt *Tegea*, were diſcomfited by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king *Charilaus* bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans*; however *Charilaus* was ſoon after releaſed, upon his oath and promiſe that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould not fight againſt them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple [o]. *Polymeſtor* was ſucceeded by his brother

22. *Echmis*, who aſſiſted the *Meſſenians*, the old and conſtant allies of the *Arcadians*, againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and was ſucceeded by his own ſon

23. *Ariſtocrates* I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, prieſteſs of *Diana Hymnia*, a deity highly reverenced by the *Arcadians*, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and raviſhed her at the very altar of the goddeſs. For this fact he was ſtoned to death by his ſubjects, who, to prevent the like ſacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained that from thenceforth, none but married women ſhould be admitted to the prieſtly function.

We know nothing concerning his ſon *Hicetas*, except that he was father to

25. *Ariſtocrates* II. the laſt of the royal line of *Cypſelus*, and with whom we ſhall cloſe this ſection; he was ſtoned to death by his own ſubjects for his treachery to the *Meſſenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, with whom they were at war. We ſhall ſee the ſequel of it in the next chapter: And all that we ſhall add here is, that the *Arcadians*, not content with his death, caſt his body out of their territories, left it expoſed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount *Lycæus*, on which they cauſed an inſcription to be engraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it engliſhed by Mr. *Hind* in his *Græcian* hiſtory [p].

[o] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [p] P. 167. Vid. & Pausan. ubi ſupra, & in Meſſenic.

(O) The baſe betrayer of *Meſſene*'s ſtate,
Has met at length a well-deſerved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors juſtice ſhun;
Hail, mighty *Jove!* ſave the *Arcadian* throne.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the antient kingdom of Theſſaly, *with a ſhort account of that of* Phocis.

Name.

THESSALY is ſuppoſed to have received its name from *Theſſalus* [a], the father [b], or, according to others [c], the ſon of *Græcus*, an ancient king of an obſcure village, from whom the *Greeks* are ſaid to have been deſcended [d]. It was alſo antiently called *Æmonia*, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of *Deucalion*, or perhaps rather from *Emon* the ſon of *Chlorus*, the father of *Theſſalus*, and grandſon of *Pelaſgus* [e]. From this laſt it was alſo called *Pelaſgia*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyrrha*, *Deucalion*'s wife; but it was moſt commonly known by that of *Theſſaly*, as it is now by that of *Janna*.

Diviſion.

IT was antiently divided into four diſtricts, or perhaps kingdoms. *Theſſaliotes*, *Iſtæotis*, *Pelaſgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*. *Deucalion* was king of this laſt when the deluge that goes by his name happened, which deſtroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only ſuch as happily eſcaped into the high mountains of *Theſſaliotis*, and *Deucalion* and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and reſted at length upon *Parnaſſus*, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of ſtones behind them [f]. However, the name of *Theſſaly* and *Theſſalians* in time prevailed, and came to ſignify all the four parts. Sometimes it included *Magneſia* and *Phthiotis*, and ſometimes not; ſometimes it was joined with *Macedonia*, and ſometimes ſevered from it, and again rejoined to it [g].

Situation and extent

Theſſaly, properly ſo called, had on the eaſt the provinces of *Magneſia* and *Phthia* abovementioned, and theſe two were bounded by the *Ægean* ſea. On the weſt it had *Illyricum* and *Epirus*, now *Albania*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Mygdonia*, and on the ſouth *Grecia Propria*. It extended from eaſt to weſt about one deg. 40 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

[a] STEPH. BYZANT. ſub voce Θεσσαλ. [b] EUSEB. Chronic. vid. & not. SCALIG. in eund. [c] VID. BYZANT. ſub voce Γραικος. [d] Id. ibid. & CLUVER. lib. iv. c. 8. [e] BYZANT. ſub voce Αιμον. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. [f] OVID. Metam. init. [g] CLUVER. ubi ſupra. MELA, l. ii. c. 3, & 4.

Natural rarities.

IT was famous for its twenty-four hills, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe that follow:

Mountains

1. *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height: 2. *Othrys*, where king *Pirithous* reigned over the *Lapithæ*: 3. *Pelion*: 4. *Oſſa*, which with *Nephele* were, according to the fable, inhabited by *Centaurs*, who were afterwards killed or driven away by *Hercules*, for their luſtful attempt upon the women that aſſiſted at *Pirithous*'s nuptials. Here were alſo the plains of *Pharſalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempe*, about ſix miles in length, and five in breadth, ſo pleaſantly ſituate between the mountains of *Oſſa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus*, ſo beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river *Peneus*, which ran through the midſt of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muſes. On the ſouth borders of *Theſſaly* were ſeated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmidons* (A), whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war.

Rivers.

THE whole kingdom of *Theſſaly* was very pleaſant and fruitful, being watered by ſeveral great rivers which run quite acroſs the country. The chiefeſt of them are the *Peneus* abovementioned, the *Aliacmon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*; all which empty themſelves into the *Ægean* ſea, by the gulph of *Theſſalonica*, anciently called *Sinus Thermaicus*. This country ſeems alſo to have been above others productive of poiſonous weeds and drugs. Hence *Plautus* make uſe of the word *Theſſalus* to expreſs a poiſonous thing: But upon the whole it was ſo fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the ſame rich nature, it was ſeldom free from foreign invaſions, from ſome neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note.

CITIES of note were; 1. *Lariſſa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, called from thence *Lariſſeus* (B). Its ſituation was excellent, being near the gulph abovementioned, and upon the river *Peneus*, near the foot of *Olympus*, and at one end of the valley of *Tempe*: 2. *Demetrius*, ſituate on the *Sinus Pelaſgicus*, now *Golfo dell Armiro*, and ſtrongly fortified by art and nature: 3. *Pegaſa*, on the ſame gulph, famous for

(A) The latter were ſo called from μυρμηξ a piſmire, not, as the poets feign, becauſe *Æacus*, the ſon of *Jupiter*, ſeeing his country diſpeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a freſh ſupply of ſubjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but becauſe, as *Strabo* ſays, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the piſmires in their diligence and œconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other huſbandry from that inſect.

(B) Others ſay, that he was born at *Phthia*, eſpecially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearneſs of thoſe two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his reſidence in the other.

being

being the place where the ſhip *Argo* was built, which carried the *Argonauts* to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, which were inſtituted here in honour of *Apollo*, and, as ſome ſay, in memory of his killing the ſerpent *Python* (C). The metropolis of *Theſſaly* was, according to *Heliodorus* [h], called *Hypatha*, and ſituated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, now *Golfo di Ziton*, and at a ſmall diſtance from mount *Oeta*, upon which *Hercules* ended his life, after he had put on the poiſoned ſhirt. The reſt the reader may ſee in the margin, as they are placed in each of the five diſtricts of this kingdom (D).

Theſſaly was famous, among other things, for ſuch an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Neleus* king of *Pylus* refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus* king of *Tyrius*, except he procured him ſome of them, which he ſoon after

[h] Hiſt. Æthiop. ap. Heylin.

(C) We have already ſpoken of ſome others inſtituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in ſeveral parts of *Greece*. The four moſt conſiderable were, the *Iſthmian*, the *Olympic*, *Nemean*, and the *Pythonian*; theſe made four annual meetings for all the *Grecians*, who reſorted to thoſe places in great numbers, but which were ſtill more eſteemed for the concourſe of the nobleſt and greateſt youths, who came to ſignalize themſelves there; ſome for their ſtrength; others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accompliſhments.

The prize which was given to the victors at theſe *Pythian* games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may ſee the fuller account of all theſe games in *Potter*'s antiquities (1).

(D) Father *Briet*, in the place lately quoted, ranges them in the following order, *viz.*

1. In *Pelaſgiotis*, *Lariſſa* now *Larizo*, *Scotuſa*, *Gonnus* or *Gonuza* and *Atrax*, the rivers are the *Peneus* now *Salampria*, the *Pamiſus* and *Titareſus*.

2. In *Æſtiotis*, *Tricca* or *Trica*, now *Tricata*, *Gomphipheca*, *Thome* or *Ithome*, and *Clemene*. Rivers the *Coratius*, or *Curatius* now *Onocero*, and the *Phœnix*.

3. In *Theſſaliotis*, *Hypata* metropolis, *Thaumaci*, *Cyphata*, and the river *Apidanus*, now *Epideno*.

4. In *Phthiotis*, *Pharſalus*, *Eretriæ*, *Thebæ Phthioticæ*, or *Phthiæ*, now *Zitton*, *Lariſſa Penſiis*, *Lamia Echinus*, and *Heraclea Trachinia*, now *Comarus*. Rivers the *Enipeus*, and *Amphryſus*. Mountains *OEtra* and *Otrys*.

5. In *Magneſia*, *Phera* now *Sidero*, *Jeruſat* or *Feniſar*, *Melibea parva*, *Joleos*, *Demetrias* now *Demetriada*, *Pegaſæ*, *Tempe Theſſala*. Mountains *Oſſa* now *Coſſovo*, and *Pelion*. Promontories thoſe of *Magneſia* and *Sepias*.

(1) *Ch.* 21. *& ſeq.*

Rarities. did by the help of his brother *Bias* (E) [i]. What fine horſes they bred, and how expert they were in the uſe and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, ſince the fiction of the *Centaurs* (F) is allowed to have taken its origin from them [k]. This fable however reflects no leſs diſgrace upon them for their brutiſh incontinency, than it commends them for their ſkill in horſemanſhip. The attempt which they made upon the women at the nuptials of their neighbour, *Pirithous* king of the *Lapithæ*, mentioned a little higher, if not forged on purpoſe to caſt an ignominious brand upon them, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the hiſtory of their wars with other nations afford us a conſtant proof of the latter; ſo that in ſpite of their debauchery, they have ſhewed themſelves a warlike nation, and as ſuch, their alliance, as well as aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers. And indeed if we conſider how liable the pleaſantneſs and fertility of their country made them to foreign invaſions, it will be no wonder they ſhould be ſo well inured to the trade of war. Nor can it be ſuppoſed that any thing but their extraordinary valour could have ſaved them from being ſwallowed up by ſome of their neighbours, conſidering that their ſcanty territories conſiſted only of four ſmall kingdoms or diſtricts, as often diſ-

[i] PAUSAN. in Meſſenic. c. 36. [k] OSOR. SERV. VATTABL. & al.

(E) We have already ſpoken of theſe two brothers in a former ſection, and ſhewed how they came to their ſhare of the *Argolic* kingdom †. Our author adds, that *Bias*, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from *Theſſaly*, was caught in the attempt, and flung into priſon. But being a famous diviner, he plied his art ſo well with *Iphiclus* the owner of them, by foretelling many ſurprizing events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary skill. *Bias* brought them to *Melampus*, who preſented them to *Neleus*, and he left them to *Neſtor*, who cauſed them to be kept in a ſtable under ground, which was ſtill to be ſeen in our author's time.

† *Sect.* iii. *p.* 94. *de his vid. et Pauſan. in Meſſenic. c.* 38.

(F) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards like a man, and from thence downwards like a horſe, and to have been the monſtrous offspring of *Ixion*, when he embraced a cloud inſtead of *Juno*. The ground of this ſtory was, that theſe people did manage their horſes ſo well, that they were ſuppoſed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the moſt famous of them dwelt in a canton called in *Greek* Νεφελε, which ſignifies a cloud; hence came the fable of their being begotten of *Ixion* on a cloud.

jointed

jointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reaſon we ſhall not pretend to give here a liſt of their kings, much leſs of thoſe tyrants, who reigned, ſome over one or more, others over all the four diſtricts; but ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning what we find moſt remarkable under any of them during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all muſt be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of *Pelias* king of *Theſſaly* about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of *Troy*. We do not however pretend to ſettle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbiſhop *Uſher*, without entering into the difference between Sir *Iſaac Newton* and him. The occaſion of this expedition was as follows: *Year of the flood* 1068. *Before Chriſt* 1280.

Argonautic expedition.

Æſon the third in deſcent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age, or weary of government, whilſt his ſon *Jaſon*, whom he had by *Polymela*, or according to others by *Alcimede*, was yet very young, appointed *Pelias*, his brother by the mother's ſide, guardian of the kingdom till his ſon came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had reſolved to ſecure the government to himſelf, ſent to conſult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one ſhoe. It happened ſome time after, that as he was ſacrificing to *Neptune*, he called his nephew to him, who was on the other ſide of a rivulet, and *Jaſon*, making more haſte than good ſpeed to croſs the brook, dropped one of his ſhoes, and gave him occaſion to think that he was the perſon pointed at by the oracle. He then asked him what courſe he would take with a perſon of whom the oracle had bid him beware; and *Jaſon* readily anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchis* in ſearch of the *Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods, we muſt not omit the rape of *Cyrene*, a beautiful virgin, daughter to *Hypſeus* king of *Theſſaly*, by *Jupiter*, who conveyed her from mount *Pelion* to that of *Cyra*, upon which *Battus*, ſo called from his ſtammering, ſettled a colony, and built a city, which he called by the name of that princeſs; after which he is ſaid to have recovered the free uſe of his ſpeech, as the oracle had obſcurely foretold (2). There is alſo a fountain of the ſame name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollo* (3).

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in poſſeſſion of *Æetes* king of *Colchis*, a country lying between the *Euxine ſea* and *Iberia*, and now called *Mengrelia*. It then had ſome conſiderable mines of gold, which gave riſe to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding alſo with poiſonous drugs and plants, which *Medea*, king *Æetes*'s daughter, knew how to prepare and make uſe of;

(2) *Juſtin. l.* xiii. *c.* 7.

(3) *Pauſan. in Laconi*

at his word, and ſent him immediately upon that enterprize [1]. *Jaſon* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a conſiderable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, to this expedition; he procured a ſhip to be built for this purpoſe at *Pegaſa*, by one *Argus*, from whom he called it *Argos*, and hence he and his gallant company were called *Argonautæ*.

THESE adventurers, after many ſtrange difficulties and exploits, which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived at length at the land of *Colchis*, where the golden fleece was kept.

[1] APOLLON. Argon. l. ii. APOLLOD. l. i. &c.

of; the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantreſs. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Mars*, and was guarded by a dragon who never ſlept.

(H) The firſt place they touched at was the iſland of *Lemnos*, in the *Ægean* ſea, inhabited by female warriors, who though they had killed their huſbands, in order to lead an *Amazonian* life, yet were ſo charmed with theſe brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They ſailed next to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were kindly received by their king *Cyzicus*, but looſing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were miſtaken for *Pelaſgians*, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement enſued, in which *Cyzicus*, and a great number of his men were killed on the ſpot. The return of day-light having diſcovered the unhappy miſtake, they only ſtayed to bury the dead, and ſailed to *Myſia*, a country in *Aſia Minor*, near the *Helleſpont* †.

Here *Hercules*, who plyed his oar with more might than skill, unluckily broke it, and whilſt he was gone into the wood to cut himſelf a new one, *Hylas*, his beloved boy, was ſtolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain; ſo that whilſt he and his brother-in-law's ſon *Polyphemus* went in ſearch of him, the *Argonautæ* left them behind, and ſailed into *Bithynia*.

Here *Amicus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, king of the country, a man of prodigious ſtrength, having obliged them, as he did all ſtrange comers, to fight with him at hurlebats, was killed by *Pollux*, one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Berbraces*, ſeeing their king fallen, would ſoon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions reſcued him from the danger; after which they ſailed immediately to *Salmydeſſus*, a city in *Thrace*, where they conſulted the famous blind ſoothſayer *Phinæus*, concerning the ſucceſs of their expedition.

This perſon, who, according to the fable, was continually infeſted with *Harpyes* a monſtrous kind of bird, with womens faces, and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his proviſions, and poiſoned the reſt, with the ſtench they left upon it, promiſed to direct them ſafely to *Colchis*, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did.

† *See before*, p. 100, *& ſeq.*

kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where *Jaſon* acquainted *Æetes*, king of the country, with *Pelias*'s command, and demanded the fleece of him. *Æetes* promiſed to deliver it to him provided he could yoke together by his own ſingle ſtrength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been preſented to him by *Vulcan*) and plow the ground with them, ſowing it with the dragon's teeth, which *Minerva* had given him, and were the remainder of thoſe which *Cadmus* had ſown at *Thebes*[m].

Jaſon perplexed how to perform theſe conditions, was happily relieved by *Medea* the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promiſed him that if he would marry her, ſhe would aſſiſt him in it, and he had no ſooner agreed to it, than ſhe gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he became proof againſt the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, ſhe taught him how to tame thoſe fierce creatures, ſo as to be able to yoke and make uſe of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to ſow, would preſently ſpring up into armed men, which would infallibly deſtroy him, unleſs he raiſed an immediate diſſention among them, by throwing ſtones at them, during which he might eaſily cut them off. *Jaſon* having ſucceſsfully performed the taſk, went and demanded the fleece according to *Æetes*'s promiſe, whilſt he, inſtead of delivering it, was contriving how to deſtroy him and his company, and burn their ſhip. To prevent this

[m] Id. ibid. Vid. Hind. ubi ſupra. l. i.

did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the *Simplegades*, two rocks, or, according to others, two iſlands, about half a league diſtant from the ſtraits of *Boſphorus*, and ſo near together, that at a diſtance they ſeem to run againſt each other, and which the poets ſay, were often puſhed ſo cloſe by the force of the winds, that they ſhut up the paſſage. He therefore adviſed them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the ſtraight, unleſs they ſaw him got ſafe to the other ſide; they followed his advice with ſome ſucceſs, the pigeon having loſt only one part of his tail, and the ſhip received a ſmall bruiſe on its hinder part.

From this ſtraight they ſailed to the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, and were honourably received by *Lycus* king of that country. Here *Idmon*, the ſon of *Apollo* and *Aſteria*, and a ſoothſayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. *Typhis* their pilot, did likewiſe die here, and was ſucceeded by *Ancæus*. At length having croſſed the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucaſus*, they arrived ſafe at *Colchis*, which was the end of their journey *.

* *Apollon. Argonaut. l* ii. *Apolled. l.* i. *Vid. Hind. Hiſt. Græc.*

miſchief,

miſchief, *Medea* went, and by her inchantments, caſt the watchful dragon into a deep ſleep, ſtole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her deſire, alſo her brother *Abſyrtus* into his ſhip, and ſailed away immediately with his companions. *Æetes*, who was ſoon informed of his daughter's treachery, purſued immediately after them, which when ſhe perceived, ſhe cut her brother in pieces, and ſcattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to ſtop his farther purſuit, as it actually did. For the diſconſolate king, ſurprized at her unnatural barbarity, ſtayed to gather up the fragments of his ſon's body, and buried them in a place called from thence *Tomi*, and in the mean time ſhe and the *Argonauts* eſcaped into *Theſſaly*, not without having firſt felt the effects of *Jupiter*'s anger for the murder of *Abſyrtus* (I), and after having ſpent four whole months in this expedition.

DURING

(I) The fable adds, that *Jove*, having purſued the *Argonauts* with dreadful ſtorms, and caſt them upon unknown coaſts, the ſhip *Argos*, to their great ſurpriſe, ſpoke to them, and aſſured them, that that god would never be appeaſed till they were cleanſed from their murder by *Circe*, a famed ſorcereſs, ſuppoſed to have been the daughter of *Sol* by the nymph *Perſe*, who lived in the iſland of *Æea*. They had no ſooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, ſailing by the coaſts of the *Syrens*, they were delivered from the danger of their inchanting muſic, by the more charming voice of *Orpheus*. Thence they ſailed between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, invironed with the fire and ſmoke, which ſeemed to iſſue out of thoſe and the neighbouring rocks. They were however delivered from this danger alſo, by *Tethys* and the *Nereids* at *Juno*'s command, and came at length to *Corcyra*, the iſland of the *Phæaces*, where *Alcinous* then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the *Colchians*, whom *Æetes* had ſent in purſuit of them. Theſe went immediately to the king, and demanded *Medea* to be delivered to them, which he promiſed to do in caſe ſhe was not already married to *Jaſon*. But his queen being appriſed of this promiſe, went and married them privately and out of hand; ſo that the *Colchians*, being forbid to return home without her, were forced to ſettle in this iſland, whilſt the *Argonauts* ſailed towards *Crete*.

Here *Medea* was again forced to make uſe of her enchantments to deliver the ſhip from being ſunk by the ſtones, which *Talus*, a man of braſs, and the preſent of *Vulcan* to *Minos*, then king of that iſland, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was cloſed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend that *Medea*, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others ſay ſhe poiſoned him with ſome deadly potion. From *Crete* they came to *Ægina*, an iſland inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, whom they were forced to fight to get a ſupply

DURING his abſence, *Pelias*, who never expected his return from *Colchis*, had taken ſome means to cut off his father, in order to fix the kingdom upon himſelf and his ſon *Acaſtus*, and the old king being appriſed of his plots, had poiſoned himſelf by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen likewiſe oppreſſed with grief for his death, and the ſuppoſed loſs of her ſon and kingdom, had hanged herſelf, ſo that *Pelias* now thought himſelf ſecure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, *Jaſon* returned ſucceſsful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had ſo well ſtrengthened himſelf in it, that *Jaſon*, brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare to undertake any thing againſt him openly. *Medea* was forced to have recourſe to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as ſome ſay, reſtored *Jaſon*'s father to life. After this ſhe perſuaded *Pelia*'s daughter to boil their old father, on pretence ſhe would reſtore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance *Acaſtus* mounted the throne, and having performed his father's funeral obſequies, baniſhed *Jaſon* and his wife from *Theſſaly*, who went and dwelt at *Corinth*, where we ſhall find them again in the next ſection.

Acaſtus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife *Hippolyta*, or, as ſhe is called by others, *Cretheis*; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with *Peleus* the ſon of *Cacus*, and had ſolicited him in vain for ſome time, till enraged at length at his conſtant refuſal, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband for making ſome at-

ſupply of freſh water. Hence ſailing by *Eubea* and *Locris*, they arrived at length at *Jolcos*, the place whence they firſt ſet out *.

(K) We have obſerved already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was underſtood ſome mines in the country of *Colchis*. Theſe are ſuppoſed by ſome mythologiſts to have been contiguous to ſome of thoſe torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount *Caucaſus*, and to have brought down with them ſome quantities of gold duſt, which the inhabitants ſaved by ſetting fleeces of wool acroſs ſome of the narrow paſſages of thoſe currents. This is indeed the moſt rational account that can be given of that matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards diſguiſed after their cuſtom, and embelliſhed with the ſtories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful ſeas, dangerous paſſages, and many ſuch perils and inſurmountable difficulties, as commonly attend the too eager ſearch after that pernicious, tho' ſo much deſired metal.

As for the account which *Suidas* gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of ſheep's skin, and in which was written the whole ſecret of tranſmuting all metals into gold; it ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned.

* *Ib. ibid. vid. & Pauſan. paſſ.*

tempts

tempts upon her honour. *Acaſtus* believing her, and endeavouring to kill *Peleus*, was himſelf and his unchaſte wife ſlain by him.

THE next *Theſſalian* prince both in time and fame was the celebrated *Achilles* the ſon of *Peleus*, and *Tethys* the goddeſs of the ſea. This heroe was king of *Phthya*, one of the four provinces of *Theſſaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx* (L) when he was a child, and to have been made invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel, by which ſhe held him. After this ſhe ſent him to be brought up by the centaur *Chiron*, where he learned muſic, arms, and the riding of the great horſe. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the *Trojan* war he ſhould meet with his death there, ſhe diſpatched him privately in women's apparel to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyrus*, an iſland in the *Ægean* ſea, and one of the *Cyclades*, where among other exploits, he debauched *Dejanira* one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. This tranſaction, as *Pauſanias* obſerves, ſeems to have been deſignedly omitted by *Homer*, as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preſerved by all the other poets.

IN the mean time the *Grecian* chiefs being likewiſe forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterpriſe againſt *Troy* would prove unſucceſsful, unleſs they had *Achilles* with them, *Ulyſſes* undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. *Tethys* finding that her ſon was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of *Troy*, to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon *Vulcan* to make him an unpenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold *Myrmidons* to the fatal ſiege. Here he forbore acting for ſome time upon a pique he had taken againſt *Agamemnon* on account of a beautiful female captive; but his reſentment giving way to his grief for the death of his dear friend *Patroclus*, who had been killed by *Hector*, *Achilles* thenceforth ſought nothing but to revenge it, which he ſoon after did. *Hector* was not only ſlain, but moſt barbarouſly uſed by him after his death, he having cauſed his body to be tied to his chariot and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpuniſhed, and *Priam* having redeemed his ſons ſhattered remains at an exceſſive price, *Paris*, another of his ſons, ſoon after ſhot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable.

(L) We have already ſpoken of this river in the hiſtory of *Arcadia* *.

* *See before, p.* 202.

THE

THE two moſt memorable things which the *Theſſalians* are ſince recorded for, are, their driving the *Bœotians* from the country of *Arne*, a ſmall territory in *Theſſaly*, ſo called from its metropolis built by *Bœotus* the ſon of *Neptune*, by *Arne*, the daughter of *Æolus* (M), the ſecond of that name, who was the ſon of *Hyppotes*, and grandſon of *Mimas* king of *Æolis*; and their conſtant wars againſt the *Phocians*. The former of theſe happened according to *Thucidydes* [1] ſixty years after the taking of *Troy*, and about a hundred after their firſt ſettlement in that territory; when, the *Bœotians* being driven thence, went and poſſeſſed themſelves of a country then named *Cadmeis*, and called it by their name *Bœotia*. We have elſewhere ſpoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the *Phocians* (N), it is not eaſy to gueſs at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcilable hatred entailed between thoſe two nations, which proved a conſtant ſource of freſh and bloody encounters, in which the *Theſſalians*, though ſuperior in ſtrength, eſpecially on account of their cavalry, were very often worſted by the policy of their enemies, witneſs thoſe ſtatues of *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, and other trophies which *Pauſanias* tells us they ſet up both on their borders and at the temple of *Delphos*, in memory of their ſignal victories over them [m]. The truth is the kingdom of *Phocis* was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, ſo that the *Theſſalians*, who ſeem ſtill to have been the aggreſſors, could receive but little benefit from their horſe. On the contrary, the ſame author gives us a remarkable inſtance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We ſhall give it our rea-

[1] Lib. i. * See before, p. 189. & ſeq. [m] In Phocid. c. 13.

(M) This *Æolus* finding his daughter pregnant, is ſaid to have ſent her to *Metapontum*, a city in *Italy* (4), where ſhe was delivered of two ſons *Æolus* and *Bœotus*, the former of whom poſſeſſed himſelf afterwards of the iſles in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, ſince called by his own name *Æolides*, in one of which he built the city *Lipara*. *Bœotius* went to *Æolis* to his grandfather, and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, calling the country *Arne* from his mother, whilſt his people retained that of *Bœotians* from him (5).

(N) The *Phocians* were a people who inhabited the tract of land which lies between the ſouth border of *Theſſaly*, and the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*. It ſeems therefore, that this their neighbourhood was a conſtant ſource of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We ſhall give a fuller account of that warlike nation in the cloſe of this ſection.

(4) *Id. ſub voc.* Μεταπονται.

(5) *D. Sicul. & al.*

ders pretty near in his own words [n]. The *Phocians* having got intelligence that the *Theſſalians* were invading them by the road of *Hyampolis* (a city ſituate near mount *Parnaſſus*) they ſtrewed all that way with empty pots and potſhards, which they covered however ſo well with earth, that the *Theſſalian* horſe, who came riding full ſpeed, did not perceive it till they were ſo intangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them [o]. Their deſire of revenge, ſoon made them raiſe a more powerful army than the former, which ſo alarmed the *Phocians*, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they ſent to conſult the *Delphic* oracle concerning the event of this invaſion. The anſwer they received was, *That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better.* Upon receiving this anſwer, they ſent *Gelon* with three hundred men in the night to obſerve the motions of the *Theſſalians*, but with expreſs orders not to engage them, but to return by ſome by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horſes or put to the ſword. The news of this threw the *Phocians* into ſuch conſternation, that they reſolved either to conquer or periſh to the laſt man. Their firſt care was to ſecure their wives and children, the ſtatues of their gods, and what elſe they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all theſe to ſome thirty of their moſt reſolute men, with orders that if they loſt they day, they ſhould murder their wives and children, and ſet fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it.

THIS deſperate reſolution, which gave riſe to the proverb of the *Phocian* deſpair, was no ſooner taken, than they marched directly againſt their enemies, and the remembrance that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the ſucceſs of this combat, made them engage with ſuch deſperate fury, that they gained a compleat victory, which ſoon unfolded the meaning of the oracle. For upon enquiry they found that the *Theſſalian* word for the onſet was *Minerva Itonia*, and that of the *Phocians* was the name of *Phocus* their founder; in gratitude therefore to the *Delphic* god, they erected a ſtatue to him, together with thoſe of their moſt famous heroes and generals in his temple at *Delphos* [p].

[n] Ibid. c. 1. Vid. & HERODOT. l. viii. c. 28. JUSTIN. DIOD. & al. [o] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. in Phocid. [p] Id. ibid.

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THE *Theſſalians* were ſtill more ſtrangely outwitted, upon another expedition againſt the *Phocians*, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount *Parnaſſus*, they were routed by the following ſtratagem, deviſed by *Telias*, a famous diviner, who was then in the *Phocian* army, and highly eſteemed amongſt them. They took ſix hundred choſen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaiſter, and ſent them to the *Theſſalian* camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaiſtered over like themſelves. Theſe in their march being firſt perceived by the out-guard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and miſtaken for ſome ſtrange army of ghoſts, threw their enemies into ſuch pannic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the ſpot, routed the reſt, and got a conſiderable ſpoil, the tenth of which they ſent to the *Delphic Apollo*, together with one half of the ſhields of the ſlain; the other half was hung up as a trophy in the city of *Aba* [q]. Theſe frequent foils however did but the more heighten their implacable hatred againſt them, inſomuch that they never ceaſed their hoſtilities againſt each other till each ceaſed to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other eſtates of *Greece*, will be beſt ſeen in the following chapter.

The ancient kingdom of Phocis.

HAVING ſaid ſo much of the *Phocians* war againſt the *Theſſalians*, we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of that brave nation, and of their territories, inconſiderable indeed with reſpect to the ſmallneſs of them, yet richly deſerving our notice upon ſeveral accounts, though not worth being treated of in a ſeparate ſection, conſidering how little we do know of its original foundation, ſucceſſion of kings, government, laws, and other ſuch-like particulars.

Situation and limits.

Phocis was ſituate in *Græcia Propria*, and, as we lately obſerved, between *Theſſaly* and the bay of *Corinth*, having the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth. On the weſt it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*; and on the eaſt by *Bœotia* and *Megaris*, ſo that it was hemmed in from the ſea on all but the ſouth ſide; but if we may believe *Dionyſius Periegetes*, it anciently extended itſelf as far as *Thermopylæ*, but the *Phocians* were very early deprived of that part of their country, and ſqueezed into narrower boundaries. Its greateſt length was from north to ſouth, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from eaſt to weſt, ſcarcely extending

[q] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [r] STRAB. PAUSAN. MELA, CLUVER. &c.

30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 20 deg. 40 min. at the wideſt, but about 23 miles towards the *Corinthian* bay, and much narrower ſtill towards the north.

THIS country is generally allowed to have taken its name from *Phocus* the ſon of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*; but having been ſoon after invaded by the *Eginetæ*, under the conduct of another *Phocus*, who was the ſon of *Æacus* king of *Ænopia* (O), the memory of the firſt did inſenſibly give way to that of the ſecond.

Mountains. *Phocis* is famed for ſeveral celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of *Parnaſſus*, ſacred to *Apollo*, and extolled by all the poets. Its height was ſuch, that *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha*, with many others, are ſaid to have ſaved themſelves on the tops of it, from the deluge which happened in that prince's time, and has ſince gone by his name. 2. *Helicon*, and 3. *Cythæron*, both conſecrated to the muſes, and on that account highly celebrated alſo by the poets. They are ſaid to contend with that of *Parnaſſus* for height and bigneſs [s]. *Phocis* had no rivers of any note, except the *Cephiſus*, which runs from the foot of *Parnaſſus* northward, and empties itſelf in the *Pindus*, which laſt was near the boundary of that kingdom.

Cities. IT had ſeveral conſiderable cities, the chief of them was that of *Delphos*, or *Delphi* (P), famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whoſe oracle was reſorted to from all parts of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. We have had occaſion to ſpeak ſomething of the name, antiquity, richneſs and magnificence of it in a former ſection, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was conſulted and delivered †, and ſhall now add ſuch other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted that *Apollo* was the deity who preſided over it. How he came by that ho-

[s] Id. ib. Vid. & VIRG. OVID. PERS. &c. † See before, p. 143, in the notes.

(O) This *Æacus* was the reputed ſon of *Jupiter*, by *Ægina* queen of *Ænopia*, called afterwards from her *Æginea*. He is recorded to have been a prince of ſuch ſtrict juſtice, that after his death, *Pluto* appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore if his ſon *Phocus*, whom he had by his ſecond wife, who was the daughter of *Nereus*, one of the gods of the ſea, did quite eclipſe and obliterate the fame of his predeceſſor.

(P) So called, as is ſuppoſed, from the *Greek* Αδελφοι, brethren, becauſe *Apollo* and his brother *Bacchus* were both worſhipped there. The fable ſays, that *Bacchus* having been terribly torn and mangled by the *Titans*, was brought to *Apollo*, who both reſtored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

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nour is variouſly reported, and may be ſeen in the margin (Q). Its firſt diſcovery is ſaid to have been owing to ſome goats which were feeding on mount *Parnaſſus*, upon which was a miraculous, deep and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. Theſe goats having been obſerved by the goatherd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, to friſk and leap after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, and to have uttered ſtrange and unheard of ſounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, had the curioſity to go and view it, and found himſelf ſeized with the like fit of madneſs, ſkipping and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were poſſeſſed with ſuch phrenetic enthuſiaſm, that they threw themſelves headlong into the vorago; inſomuch that they were forced to iſſue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being ſeated, received and returned the anſwers of the deity in the manner we have elſewhere deſcribed [c]. We meet with ſome different accounts of this wonderful place, which *Pauſanias* has given us upon the credit of the *Phocians*, and which the readers may ſee in that author [d]. This miraculous place was ſoon after covered with a kind of chapel, which the ſame author tells us was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the *Phocian* tradition, was ſucceeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of ſolid copper, and ſaid to have been the workmanſhip of *Vulcan*. This laſt was deſtroyed by an earthquake, according to ſome, or by fire which melted the copper, according to

First diſcovery of the oracle of Delphos.

Three different chapels at the mouth of the cave.

[c] Vid. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. iv. See before, p. 145, (F).
[d] Pausan. in Phocid.

(Q) Some ſay, that this oracle did originally belong to the Earth, and uſed to give its anſwers by dreams. Others, that *Neptune* and the Earth were at firſt partners in it, but that he reſigned his ſhare to the Earth, who was ſucceeded by her daughter *Themis*, the ſame who was conſulted, according to *Ovid*, by *Deucalion* and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repeople the earth. *Themis* in time reſigned it to her ſiſter *Phœbe*, and ſhe to *Apollo* (1).

Some antient poets do indeed tell us, that he did not come ſo fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the Earth, for which ſhe was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not *Jupiter* come to his aſſiſtance (2), who ſeems, on all hands, to have confirmed the poſſeſſion of the oracle to him.

(1) *D. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *Pauſan. in Phocid.* (2) *Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigen. Scholiaſt. in Æſchyl.*

others, and then a ſumptuous one, all of ſtone, was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*.

Delphos, among ſeveral other cities of *Greece*, and *Peloponneſus* contended for being ſituate in the middle, or, as the *Greek* expreſſes it, the navel of the world (R) [e], becauſe the navel is in the middle of the body. It had ſo convenient a harbour, and was ſo excellently well ſituate, being rather in the heart of *Greece* than of the world, that it became in time a ſeſſions town for all the *Grecian* eſtates. Here ſat the court of the *Amphictyones*, choſen out of the prime cities of *Greece*, and called ſo from *Amphictyon* the firſt founder of this high court [f]. The time of their aſſembling was in ſpring and autumn; cauſes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of *Grecia*, and their ſentence was deemed definitive. We ſhall have frequent inſtances of the power of this court in the courſe of the *Grecian* hiſtory, and even the *Phocians* were made to feel the dreadful effects of it, as we ſhall ſee in the cloſe of this ſection.

The court of the Amphyctions *at* Delphos.

Deucalion firſt began to reign in that part of *Phocis* which lies about mount *Parnaſſus*, about the ſame time that *Cecrops* did in *Africa*. But the *Phocians* did afterwards form themſelves into a commonwealth, to be governed by their general aſſemblies, the members of which they choſe from among themſelves, and changed as often as occaſion required. The principal towns aſſigned to them by *Ptolemy* were, on the ſea coaſts *Cyrra*, *Criſſa*, and *Anticyrra*; and in the inland, *Pythia*, *Delphi*, *Daulis*, *Elatia*, *Ergoſthenia*, and *Bulia*. We have already ſpoken of the moſt remarkable of them; the others have nothing worth farther notice, except that *Elatea* was the largeſt and richeſt next to *Delphi*, and pleaſantly ſituate on the river *Cephiſus*, and near that of *Amphiclea*, likewiſe belonging to *Phocis*, and though not mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is ſo by the *Byzantine* geographer, by *Pauſanias* and *Herodotus*; though the two latter call it *Amphicæa*; and the *Amphictyons* afterwards in their decree againſt the *Phocian* cities gave it the name of *Ophitea*.

Other cities of Phocis.

[e] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. ix. p. 289. Pausan. ubi ſupra, & Corinth.

[f] Pausan. in Phocid. c. 2.

(R) The fable, ſays that *Jupiter*, deſirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let looſe two eagles. *Pindar* ſays crows, and others ſwans, the one from the eaſt, and the other from the weſt, and that they met in this place. The city of *Philus* and ſome others pretend to the ſame; *Strabo* places *Delphos* in the middle of *Greece* (3).

(3) *Geogr. l. ix. p. 289. Vid. & Pauſan. in Corinth.*

We know but little of the history of the ancient *Phocians* till the time of the holy war begun againſt them, the occaſion and ſucceſs of which was as follows.

The Holy war.

The *Phocians* having preſumed to plough the territories of the city of *Cyrra*, which were conſecrated to the *Delphic* god, were ſummoned by the other *Grecian* eſtates before the court of the *Amphictyons*, where they had a conſiderable fine impoſed upon them for their ſacrilege. They refuſed to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next ſeſſions their dominions were adjudged confiſcated to the uſe of the temple. This ſecond ſentence did but exaſperate the *Phocians* the more, who at the inſtigation of one *Philomelus*, or, as he is called by *Plutarch*, *Philomedes*, went and ſeized upon the temple, plundered it of its treaſure, and held the ſacred *depoſitum* for a conſiderable time. This ſecond crime occaſioned a ſecond aſſembly of the *Amphictyons*, the reſult of which was a formal declaration of war againſt the *Phocians*. The quarrel being now become more general, the ſeveral ſtates took part in it, according to their inclinations or intereſt. *Athens*, *Sparta*, and ſome others of the *Peloponneſians* declared for the *Phocians*; and the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, *Locrians*, and other neighbouring ſtates againſt them. A war was commenced with great fury on both ſides, and ſtiled the holy war, which laſted ten years, during which the *Phocians* having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not *Philip* of *Macedon* given the finiſhing ſtroke to their total defeat and puniſhment. The war being ended, the grand council aſſembled again, and impoſed an annual fine of ſixty talents upon the *Phocians*, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had ſuſtained from them; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand aſſembly. They did not however continue long under this heavy ſentence; their known bravery made their aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary to the reſt, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their uſual courage and gallantry, and ſoon obliterated their former guilt, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

Considering therefore the great concourſe of people which this *Amphictyonic* court, the *Delphic* oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, brought into the city of *Delphi*; to ſay nothing of the vaſt offerings and preſents which were ſent from all parts of the world, even by the very *Scythians*, unto that oracle †, we ſhall not need wonder

† See before, p. 70.

at its having been one of the richeſt and moſt opulent of all *Greece*; though that proved likewiſe the occaſion of its being ſo often plundered by other nations, as we ſhall ſee it was, in the very next chapter.

Elatea, Cephiſus, Aba, &c.

THE next in dignity both for its antientneſs and grandeur was the city of *Elatea*, ſituate on the river *Cephiſus*, and ſaid to have been built by *Elatus* the ſon of *Arcas* the fourth king of *Arcadia*, and to have been peopled by a colony of that antient nation, which came with him into *Phocis* [g]. *Aba* was likewiſe conſiderable for having *Abas* the ſon of *Lyncæus*, and *Hypermneſtra* for its founder, and for having alſo an oracle of *Apollo*. This was alſo the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the reſt were deſtroyed; but whether ſpared out of reſpect to *Apollo*, to whom it was conſecrated, or, as *Pauſanias* affirms, becauſe it had no hand in the plundering of the *Delphic* temple, we will not affirm. *Cirrha*, on the ſea-ſide of *Delphi*, was the port town to it, and *Criſſa*, ſo called from *Criſſus* the ſon of *Phocus*, was another ſea-port. Theſe were both ſituate on the bay of *Corinth*, which was ſometimes called *Sinus Criſſeus* from the latter. The laſt city of any note was *Daulis*, not ſo much for its bigneſs or richneſs, as for the tallneſs and ſtoutneſs of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repaſt which was ſerved there to *Tereus* king of *Thrace*, by the women of this city, by whom he was ſoon after murdered for the double injury he had done to his ſiſter-in-law *Philomela*, daughter of *Pandion* king of *Athens* (S). As for the other exploits of the *Phocians*, they will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter.

[g] Ibid. c. Vid. & BYZANT. ſub voce Ελατεια.

(S) The fable goes, that *Tereus* after having married *Progne*, did likewiſe raviſh her ſiſter *Philomela*, cut out her tongue, and caſt her into priſon, to prevent her diſcovering his villany; but ſhe found means to acquaint *Progne* with her double misfortune, by working the whole ſtory of it on a piece of embroidery, which ſhe ſent to her. *Progne* took the opportunity of the approaching feaſt of *Bacchus*, when they were all to meet together, and having got her ſiſter out of priſon, made her kill her ſon *Itis*, whom ſhe had by *Tereus*, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be ſet before him. When *Tereus* was appriſed of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her ſiſter; but they, by the help of the *Daulian* women, got the ſtart of him and killed him. *Ovid* has ſince turned him into a lapwing, *Itis* into a pheaſant, his mother into a ſwallow, and *Philomela* into a nightingale, who is ſtill bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pauſanias adds, that no ſwallows do hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houſes, as they do every where elſe (4).

(4) *Phocid. c. 4.*

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the antient kingdom of CORINTH.

Situation and boundaries.

THIS little eſtate was ſituate on the iſthmus of *Corinth*, having the bay of that name, now called *Golfo di Lepanto*, and the iſthmus or neck of land, which joins *Peloponneſus* to the continent on the north, *Sicyon* on the weſt, the gulph of *Saron* on the eaſt, and the kingdom of *Argos* on the ſouth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth about half that ſpace, that is, from 38 deg. 21 min. to 38 deg. 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth*, and on the top the citadel, were built. *Hills,* It was alſo famed for the mountain *Pyrene*, ſacred to the muſes, and ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame that was called *Fons Caballinus*, in *Greek Hippocrene* or the fountain of the horſe, which was feigned by the poets to have ſprung from the horſe *Pegaſus* ſtriking his foot againſt the rock. Others place this laſt fountain on the hill *Helicon*, but the greateſt part on that of *Parnaſſus*. As for that of *Pyrene*, we ſhall ſpeak more of it by-and-by.

Foundation

Corinth is ſaid to have been founded by *Siſyphus*, the ſon of *Æolus*, and grandfather of *Ulyſſes*. This *Siſyphus* is the ſame who was killed by *Theſeus* for the many robberies he committed in *Attica*, and afterwards condemned by *Jupiter* to an endleſs puniſhment in hell (A), for having caught that intriguing god in the height of an amour with *Ægina*, the daughter of *Æſopus* king of *Bœotia*. The antient name of this city was *Ephyra*, which it took from a nymph of that name, ſaid to have been the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, or, according to others, of *Myrmex*, the wife of *Epimetheus*, the ſon of *Japetus*, and brother of *Prometheus*. The time of its foundation by *Siſyphus* is placed about the year of the world 2490, or according to others, 2500, and about ſix years before *Deucalion*'s flood.

Year of the flood 834. *Before Chriſt* 1514.

(A) This puniſhment, as it is feigned by the poets, conſiſts in the rolling of a great ſtone to the top of a hill, which he has no ſooner reached, than it tumbles down again; ſo that his labour is never to be at an end.

Name. ITS new name of *Corinth* is variouſly traced, ſome thinking that it was ſo called from the *Greek* κορωθος, ſatiety or abundance, implying the opulence of the place; others go ſtill farther for its etymon; but the antient inhabitants pretended it had its name from *Corinthus* the ſon, as ſome of them ſaid of *Jupiter*, or as others of *Marathon*, and brother of *Sicyon* (B). But moſt authors aſcribe the name and building, or rebuilding of it to *Corinthus* the ſon of *Pelops*. Among other names it antiently had, we find that of *Heliopolis* or city of the ſun, for which this reaſon is commonly given, that the poets feign *Apollo* and *Neptune* to have contended for it, and that *Jupiter* having appointed *Briareus* the *Cyclop* their umpire, he adjudged the iſthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) [c]. However, we meet with a number of other ancient cities of that

[c] Vid. APOLLOD. DIOD. PAUSAN. & al.

(B) *Pauſanias* quotes an antient *Corinthian* poet, called *Eumelos* (ſome fragments of whoſe poems are ſtill preſerved in that author, and in the works of *Athenæus*) according to whom, *Marathon* was the grandſon of *Aloeus*, who was the ſon of the ſun; and being for ſome reaſon afraid of his mother *Epope*'s anger, he retired into ſome of the maritime coaſts of *Attica*; but after his father's death, being returned into *Peloponneſus*, he divided the territories of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* between his two ſons *Sicyon* and *Corinthus*, from whom they took their names. *Sicyon* being formerly called *Aſopis*, and *Corinth Ephyra* (1); at which time it was but an inconſiderable town, tho' it roſe afterwards to be the metropolis of this kingdom, and one of the nobleſt and moſt opulent cities in *Greece*.

(C) If *Dion*, *Apollodorus*, and other mythologiſts, may be believed, the gods were ſo fond of *Greece*, that in *Cecrops*'s time each of them contended to have, at leaſt, one city, where he might be particularly worſhipped. *Neptune* came the firſt into *Attica*, where ſtriking the ground with his trident, he formed a ſea. *Minerva* came ſoon after, and in *Cecrops*'s preſence planted an olive-tree, which, the laſt quoted author tells you, was ſtill to be ſeen in his time (2). Theſe two deities diſputing their claims to the country on account of the preſent each had made to it, *Jupiter* cauſed the controverſy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of *Athens* and all *Attica* to *Minerva*.

But whether *Corinth* was called Ηλιοπολις, from its being adjudged by *Briareus* to *Apollo*, or from *Corinthus*'s being reputed the great grandſon of the ſun, or from the heighth and drineſs of its ſituation and territory, is ſcarce worth enquiring. Only we can't but prefer the conjecture of the learned *Gronovius* (3), that it was originally called Ηλιοπολις, from the ruggedneſs and barrenneſs of its ſituation and territority, for ſuch *Strabo* tells us (4) it really was.

(1) *Pauſan. in Corinthiac. c.* 1. *Byzant. ſub v.* Corinth.

(2) *Apollod. l.* iii.

(3) *Not. in*

(4) *Geogr. l.* viii. *p.* 231.

name

name, or rather appellative, it being common in thoſe days to dedicate cities to ſome of the gods, and ſirname them accordingly, without loſing their original name.

Corinth had, beſides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it *Acrocorinthus*, two port towns, namely *Lecheum*, ſituate on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* (D) on that of *Saron*. Theſe were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note, next to *Corinth*, that belonged to this territory. And theſe were ſo well ſituate for naval commerce, and ſo near the metropolis, that they made ample compenſation for the barrenneſs of the ſoil. Theſe two naval roads which opened a way into the *Ionian* and *Ægean* ſeas, might eaſily have gained them a ſuperiority, if not a command over all *Greece*, had not this advantageous ſituation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almoſt impregnable by nature, and commanding both thoſe ſeas, they could eaſily cut off all communication from one-half of *Greece* to the other, ſo that it was not without reaſon, called one of the fetters of *Greece*. But their genius leading them to improve theſe advantages more to navigation and commerce than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, ſo that the little influence they had over the other eſtates, was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

Two port-towns.

As their opulence daily encreaſed, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of ſtrangers that flocked thither from *Europe* and *Aſia*, their city became in time one of the fineſt in all *Greece*; being adorned with ſumptuous buildings, ſuch as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them enriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and baſes, from which the *Corinthian* order took its name, with numberleſs ſtatues done by the moſt famous artiſts[d]. Inſomuch that with reſpect to its richneſs (E), greatneſs, and excellent ſituation, it was thought by the *Romans* equally worthy of empire with *Carthage*

Corinth *one of the moſt beautiful and wealthy cities of* Greece.

[d] Pausan. in Corinth. c. 2. & ſeq.

(D) That this laſt was a diſtinct city from *Corinth*, at leaſt in St. *Paul*'s time, we may gather from *Acts* xviii. 18. and from his epiſtle to the *Romans*, *Ch.* xvi. p. 1. though it had the epithet of *Corinthiaca* in the poets for being one of the havens of that little eſtate, as *Corinthus* had that of *Bimaris*, for being ſo conveniently ſituated between two ſeas.

(E) We need not a more pregnant inſtance of their wealth and luxury than that of the curteſan *Lais*, who uſually exacted 10,000 drachms for every night's lodging; which made the famous *Demoſthenes* ſay, that he did not deſign to buy repentance at ſo dear

Artificial rarities.

thage and *Capua.* Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the ſumptuous embelliſhments of the fountain of *Pyrene*, we mentioned a little higher (F), conſiſting of ſeveral caves in form of grottos all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large baſon, and is very pleaſant to drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The ſtadium or courſe, both which were of white marble. 4. The temple of *Neptune*, whoſe avenue was lined on one ſide with the ſtatues of all thoſe who had won the prize at the *Iſthmian* games (G),

dear a rate. But ſhe met with a worſe fate in *Theſſaly*, whither ſhe went in ſearch of freſh cuſtomers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their huſbands and ſons, put at once an end to her life and intriguing trade.

(F) *Pauſanias* tells us this fountain owed its firſt origin to the tears which *Pyrene* ſhed for the death of her ſon *Cenchreus*, who was unfortunately killed by *Diana*. He adds, that it was commonly believed, that the *Corinthians* dipped their copper in that water, as ſoon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he aſſures us that it was a vulgar error, ſince they had no copper among them (5).

(G) The origin of theſe games is variouſly reported; ſome ſay they were inſtituted by the *Corinthians*, in honour of *Melicertes*, the ſon of *Athamas* and *Ino* (6). The fable ſays, that *Athamas* king of the *Orchomenians*, having taken *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus* in ſecond marriage, after he had had two ſons by his firſt wife *Nephele*, *Ino* proved ſo cruel a ſtep mother to them, that her huſband grew enraged at her, and having put *Learcus* one of the ſons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other ſon; buththat ſhe, to avoid her huſband's fury, having thrown *Melicertes* down into the ſea, and herſelf after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back, and ſwam with him to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians* received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of *Palæmon*, and inſtituting theſe games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine-leaves.

But the generality attribute them to *Theſeus*, in honour of *Neptune*; the reader may ſee what we have ſaid of that hero in a former ſection †.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with ſacrifices in honour of the ſons of *Medea*, whom they had unjuſtly put to death, and for which it ſeems they had been puniſhed by the gods with the death of their own children, who uſed to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by thoſe annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder they erected a ſtatue repreſenting fear, in honour of *Medea*, and their children uſed to go in black, and with their hair cut; and this cuſtom laſted till all the old race of the *Corinthians* was extirpated with their city (8).

(5) *Corinth. c.* 3. (6) *Id. ib.* (7) *Apollodor. l.* i. † *Pag.* 178, *& ſeq.*
(8) *Vid. Pauſan. Cor. c.* 3.

and

and on the other with ſtately pines ſet in regular rows. The temple itſelf, which was not very ſpacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen *Trytons*, or *Sea Gods*. Here were alſo the chariots of *Neptune* and of his wife *Amphithrite*, both drawn by horſes covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a ſtanding poſture, and *Neptune* had young *Palæmon* riding on a dolphin by his ſide. The baſes of the chariots were likewiſe adorned with curious baſ-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embelliſhments. It were endleſs to deſcribe all the other edifices and maſter-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this ſmall ſpot of ground was inriched, the the reader, if he pleaſe, may ſee them deſcribed more at large by *Pauſanias* abovementioned.

But while the *Corinthians* ſeemed ſo wholly given up to traffick and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and ſciences, and even that noble thirſt for glory and conqueſt, for which their neighbours did ſo much value themſelves; they did not forget to cultivate a good diſcipline, both in peace and war; their wealth and opulence, which made them inſolent at home, and envied abroad, made both indeed very neceſſary. And though they ſeldom, if ever, engaged in any war, with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or to protect ſome neighbouring ſtate, or to maintain the liberty of *Greece*; yet has this little kingdom furniſhed many brave and experienced generals to the reſt of the *Grecian* cities, inſomuch that it was common for theſe to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one either of their own, or any other ſtate. The truth is, the *Corinthians* were of all others the greateſt aſſertors of liberty, and though they continued ſome centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always ſhewed an averſion to tyranny, and a readineſs to aſſiſt thoſe who groaned under it.

The *Corinthian* monarchy did not however continue in the lineal ſucceſſion of their founder *Siſyphus*, above ſeven or eight generations, when his line became extinct, or, as others affirm, was dethroned, and expelled the kingdom by *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with a long ſucceſſion of kings of his line, concerning the greateſt part of whom little elſe remains but their names, and the years they were ſaid to have reigned. They are as follows: Of the firſt race. 1. *Siſyphus*, 2. *Glaucus*, 3. *Bellerophon*, 4. *Thoas*, 5. *Demophon*, 6. *Propodas*, 7 and 8. *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. Of the ſecond race under the *Heraclidæ*. 1. *Aletes*, 2. *Ixion*, 3. *Agelas*, 4. *Prumnes*, 5. *Bacchis*, 6. *Agelas* II. 7. *Eudamas*, 8. *Ariſtomedes*, 9. *Agemon*, 10. *Alexander*, 11. *Teleſtes*, 12. *Automenes*,

Year of the flood 1254. *Before Chriſt* 1034.

menes, in the very firſt year of whoſe reign the *Bacchidæ*, to the number of above 200, retook the government into their own hands, after it had continued in the line of the *Aletes* between three and four hundred years, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. After the ending of *Siſyphus*'s line, the kings who deſcended from *Aletes* affected to call themſelves *Heraclidæ*, he being the great grandſon of *Antiochus* the ſon of *Hercules* [e]. This name however they changed for *Bacchidæ*, from *Bacchis* the fifth in deſcent from *Aletes*, whom we may therefore ſuppoſe to have been upon ſome account or other more famous and eſteemed than his anceſtors. Theſe *Bacchidæ* held the kingdom of *Corinth* near as long as the *Heraclidæ*, by which time they grew ſo numerous on the one hand, and on the other ſo weary of kingly government, that they entirely diſſolved it in the reign of *Automenes* their laſt king (H). This prince, or rather his predeceſſor, being become very odious to his ſubjects, his two kinſmen *Arieus* and *Perantas* formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and at once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had reigned twelve years [f], and in the year of the world 3104. After his death two hundred of the principal *Bacchidæ* ſeized upon the government, and ſhared the adminiſtration of affairs among themſelves, electing a ſupreme magiſtrate out of their own body whom they called *Prytanis*, to preſide over the reſt. *Corinth* continued under the *Bacchiadæ* ariſtocracy till the year 3349, when *Cypſelus* deſcended from them by the mother's ſide (I), having received ſome obſcure hint from the oracle that he ſhould be king of *Corinth*, and that he ſhould

Year of the flood 1448. *Before Chriſt* 900.

[e] Pausan. ubi ſupra, c. 4. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

[f] Id. ib. vid. & Diodor. * See before, p. 129.

(H) Some ancient authors tell us, that *Automenes*, the ſon of *Teleſtes*, did reign one year after the death of his father (9), and it is not unlikely that he made ſome vain effort to keep the crown; but *Pauſanias* takes no notice of him, but tells us the diſſolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder of that king (10); but whether in the laſt year of this, or in the firſt of that, 'tis agreed that the government was then changed into an ariſtocracy.

(I) His mother *Labda*, the daughter of *Amphion*, one of the *Bacchidæ*, was lame, and ſo deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one *Eetion*, a man deſcended at a great diſtance from the *Lapithæ*, contrary to the ſettled maxim of the *Bacchidæ*, who had till then refuſed to intermarry with other families, the better to ſecure the government t heir own.

This *Eetion* having no children,

(9) *Euſeb. D. Sicul. et al.*

(10) *Corinth. c. 4.*

ſhould be ſucceeded by his ſon, but not by his grandſon; found means to wreſt the power out of their hand. The time of this uſurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in *Cypſelus* and his ſon, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontat of *Athens*, and is therefore beyond our preſent epoch. From *Siſyphus* the firſt founder, to this *Cypſelus*, the *Corinthian* government had ſtood almoſt 860 years, or 430 years in the line of *Siſyphus*, 130 in that of *Aletes*, 130 in that of *Bacchis*, and about 150 under the *Ariſtocratic* government of the 200 *Bacchidæ*. But to return to the line of the firſt kings.

Siſyphus is generally allowed the firſt founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom (K), he was the ſon of *Æolus*, and was killed

dren, went to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*, where he was told, though in very obſcure terms, that he ſhould have a ſon by his lame wife who ſhould prove a ſcourge to *Corinth*. On the other hand the *Bacchidæ* having likewiſe been forewarned by the ſame oracle, and in the ſame intricate terms, againſt *Eetion*'s offspring, ſent ten men of their own body to murder the boy *Labda* had lately brought forth; and as theſe were going to *Eetion*'s houſe, they agreed that he to whom the child was delivered ſhould kill him. Their pretence was to congratulate *Eetion* on the birth of it in the name of their whole body, and *Labda* ignorant of their intent, readily gave the child to the firſt that asked for it; but the infant at that inſtant ſmiling in his face, and he not having the power to ſtrike the blow, gave it to his next companion, and he, moved with the ſame pity, gave it to a third. The child thus handed through all the ten was reſtored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no ſooner got out of the houſe, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal ſharers in the murder; but the mother, who had overheard their diſcourſe, took care to convey the child under a buſhel or corn-meaſure, called in *Greek* Κυψελε *Cypſele*, from which he afterwards took his name. *Pauſanias* calls it a coffer or cheſt, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with ſome fine carvings in gold and ivory, and that it was afterwards conſecrated by his deſcendants to *Juno Olympia*, in memory of his wonderful eſcape (11). However that be, the bloody deputies having ſearched the whole houſe in vain, returned to their brethren, and being aſhamed to own their weakneſs, made them believe they had executed their orders, and *Cypſelus* thus wonderfully preſerved, became in time the tyrant of *Corinth*, as ſhall be ſhewn preſently (12).

(K) *Pauſanias* indeed quotes an ancient poet *Eumelos*, lately mentioned, who pretends that this country had been given by the ſon to *Æetes*, and that he, accompanying *Jaſon* in the *Argonautic* expedition, left the government to *Butus* the ſon of *Mercury*,

(11) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* 17. *Herodot. l.* v.

(12) *Id. in Corinth. c.* 4. *Vid. et*

killed by *Theſeus* for the many inroads which he made into *Attica*, as we hinted in the beginning of this ſection, He left ſeveral ſons, and amongſt them *Glaucus* who ſucceeded him, and *Ornythus*, or, as he is generally called, *Ornytion* the father of *Phocus*, who carried a colony into *Phocis*, and called the country after his name, as we have ſhewn before.

Glaucus called by *Euripides*, *Creon* (L), received *Jaſon* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had been both expelled *Theſſaly* by *Acaſtus* the ſon of *Pelias*. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till *Creon* having married his daughter *Glauce* to *Jaſon*, the ſlighted ſorcereſs *Medea* was ſo enraged at it, that ſhe ſet the palace on fire murdered all the children ſhe had had by *Jaſon*, and fled to *Athens* [g]. *Pauſanias* adds, that *Glaucus* having aſſiſted at the funeral games, which *Acaſtus* had inſtituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horſes [h], and that *Glauce* flung herſelf into a fountain in hopes that the water of it would preſerve her from *Medea*'s inchantments, and that fountain was ſince called by her name [i]. *Glaucus* is commonly ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the *Iſthmean* games mentioned a little higher in a note.

Bellerophon, ſo called from his killing a man named *Beller*, was the ſon of *Glaucus* or *Creon*. We have ſeen in a former ſection how he was forced to retire into *Argos*, for that manſlaughter, and there falſely accuſed by *Stenobæa* of an attempt upon her, for which he was ſent by *Prætus* to *Jobates*

[g] Vid. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 9. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hiſt. l. iv. & EURIP. in Medea. [h] ELID. c. 3. [i] Id. in Corinth. c. 4.

Mercury, from whom it having paſſed in time to *Corinthus* the ſon of *Marathon*, who died without iſſue, or, according to *Apollodorus*, left only one daughter, the *Corinthians* invited *Jaſon* and *Medea* to come and reign over them; and that *Jaſon* having taken a diſlike at *Medea*, and gone away from her, ſhe appointed *Siſyphus* her ſucceſſor (13).

But there are two ſolid arguments againſt this poetic fiction, the one that *Siſyphus* was the brother of *Cretheus*, and this the grandfather of *Jaſon*, ſo that theſe two could not be cotemporary. The other is that *Siſyphus* muſt have been dead ſome time before *Jaſon* came to *Corinth*, ſince *Euripides* tells us in his *Medea* that *Creon* did then reign there, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Glaucus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Siſyphus* (14), as we ſhall ſee immediately.

(L) The author above quoted ſuppoſes him to be ſo called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, *Creon* in *Greek* ſignifying the ſame as *reigning* or *governing*.

(13) *Corinth. c. 4.* (14) *Vid. Paulmier, & Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.*

king

king of *Lycia* to be put to death (M) *. The first dangerous expedition which the *Lycian* king sent him upon, was to subdue the *Solymi*, a neighbouring people, against whom he sent him with a very small number of forces; but that defect being supplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and as the learned *Bochart* supposes, their three gods, which they painted on their ensigns [k], one in the shape of a lion, a second of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own in memory of this conquest; gave birth to the fable of his killing the monster *Chimæra* (N). His next expedition was against the *Amazons*, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himself also

* See before, p. 157.

[k] Phaleg. lib. i. c. 6.

(M) It is likely, as *Pausanias* observes (15), that *Bellerophon* never reigned at *Corinth*, and that he was forced to fly into *Argos* before his father's death; but what the same author adds, that both he and the *Corinthians* were then subject to the *Argives*, doth not so well appear. It is true those *Corinthian* troops that went to the siege of *Troy*, are said by *Homer* not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the ensigns of *Agamemnon*. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as did also the *Arcadians?*

However as *Bellerophon* never returned from *Lycia* to *Corinth*, we find *Thoas* his cousin, the son of *Ornytion* on the throne there; and 'tis likely that he ascended it after *Glaucus*'s death, and during *Bellerophon*'s absence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been so blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, divested as much as possible from the poetic fictions, with which those writers have disguised them.

(N) This monster the poets feigned to have had the head and breast of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it spit out fire and flame (16). We have seen in the text above what the learned *Bochart* thought of it. Others think that it was a mountain in *Lycia*, which had some vulcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequented by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by serpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave rise to the fable of this *Chimæra* (17).

Others again suppose it to have been a noted pirate among the *Lycians* named *Chimarras*, who had the lion, goat, and dragon painted on his ship, and was overcome by *Bellerophon*, after having infested those parts a considerable time, and done great damage to *Lycia* and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18). But we prefer the sentiment of a judicious modern †, who thinks it better to leave the matter undetermined, than to expound one chimera by another.

(13) *In Corinth.* (16) *De hac vid. Hesiod. Theogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid. &c.*
(17) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.* (18) *Plutarch. de virtut. Mulier. & Hind. Hist. Græc.*
† *Stanyan. Gr. Hist. Vol. I. c. 4.*

from

from an ambuſh of the *Lycians*, which *Jobates* had ſet to way-lay, and murder him in his return; and killed every one of them. *Jobates* at length, ſtruck with admiration at his bravery and ſucceſs, ſought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his ſervices, which he did by giving him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage, and declaring him his ſucceſſor [l].

All theſe atchievements however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary aſſiſtance. For *Minerva*, who took pity of the innocent prince, lent him the famous horſe *Pegaſus* (O), after ſhe had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whoſe help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the moſt ſignal of his exploits, eſpecially that of killing the *Chimæra* [m], againſt which *Neptune* was likewiſe pleaſed to give him his aſſiſtance. After theſe ſucceſſes and great change of fortune, he is ſaid to have grown ſo inſolent and preſumptuous, that it brought a new ſeries of miſchiefs upon him, which gave occaſion to the fable mentioned in the laſt note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegaſus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind [n].

We took notice above that *Thoas* the ſon of *Ornytion*, ſucceeded *Creon* or *Glaucus*; from him the crown deſcended to his ſon *Demophon*, to his grandſon *Propidas*, and laſtly to his two great grandſons, *Dorydas* and *Hyanthidas*. It was in the reign of theſe two that the *Dorians* invaded the kingdom, with *Aletes* one of the *Heraclidæ* at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* was the ſon of that *Hippotes*, who had been baniſhed *Peloponneſus* for ten years, by order of the *Delphic* oracle for killing one *Carnus* an *Arcananian* prophet in the war of the *Epigoni* againſt *Thebes*, mentioned in a former ſection *.

[l] Pausan. ubi ſupra.
[m] Apollodor. l. ii. c. 3.
[n] Id. ibid. Pausan. Sicul. & al.
* Sup. pag. 199, 200.

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have ſprung from *Meduſa*'s blood. The *Corinthians* had a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whom they ſirnamed *Chalinitis*, from the *Greek* Καλινος, a bit or curb bridle, becauſe ſhe had clapp'd one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's ſervice.

The fable adds, that *Bellerophon* being got on the back of *Pegaſus*, was ſo affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horſe, finding himſelf without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the conſtellation that ſtill bears his name.

He

He met however with an obſtinate reſiſtance from the *Corinthians*, who ſhewed upon that occaſion a great reluctance to ſubmit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, *Aetes* and his brave *Dorians* proved too ſtrong, beat and expelled them out of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom. From him it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of his deſcendants, under the names of *Heraclidæ* and *Bacchidæ*, till *Teleſtes* the ninth from him. *Aetes* enlarged the city of *Corinth*, and called it *Corinth* of *Jupiter*, in gratitude to the oracle of this deity at *Dodona* which had favoured his pretenſions, and after a reign of 38 years, was ſucceeded by the eldeſt of his family for ſeveral generations, *viz.* by *Ixion* his eldeſt ſon, who reigned likewiſe 38 years, and left the crown to *Agelas*, who after a 37 years reign was ſucceeded by *Prumes*; this prince reigned 35 years, and left the crown to *Bacchis*, who being more famed, or perhaps ſucceſsful than his predeceſſors, the royal ſirname was changed from *Heraclidæ* to that of *Bacchidæ*: He reigned 35 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Agelas*, who reigned three years. His ſon *Eudamus* reigned 35, and after him *Ariſtomedes*, by others called *Ariſtodemus*, who after a 35 years reign left the kingdom to *Teleſtes* abovementioned. This prince being very young when his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle *Agemon*, who ſoon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him ſixteen years, but left it to his own ſon *Alexander*, who reigned alſo twenty-ſix years; but was at length killed by *Teleſtes*, whom it ſeems they had ſtill ſuffered to live during this long uſurpation, and who then ſeized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himſelf killed by a faction, as we hinted above; immediately after which followed the ariſtocracy of the 200 *Bacchidæ* under their annual Prytanes[o], of which we ſhall ſpeak at the cloſe of the next chapter.

The Heraclidæ and Bacchidæ.

[o] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Euseb. Chron. l. i. D. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VIII.

The hiſtory of the antient kingdom of Lacedæmon *or* Sparta.

THE original name of this country was *Laconia*, a name which this nation ſtill prided themſelves in, after it was changed into thoſe of *Spartans* and *Lacedæmonians*. As for thoſe of *Sparta* and *Lacedæmon*, though they be often confounded by writers antient and modern, yet in

The name. propriety of ſpeech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, ſo called, according to the tradition of that people, from *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and ſo called from *Lacedæmon* the huſband of *Sparta*, and heir and ſucceſſor of *Eurotas*. But though this was originally the caſe, and in propriety of ſpeech a difference was made between thoſe two names, yet in proceſs of time the diſtinction fell, and both appellatives were promiſcuouſly uſed to ſignify the city and country. The ſame tradition adds, that *Eurotas* was the grandſon of *Lelex*, ſirnamed alſo *Autochtos*, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have been originally a native, and from him his ſubjects bore the antient name of *Leleges*. *Lelex* was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Myles*, and this by his ſon *Eurotas*, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reaſon of the bogs and marſhes with which it was covered, cut a ſpacious channel through it, into which ſuch quantities of waters drained themſelves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. *Eurotas* having no male iſſue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedæmon*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta* (A), and appointed him his ſucceſſor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city which

And their Etymon.

(A) This princeſs was the daughter of *Atlas*, king of *Mauritania*, and uncle of *Jupiter* *, and is ſaid to have been raviſhed both by him and by his brother *Neptune*; from her the mountain *Taygetus* had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her ſon *Lacedæmon*. Near this place was alſo a village called *Aleſies*, from the *Greek* Αλεω, to grind, becauſe *Myles* the ſon of *Lelex* is reported to have found the firſt mule there, and to have made uſe of it for grinding of corn (1).

This mountain was likewiſe famous for furniſhing huntſmen with a great variety of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, boars, deer, and vaſt numbers of wild goats (2). With reſpect to the *Etymon* of *Sparta*, we ſhall omit that monſtrous one, which ſome give of its being ſo called from *Cadmus*, making an irruption into *Laconia* with his *Sparti*, who were ſaid to have had that name given them, becauſe they ſprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had ſown, and which we have mentioned elſewhere †. This monſtrous ſtory is even rejected by the *Greeks* themſelves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name; as for that of *Lacedæmon*, it is generally agreed to be from the *Lacedæmon* mentioned above.

Beſides the names of *Lacedæmonia*, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, we find in antient geographers thoſe of *Lelegia*, from the *Leleges*, whom

* *See before*, *p.* 44. (*L*) & 50.
† *See before*, *p.* 194. (*E*)

(1) *Pauſan. in Laconic. c.* 20.
(2) *Id. ibid.*

which he built ſoon after, and made the ſeat of the kingdom by that of his wife [a]. Thus far the *Laconic* tradition; others, however, derive the name of *Sparta* from *Spartus* the ſon according to ſome; or according to others, the brother of *Phoroneus* [b], the ſon of the great *Inachus* the founder of *Argos*. Others make him the ſon of *Amydas* [c]. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* [d] tells us of one *Sparton*, who is in all likelihood the ſame perſon, whom others call *Spartus*, and this is by ſome reckoned the brother, and by others the ſon of *Phoroneus* [e]; but this laſt is confuted by *Pauſanias*, who tells us that he doth not believe that *Phoroneus* had any ſon of that name, and that the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves did not acknowledge any ſuch perſon.

Geography

Laconia was ſituate on the ſouth-eaſt nook of *Peloponneſus*, having *Argos* and *Arcadia* on the north, *Meſſenia* on the weſt, the bay of *Argos* on the eaſt, and the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. Its extent from eaſt to weſt, where it reached furtheſt, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 20 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. eaſt longitude; but it grew ſtill narrower, as it extended itſelf northward. The extent of it from north to ſouth was about fifty miles, that is from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude (B).

As all the ſouth part of this kingdom was incompaſſed by the ſea, and the eaſt and north-eaſt part by the *Argolic* bay,

[a] Pausan. in Laconic. ch. 1. Vid. & St. Byzant. ſub voce Sparta & Laconia. [b] Euseb. Chron. See before, p. 148. & ſeq. [c] Eustat. in Iliad. B. [d] Sub voce Lacedæmon. [e] Idem in voce Mycenas.

whom *Strabo* makes the firſt inhabitants; ſo that that of *Laconia* is poſterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called *Oebalia*, from *Oebalus* the ſixth from *Eurotas*. It had alſo the name of *Hecatompolis*, from the hundred cities which it is ſaid once to have had (3). It is now called *Tzaconia*.

(B) We do not pretend to ſay, that this extent of their dominions was ſuch from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were anciently contained within a much narrower compaſs, and that a great number of thoſe cities, both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the *Spartan* government till a long time after. Of this nature were the *Heliots*, *Gythians*, and many others, which were forced to yield to the ſuperior power of the *Lacedæmonians*, eſpecially after the *Ephori* had ſo far clipped the royal prerogative, and enſlaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all thoſe neighbouring ſtates, rather than live an idle and ſlaviſh life under thoſe upſtart and tyrannic magiſtrates.

(3) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib.* viii. *p.* 250.

it had a great number of promontories, the chief of which were thoſe of *Malea* and *Tanara* (C), now *Capo Malio*, and *Capo Matapan*. Theſe two being ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, form the large *Laconian* gulph which lies between them, and is now called the *Golfo di Colochina*, into which the famed river *Eurotas*, mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of *Baſilipotamo*, vulgarly called *Vaſilipotamo*, or royal river, diſcharges its waters with an eaſy and gentle courſe.

Sea-ports.

ALL the ſea-coaſts of *Laconia* were likewiſe furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greateſt and moſt convenient were thoſe of *Trinaſſus* and *Acria*, ſituate on each ſide the mouth of the *Eurotas*; and *Gythium*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Trinaſſus*. This laſt *Pauſanias* tells us had the remains of a caſtle ſtill ſtanding, which might be at firſt built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to *Sparta*, if not beyond. *Gythium* was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by *Apollo* and *Hercules* (D); but the moſt noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Malveſia*, ſeated on the gulph of *Argos*, now *Golfo di Napoli*, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called *Malveſy*, or *Malmeſy*, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it ſupplied other parts of *Greece*. There were about twelve more ſea-port towns along the *Laconian* coaſts, and what made theſe ſtill more famed, was a kind of ſhell-fiſh caught in that neighbourhood, whoſe blood was of excellent uſe for dying of

Purple ſhell-fiſh.

[f] In Corinth. Vid. & BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 22. [g] Vid. STRAB. MELA, PAUSAN. & al.

(C) This cape which juts out a great way into the ſea, had two ports, one named *Achilleus*, and the other *Pſamatheus*. Here was alſo the famous temple of *Neptune*, built in form of a grotto, falſely ſuppoſed by the poets to be the paſſage out of which *Hercules* brought *Pluto*'s dog *Cerberus*, ſince there is no ſubterranean place under it; but what ſeems to have given riſe to this fancy was, that here was bred a moſt dreadful ſerpent, whoſe bite was ſo mortal, that it was thence called hell hound, and which was afterwards killed by *Hercules*, and carried by him to *Erectheus* (4).

(D) They pretend that theſe two, having diſputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel; agreed to build this city at their common charge, for which reaſon the inhabitants of it pretend themſelves not to be ſprung from mortal men, and had the ſtatues of thoſe two gods in their market-place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(4) *Id. ib. Pauſan. Mela, &c.*

(5) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.*

purple,

purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the *Red-Sea* [h].

INLAND towns did likewiſe abound in this kingdom, the moſt conſiderable of which was *Sparta* the metropolis, called alſo improperly *Lacedæmon*, and ſituate upon the river *Eurotas*, at about thirty miles diſtance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at leaſt beautified by *Lacedæmon*, the firſt king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was *Amyclæ*, built by *Amyclas* the ſon of *Lacedæmon*, and famed afterwards for the birth of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the ſons of *Tyndareus*, eighth king of *Lacedæmon*, and diſtant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for ſending a conſiderable colony of its own inhabitants into upper *Calabria*, who built there a city which they called by the ſame name. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the *Dorians*, and turned into an inconſiderable hamlet, in which however there were ſeen ſome of the ruins of its antient grandeur. One of the fineſt buildings that eſcaped the common ruin was the temple and ſtatue of *Alexandra*, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the ſame with *Caſſandra* the daughter of *Priam*. 3. *Helos* ruined by the *Spartans* (E). 4. *Thulana*, near to which is the famous lake of *Lerna*, where *Hercules* ſlew the *Hydra*. 5. *Leuctrum*, upon the bay of *Meſſenia*, and ſituate near the ſea. We find two other cities of this name, one in *Arcadia*, and the other in *Achaia*; but this was the moſt remarkable of the three [i]. *Cities of note.*

MOUNTAINS they had in a great number, the country was divided from *Meſſenia* by one ridge of them, and from *Arcadia* by another; and this latter was a very long one [k], beſides thoſe which were in the heart of it. The greateſt part of them, however, were more celebrated for ſome fabulous *Mountains*

[h] PAUSAN. in Laconic. c. 21. & BYZANT. ſub voce. STRAB. ubi ſupra.

[i] De his vid. PAUSAN. ibid.

[k] MELA, lib. ii. c. 4. & alib.

(E) Theſe people, whoſe city had been built by *Helius* the ſon of *Perſeus*, had a worſe fate than any of the reſt. For having refuſed to pay the tribute impoſed upon them by *Agis*, the third king of the *Heraclidæan* line, the *Lacedæmonians* fell upon them with an army, took them priſoners, reduced them to the loweſt and moſt miſerable ſlavery, and, to complete all, made a law, which forbid their maſters either giving them their liberty, or ſelling them into other countries (6). And for a greater mark of infamy, all the other ſlaves belonging to the ſtate were called from them *Helota*, in the ſame manner as the word *ſlave* is uſed now in ſeveral countries, from the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, upon ſuch another occaſion.

(6) *Strab. ubi ſupra, p.* 363, *et* 365.

exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing elſe, and may therefore be paſſed by.

Rivers. Rivers of note, beſides the *Eurotas* abovementioned, were the *Smenus*, which had its head near the foot of the mountain *Taygeta*, and thence empties itſelf into the ſea, and whoſe waters are famed for their ſweetneſs and pleaſantneſs. The *Thiaſus*, ſaid to have had its name from the daughter of *Eurotas*. The *Scyras*, where *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles* landed, after he came from *Scyros* to marry *Hermione*. This river having till then no name, was thenceforth called *Scyras*. We omit ſome others of leſs note.

Soil. THE ſoil was very rich, eſpecially in the low and flat grounds, and their being ſo well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for paſture-ground; but their being ſo overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them from being ſo well tilled as they might otherwiſe have been. But the country was much better ſituated for trade and navigation, by having the ſea round above half the kingdom, and ſo many fair havens upon it. How well they improved theſe advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be ſeen in the ſéquel of their hiſtory. The truth is, the *Lacedæmonians* were a brave courageous people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by ſea and land, averſe to ſloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power; they were wanting in no civil or military diſcipline in order to ſecure the one, and curb the other. And by theſe means it was that they became ſo powerful, and made ſo conſiderable a figure in *Greece*[1], that the kings of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia* diſdained not to pay a kind of homage to them, and own their ſuperiority by moſt ſolemn embaſſies. Nor were the *Grecians* themſelves leſs ſtruck with admiration and eſteem for them, not only on account of their regard to juſtice and honour, their love of liberty and implacable hatred againſt oppreſſion and tyranny, but likewiſe on account of their intrepid valour and bravery, their excellent laws, diſcipline, and uncommon method of training up their youth to martial exploits, to deſpiſe the fatigues and dangers of war, and to face death with an undauntedneſs peculiar to themſelves; for after the ſtrict diſcipline they underwent at home, they could hardly meet with any thing terrible in the field, and they were the only people in the world to whom war gave repoſe; ſo that after the example of *Agis*, one of their greateſt monarchs,

Character of the Lacedæmonians.

[1] Vid. THUCYDID. l. ii. PAUSAN. in Laconic. PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. DIODOR. SICUL. &c.

they neither enquired who, nor how numerous, but where their enemies were; and as they chiefly aimed at a glorious victory or death, they were ſeldom known to conquer by ſtratagem or ſurprize, but by dint of fighting, and in the open field.

THEIR government was, like all others, originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed ſome magiſtrates under them, whoſe advice and council they made uſe of upon all emergent occaſions; but as theſe were choſen by the prince, and might be turned out at pleaſure, they ſeldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, ſo that his will was ſtill the ſupreme law. In this manner it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of twelve princes, from *Lacedæmon* the ſon-in-law of *Eurotas*, and founder of this monarchy. Not indeed conſtantly in the male line, which being extinct in *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſons of *Tyndareus* their ſeventh monarch, it paſſed to *Menelaus*, then king of *Meſſenia*, in right of his wife *Helena*, *Tyndareus*'s daughter. From him it paſſed to his ſons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the deſcendants of *Helena*, in *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*, whoſe ſon *Tiſamenes* being driven out by the *Heraclidæ*, went and reigned in *Achaia*, leaving the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* to the ſons of *Ariſtodemus Euryſthenes*, and *Procles*. For, though ſome have placed their father at the head of the *Herculean* liſt, yet it is more likely that he had been dead before they had finiſhed the conqueſt of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into *Peloponneſus* (F). *Government.*

HOWEVER, whether under him, or his twin ſons, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* (G), abovementioned, the government took a quite new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign, became ſubject *A new form under diarchy.*

(F) We have already taken notice that this prince, who was the ſon of *Ariſtomachus*, and brother to *Creſphontes* and *Temenus*, is ſaid to have been killed by lightning at *Naupactus* in *Ætolia*, whilſt their navy was getting ready for this expedition: here it was that he left his twin-ſons *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, whom he had by *Argea* the daughter of *Auteſion*, his ſucceſſors, both to the expedition and to all the conqueſts they ſhould make in it.

Pauſanias ſays, he was killed by the ſons of *Pylades* and *Electra*, who were couſin germans to *Tiſamenes* the ſon of *Oreſtes*, before this expedition. And the *Lacedemonians* pretended, that *Apollo* had ſhot him to death at *Delphos*, becauſe he came thither, not to conſult the oracle, but to adviſe with *Hercules*, who was there at that time, about the means of invading *Peloponneſus*; ſo that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead ſome time before the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Heraclidæ*.

(G) This laſt is ſometimes called *Procles*, and ſometimes *Protocles* by *Strabo*. *Plutarch* calls

ſubject to two. For theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at *Argos*, *Meſſenia*, *Arcadia*, and elſewhere; neither did they agree to reign alternately, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* had done at *Thebes*; but, whether purſuant to their father's will, or by virtue of ſome mutual contract, they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of *Lacedæmon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as ſuch. *Pauſanias* adds, that the *Delphic* oracle being conſulted about this new form of government, the pythoneſs did not make any objection againſt it [m]. What is ſtill more ſurprizing is, that this diarchy did not end with thoſe two brothers, though from their mutual jealouſy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have out-lived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of *Euryſthenes*, and twenty-ſeven of that of *Procles*, and ended in both near about the ſame time (H).

Diarchy.

Called Agidæ *and* Eurytionidæ.

BUT though this title and ſucceſſion continued thus long in thoſe two lines, yet was the power and authority ſoon curtailed through the diſcords which muſt inevitably have reigned between them. *Euryſthenes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Agis*, from whom all the deſcendants of that line were ſirnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ* from *Eurytion* the grandſon of *Procles*. Theſe two ſoon came to divide themſelves into two diſtinct parties, under which the people who are commonly the dupes of thoſe that govern them, did liſt themſelves according as their affection or intereſt led them; and this obliged their heads to court them by largeſſes, by ſome new privileges, and other ſuch-like condeſcenſions, which though they ſerved the preſent purpoſe, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the royal prerogative. This the *Lacedæmonians* ſoon perceived, and being become conſcious how impoſſible it would be for either ſide to hold the reigns of government under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances; they became the haughtier and more inſolent, as

[m] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra, c. 1.

calls him *Patrocles*; but *Herodotus*, *Apollodorus*, *Cicero*, and *Pauſanias* always call him *Procles*; it is likely this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyiſts, ſome of whom were uſed to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(H) When *Cicomenes* III. the laſt of the firſt line, having killed his collegue *Eurydamidas*, was ſhortly after vanquiſhed by *Antigonus*, as ſhall be ſeen in the following chapter.

they

they found their affection and assistance necessary to either competitor. This gave birth to fresh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or stratagem, which did but weaken the regal power. The consequence of all this was, that the people, instead of becoming more tractable by any concession, grew the more turbulent and headstrong, taking every advantage they could against those, who either through their easy nature, or necessity, were glad to court their affection, and vexing and blackening those who had courage enough to curb and use them with any severity. By these divisions the regal dignity was brought into such contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confusion, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it during some part of his nephew *Charilaus*'s minority.

The ill effects of this government.

THIS great patriot and lawgiver was the son of *Polydectes* the sixth king of the *Eurytionian* line, but by a second wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of succession remained in him, and he accordingly took the administration upon him, waiting however to see whether his sister-in-law was with child. This princess finding herself pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promise that if he would marry her, she would take some effectual method to destroy the embryo. *Lycurgus*, though shocked at the propósal, yet gave her some distant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal used all proper means to prevent her miscarrying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he sent for some persons of note to be present at her labour. She was soon after brought to bed of a son, the news of which being sent to him whilst he was at supper with some noble *Spartans*, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, said to those who were present, This is your king, laid him on a chair of state, and gave him the name of *Charilaus*. This generous action did not, however, satisfy all the *Spartans*; the incensed queen, by the help of her brother *Leonidas*, persuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to seize and make himself the more sure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore so vile an insinuation, and so far from his intention, from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* withdrew himself into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till *Charilaus* was married, and had had a son to succeed him. This last action having at once put an end to all those unjust surmises, which had been raised by his enemies, and procured him the esteem of all those that wished well to their country; he met with less difficulty in the prosecution of his more glorious design of new modelling the government.

Lycurgus's *descent and generosity.*

Saves and crowns his young nephew.

Banishes himself.

Another

Recalled to ſave his country.

Another circumſtance which facilitated this change was, that during his abſence ſuch depravity of manners, and corruption in the government, had crept into that miſerable eſtate, that not only his friends, but even thoſe who had been his moſt zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embaſſies, to entreat him to come back and ſave his country from ruin [n].

New models the government.

THESE were the inevitable conſequences of that fatal diviſion of the regal authority between two competitors, which however *Lycurgus* took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a taſk. He contented himſelf therefore with reducing their authority, by conſtituting a ſenate endowed with the ſupreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, beſides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter, in which we ſhall give a more particular account of the form of government which he eſtabliſhed, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give them both a ſure and laſting ſanction.

THUS was the *Spartan* monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of *Lacedæmon* 610 years, that is from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of *Sparta* according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming ſubject to the *Heraclidæ* about *A. M.* 2900, and continued in the double line of theſe laſt during ſeven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following liſt therefore of thoſe kings, we ſhall begin it only from *Lacedæmon* the ſon-in-law of *Eurotas*, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that ſtate. As to his ſuppoſed predeceſſors, *Lelex*, *Myles*, and *Eurotas*, we ſhall content ourſelves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this ſection.

AND as for thoſe of the *Herculean* family, who reigned after the change of government made by *Lycurgus*, beſides that they are all out of our epocha, they are rather to be looked upon as generals of the *Lacedæmonian* army, than as royal ſovereigns, and conſequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A LIST of the royal *Lacedæmonian* line.

1 *Lacedemon*
2 *Amyclas*
3 *Argalus*
4 *Cynorta*
5 *OEbalus*
6 *Hippocoon*
7 *Tyndareus* his brother
8 *Caſtor* and *Pollux*
9 *Menelaus*
10 *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes*
11 *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*
12 *Tiſamenes*

[n] Vide Auct. ſup. citat.

The

The *Herculean* line.

1 *Euryſthenes*
2 *Agis*
3 *Echeſtratus*
4 *Labotas*
5 *Doryſſus*
6 *Ageſilaus*
7 *Archelaus*

1 *Procles*
2 *Sous*
3 *Eurytion*
4 *Prytanis*
5 *Eunomus*
6 *Polydectes*
7 *Charilaus.*

1. CONCERNING *Lacedæmon*, we know little more beſides what we mentioned at the beginning of this ſection, except that he built a temple or two to the graces whom he called *Phaenna* and *Clete*, celebrated by an ancient poet °, and that his deſcendants raiſed a ſtately monument to him near the town of *Aleſies*, where *Myles* is ſaid to have found the firſt mule. Lacedemon.

2. *Amyclas* his ſucceſſor is ſtill more unknown, except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a ſtory, that whether by reaſon of its ſituation, or any other cauſe, it was ſubject to ſuch frequent and ſtrange noiſes, as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law that none ſhould dare to alarm the town upon any ſuch occaſion. The *Dorians* taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a ſudden and took the town; and hence came the old proverb, *I will ſpeak, knowing how the* Amycleans *were ruined for holding their peace*; and the old ſaying of *Amyclas vivere*, was uſed to ſee and hear, and ſay nothing. The people of this city became afterwards famous likewiſe for their ſtrict adherence to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did ſo ſtrictly keep, that they forbore the deſtroying even of thoſe very ſerpents which annoyed and deſtroyed them. We have very little left concerning *Amyclas*'s three ſons, *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, and *Hyacinthus*, except that the two former ſucceeded him in their turn, and the latter was according to the poets (I) accidentally killed by *Apollo*, Amyclas *and his two ſons.*

° ALCMAN. ap. PAUSAN. LACON. c. 18.

(I) The fable ſays, that of all the ſons he had, he was moſt exceſſively fond of *Hyacinthus* the youngeſt, becauſe he excelled all the reſt in beauty, inſomuch that *Apollo* and *Zephyrus* became enamoured with him at the ſame time. *Apollo* being one day at play, unfortunately ſlew him with a quoit, and from his blood cauſed the flower of his name to ſpring up.

His diſconſolate father erected a ſtately tomb with his ſtatue, both which out-lived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feaſt

Apollo, and by him turned into a violet. *Cynortas* left the the kingdom to his ſon *OEbalus* who gave his name to a canton of *Lacedæmonia*, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the reſt, and gave to his ſon *Hippocoon*, whilſt the reſt of the kingdom was aſſigned to his other ſon *Tyndareus*. *OEbalus* married *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perſeus*, by whom he had this *Tyndareus*, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in *OEbalia*, came ſoon after and deprived him of it.

Hercules *comes to* Sparta.

WHILST *Hippocoon* reigned in *Sparta*, *Hercules* happened to come thither to be expiated for the murder of *Iphitus* (K). whilſt that monarch and all his ſons did ſtoutly oppoſe his being expiated, becauſe they thought the action too black to deſerve ſuch a favour [P], and *Hercules* ſtayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refuſal.

Murders Hyppocoon, *and his ſons.*

HE did not wait long for it; for a firſt couſin of his, named *OEonus*, who was come with him to *Sparta*, walking one day along the ſtreets of that city, paſt by chance before the houſe of *Hyppocoon*, out of which a maſtif came and flew upon him. *OEonus* flung a ſtone at him, which being perceived by *Hyppocoon*'s ſons, they ruſhed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouſe the fury of that ſanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but being wounded in the ſcuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a ſtrong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed *Hyppocoon* and ten of his ſons, beſides a great number of the *Lacedæmonians*; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled *Tyndareus*, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conqueſt, to that baniſhed monarch in truſt for his own poſterity, as we have elſewhere hinted (L).

Tynda-

[P] Id. ibid. c. 15.

feaſt to be kept in memory of him. *Ovid* in his metamorphoſes makes this youth the ſon of *OEbalus*; but *Pauſanias*, who had ſeen his monument, ſays, he was the ſon of *Amyclas* (7).

(K) *Hercules*, it ſeems, after having put away *Megara*, went to *OEchalia*, where he won *Iole* the daughter of *Eurytus*, king of that country, at ſhooting againſt him and his ſons, an exerciſe which that king always propoſed to thoſe who came to court his daughter. But the king and his ſons, remembering how he had uſed *Megara*, refuſed to give *Iole* to him, in revenge of which affront, he drove away *Eurytus*'s horſes, and taking his ſon *Iphitus*, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of ſhewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him.

(L) *Hercules* having ſucceeded ſo well in this expedition, is re-

ported

(7) *Lacon.* c. 1. *et* 19.

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwiſe called, *Tyndarus*, more glad to accept the *Lacedæmonian* kingdom upon any conditions, than ſolicitous about the performance of them, was no ſooner reſeated Tyndareus *re-inſtated.*

ported to have built a temple to *Juno*, becauſe ſhe had not thwarted him in it, as ſhe had formerly done upon all occaſions, and for want of a better victim, offered her a goat, from which ſhe was afterwards worſhipped by the *Lacedæmonians* under the name of *Juno Epophage*, or *Goat-eater*, and that creature became the conſtant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His laſt exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finiſh the hiſtory of that renowned hero, was againſt *Eurytus*, who retained, as he thought unjuſtly, *Iole* from him. He went therefore againſt him, ſlew him and his ſons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming ſoon after to the *Cenæan* promontory in *Eubœa*, to offer ſome ſacrifice there, he ſent his ſervant *Lychas* to *Trachin*, to his wife *Dejanira* for the ſhirt and coat in which he uſed to perform that ceremony.

This princeſs had ſome time before been attempted by the centaur *Neſſus*, as he was ferrying her over the river *Euenus*, and *Hercules* beholding it from the ſhore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monſter finding himſelf dying, adviſed her to mix ſome oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her huſband's ſhirt with it, pretending that it would infallibly ſecure him from loving any o ther woman; and ſhe, too well appriſed of his inconſtancy, had actually prepared the poiſoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lychas coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away *Iole*, upon which ſhe, in a fit of jealouſy, anointed his ſhirt with the fatal mixture, which had no ſooner touched his body, than he felt the poiſon diffuſe itſelf through all his veins; the violent pain of which cauſed him to diſband his army, and to return to *Trachin*. His torment ſtill increaſing he ſent to conſult the oracle for a cure, and was anſwered that he ſhould cauſe himſelf to be conveyed to mount *Oeta*, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the reſt to *Jupiter*.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dreſſed himſelf in his martial habit, flung himſelf upon the pile, and deſired the by-ſtanders to ſet fire to it; others ſay that he left the charge of it to his ſon *Philoctetes*, who having performed his father's command, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the ſame time *Jupiter* to be as good as his word, ſent a flaſh of lightning which conſumed both the pile and the hero, inſomuch that *Iolaus*, coming to take up his bones, found nothing but aſhes, from which they took up the notion that he was paſſed from earth to heaven and was joined to the gods. A fit ſon indeed for ſuch a father, and a fitter god for ſuch votaries, who could deify, raiſe altars and temples, offer ſacrifices, and inſtitute feaſts to a mortal, who had

reſeated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to ſecure it to himſelf and his deſcendants againſt the *Heraclidæ*. He had two brave ſons by his wife *Leda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and two daughters, the famous *Helena*, and *Clytemneſtra*, whoſe ſtrange birth, as it is fabled by the poets, the reader may find at the bottom of the page (M). *Helen*'s fatal beauty had cauſed her to be ſtolen away by *Theſeus* as we have ſeen before, and after ſhe was recovered by her two brothers, *Tyndareus*, ſtill afraid leſt ſhe ſhould be carried off again, had obliged all her ſuitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man ſhe liked, and that in caſe ſhe ſhould be ſtolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her huſband. She choſe ſoon after *Menelaus* the ſon of *Atreus*, after which ſhe being ſtolen away again by *Paris*, her huſband, encouraged by his brother *Agamemnon*, challenged all thoſe princes who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promiſe, and engaged them to the *Trojan* war, of which we have ſpoken at length in a former chapter †.

Helen *raviſhed.*

Given to Menelaus.

A famed temple built by Tindareus

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for *Helena* was carried off by her own conſent, and *Clytemneſtra*, as we have ſeen elſewhere, not only lived in adultery during her huſband's abſence, but murdered him immediately after his return,) is ſaid to have built a temple to *Venus* (N),

† Vol. iv. p. 490. & ſeq.

had ſullied his beſt actions with ſo many murders, rapes, and adulteries. *Hercules* bequeathed *Iole* to his ſon *Hyllus*; as for *Dejanira* ſhe hanged herſelf as ſoon as ſhe was appriſed of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(M) The fable goes, that *Jupiter* having had an amorous intrigue with her in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſoon after her matrimonial commerce with her huſband, the reſult of theſe amphibious embraces was, that ſhe was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came *Pollux* and *Helena*, and out of the other *Caſtor* and *Clytemneſtra*; whence *Pollux*, as *Tyndareus*'s ſon, was mortal, but *Caſtor*, as the ſon of *Jupiter*, is ſaid to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The *Greeks*, however, according to *Pauſanias*, pretend, that *Helena* was the daughter of *Nemeſis*, and that *Leda* was only her nurſe, and brought her up as her own; but this is a piece of *Grecian* mythology, not worth diſproving.

(N) *Pauſanias* adds, that this temple, which himſelf ſaw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other; the upper of which was called *Morpho*, which is but another name of *Venus* (11), and ſignifies form or figure, implying that ſhe was the goddeſs of beauty.

(11) *In Lacon. c.* 15.

and

and erected a ſtatue of cedar to that goddeſs, with a veil over her face, and chains about her legs, either, as ſome think, to expoſe her as the cauſe of their unlawful love, or, as *Pauſanias* thinks, to intimate to poſterity the indiſſoluble tie of wedlock [q]. He began likewiſe to build a ſtately temple to *Minerva*, whom he ſirnamed *Poliuchos*, or guardian of the city, but he died before he could finiſh it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two ſons, after he had reigned about forty years [r].

8. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* went on with the building, deſigning to have enriched it with the ſpoils of the city *Aphidne*, out of which they had reſcued their ſiſter *Helen*, but left it likewiſe imperfect. The *Lacedæmonians* did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of maſſive braſs, from which it was called *Chalciæcos*. Theſe two heroes likewiſe ſignaliſed themſelves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came home, built a tempie to *Minerva Aſia*, in acknowledgment of their ſucceſs, and ſafe return from *Colchis*, from which they are alſo ſaid to have brought away a famous ſtatue of *Mars*. They had likewiſe a bloody combat with the ſons of *Amphiareus*, *Ida*, and *Lyncæus*, the latter of whom is ſaid to have had ſuch peircing eyes, that he could ſee even into the trunk of a tree (O). The occaſion of their quarrel is variouſly reported, *Theocritus* ſays that they had ſtolen the daughters of *Leucipus* the brother of *Apharæus*, but *Pauſanias* and *Pindar* ſay it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat *Pollux* killed *Lyncæus*, and *Ida* was ſtruck dead with lightning. The remainder of their exploits is too fabolous to deſerve a place here, we ſhall give a ſpecimen of them at the the bottom of the page (P) [s]. 9.

Caſtor *and* Pollux.

Victory over Ida *and* Lyncæus.

[q] Lacon. c. 16. [r] Ch. 17. [s] De his vid. Plutarch. in Theſeo. Diod. Apollod. & Pausan.

(O) Hence the ſaying of *Lyncæan* eyes, and *Pindar* tells us, that he could diſcover *Caſtor* hid in the trunk of a tree from mount *Taygetus* (12).

(P) Theſe two famous brothers are celebrated by the antient poets under ſeveral names, ſuch as *Anactes* from the *Greek* Ανακ, which ſignifies a king or prince, ſuch as were originally all the *Heathen* gods. *Ambulii*, moſt probably likewiſe from the *Greek* Αμβολη, procraſtination, delay, to imply their lengthening of life. *Jupiter* is alſo called by that name. They were alſo called *Apherei*, as ſuppoſed to preſide over the liſts; but the name they were moſt commonly known by, was that of *Dioſcuri*, from διος and κορος, either becauſe they were reputed the ſons of *Jupiter*, or perhaps more probably becauſe they both ſhared in the ſame noble exploits, for which they were afterwards deified.

They

(12) *Nemeen. Ode* 10.

Menelaus. 9. *Menelaus* the ſon of *Atreus* ſucceeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have ſpoken of the war which her rape occaſioned, and the ſucceſs of it in a former chapter. At their retnrn from the *Trojan* war, being upon ſome difference, parted from his brother *Agamemnon*, after having weathered many violent ſtorms, he arrived ſafely in *Egypt* with his wife *Helen*, whether *Homer* tells us he was driven by contrary winds, and where ſome affirm him to have wandered ſix or ſeven years before he returned to *Sparta*. *Herodotus* on the other hand ſpeaks of his coming into *Egypt* in a different manner, and gives ſome very good reaſons for it; but as he contradicts moſt of the ancient poets and hiſtorians, we ſhall relate it in the margin (Q). *Menelaus* was ſucceeded by his two ſons by a former wife, or rather by a ſlave, namely,

10.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the ſea of pirates, and from this laſt they were worſhipped as gods of the ſea, and are ſaid to have appeared to mariners in ſtorms; and the notion was, that if one was only ſeen, it betokened ſhipwreck; but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewiſe ſaid to have appeared at land upon ſeveral occaſions: they once facilitated the eſcape of the *Lacedæmonians* under their king *Anaxander*, when they were cloſely purſued, and likely to be cut in pieces by *Ariſtomenes* and his *Meſſenian* troops. At another time they came to the very houſe, where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of *Phormio*, who then was in poſſeſſion of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were ſtrangers come from *Cyrene*. They asked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but *Phormio* told them, that the whole houſe was at their ſervice except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They ſeemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow both the young woman and thoſe that waited upon her, were gone as well as the gueſts, and nothing found in her chamber but the two ſtatues of the *Dioſcuri*, and a table with ſome ſweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when *Caſtor* died, his brother *Pollux*, who was immortal, prayed to *Jupiter* that he might ſhare his immortality with him, which being granted, they are ſaid to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length tranſformed into the ſign *Gemini*.

(Q) He tells us, upon the credit of the *Ægyptian* prieſts, that as *Paris* was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coaſts of *Egypt*, where he was accuſed of the theft by ſome of his ſervants who went and took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*. *Proteus*, then king of the country, having examined the ſtory, detained the woman and the goods ſhe had brought with her till her huſband came

(13) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c.* 16.

10. *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes*, but the *Lacedæmonians*, unwilling to submit themselves to a spurious offspring, *Orestes* easily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood shed. *His two sons outed by*

11. *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, king of *Messenia*, came to the *Lacedæmonian* crown in right of his mother *Clytemnestra*, the other daughter of *Tyndareus*. We have already mentioned in the history of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithless mother, and her paramour, and ascended the *Messenian* throne *. He was however accused of that parricide (not, indeed, by his grandfather *Tyndareus*, who must have been dead long before, but by his uncle *Perilaus* the son of *Icarus*, and cousin-german, and consequently the nearest relation of *Clytemnestra*) and summoned by him before the great *Athenian* court called *Areopagus*, after he had recovered his senses, which he is supposed to have lost for being deprived of the fair *Hermione*, the only child of *Menelaus* and *Helen*. She had been at first married to him, but had been since given to *Pyrrus*; but this last being slain by his means, as is supposed, he had taken her home again. What sentence that court passed upon him our author doth not inform us [t], but tells us elsewhere, that he had seen an old building which was called *Orestes*'s mansion, in which he was forced to live separate from the rest of mankind, except that they took care to supply him with food and other necessaries, till he had quite expiated his crime [u]. He died after a long reign, and was buried in *Arcadia*, whither the oracle advised him to retire, as we have seen in a former section †. Orestes.

His death.

* See before, p. 163. [t] Pausan. Arcad. c. 34. [u] Id. Corinth. c. 31. † See before, p. 210.

came to demand them, and let the ravisher go as being a stranger.

When therefore the confederate *Greeks*, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the *Trojans*, and were answered that she was left in *Egypt*, they believed it mere pretence, and carried on the siege; but when the city was taken, and she not found in it, then *Menelaus* went to demand her of the *Egyptian* king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the story is, as he tells us, that if *Helene* had really been in *Troy*, it had been madness in *Priam* to have sacrificed that noble city, and the lives of so many noble *Trojans*, only to defend *Paris* in the possession of another man's wife, since he was not the immediate heir to the kingdom nor equal in worth to several of his brothers, or to many of those that fell in the defence of that city (14).

(14) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 113, *et seq.*

Tiſamenes

12. *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, by *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*, ſucceeded him both in this kingdom and thoſe of *Argos* and *Meſſenia*, and was ſoon after driven out of all by the *Heraclidæ*, who, having by this time invaded *Peloponneſus*, claimed the latter as being of the line of *Perſeus*, and he only of that of *Pelops*; and the former, becauſe *Hercules* having conquered it from *Hippocoon*, had only left it in truſt with *Tindareus*, as we have lately ſeen.

Outed by the Heraclidæ.

What became of *Tiſamenes* is variouſly reported, ſome ſay he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of *Argos* [w]; others, and with more probability, ſay, he eſcaped into *Achaia* and reigned there; ſometime after which he was killed one of the firſt in a combat againſt the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*, whence the *Lacedemonians*, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in *Sparta* [x]. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed that metropolis to the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, who, with their forces, entered it with the ſound of the flute, an inſtrument then reckoned very martial, and proper to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reaſon the *Lacedæmonians* made uſe of it from that time, whenever they ſounded to battle [z].

Sparta *betrayed by* Philonomus.

Euryſthenes *and* Procles.

Euryſthenes and *Procles* were the two ſons of *Ariſtodemus* one of the brothers of *Heraclidæ*, and he dying as they were preparing for this invaſion, the kingdom of *Sparta* was aſſigned to thoſe two ſons (R), and they having taken poſſeſſion of it, did immediately

[w] Apollod. l. ii. c. 8. Strab. Geogr. l. viii.

[x] Vid. Pausan. Achaic. c. i. & [y] Strab. ibid.

[z] Pollyæn. Stratagem. l. i. c. 10.

(R) We are told, that theſe two twins were ſo like, in every reſpect, that it was hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh them enough to know upon which of them to ſettle the crown; and from thence it is probable, that their mother took the hint of ſharing it between them. For when the *Spartans* came to her to decide the controverſy, ſhe pretended not to know which was the eldeſt; and the oracle at the ſame time favouring her project, they were both declared kings of *Sparta*, with equal power, but with ſome degree of preference in point of honour to the family of *Euryſthenes*. Their uncle *Theras* was at the ſame time appointed their guardian, during their minority, who, as ſoon as his regency was expired, went and planted a colony in *Calliſta*, an iſland on the *Ægean* ſea, and ſince called from him *Thera*.

As to the two reigning brothers, they were ſcarcely come of age, before they began to look upon each other as rivals to the crown; neither is their mutual jealouſy and enmity ſo much to be wondered at, as that it ſhould ſtill continue down to their laſt deſcendants, and yet never break out ſo far, for above 800 years, as to diſſolve the conſtitution †.

† *Pauſan in Lacon. Meurſ. Hind. Stanyan, et al.*

ately

ately divide it into ſix parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*, where they ſtill kept their reſidence. This, though for the preſent it had the deſired effect of ingratiating them with the *Lacedemonians*, yet in the following reigns proved the cauſe of many grievous diſturbances. For *Agis* the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Euryſthenes*, finding that the people were grown headſtrong by it, endeavoured to curb them not only by depriving ſeveral cantons of thoſe privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the *Lacedæmonians*. They did indeed all ſubmit to it, except the *Heliots*, who were made a ſevere example to the reſt, as we obſerved lately upon another occaſion †; but theſe ſeverities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him, which laid the foundation to *Sparta*'s ſlavery. *Agis.*

On the other hand his collegue *Sous*, the ſon of *Procles*, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their eſteem by his bravery and new conqueſts. We have an inſtance of his conduct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being beſieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry ſtony place, where his army ſuffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himſelf to reſtore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men ſhould drink of a ſpring at a ſmall diſtance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both ſides, *Sous* having called his ſoldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being oppreſſed with exceſſive thirſt, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As ſoon therefore as he had ſeen them drink of the water, he took ſome of it in the hollow of his hand, and ſprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The conſequence of which was, that his abſtinence having made the contract void, ſeeing he and all his men had not drank at the ſpring, he could ſafely refuſe to reſign his conqueſts to them [a]. Sous. *A noble ſtratagem.*

Agis, from whom the deſcendants of that line had the name of *Agidæ*, or *Agiadæ*, for they are indifferently called by both, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Echeſtratus*, and *Sous*, not long after, by his ſon *Eurytion*, otherwiſe called *Eurypon* and *Euryphon*; from him, this line, which had till then taken the name of *Proclidæ*, exchanged it for that of *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ*, &c. In this reign ſome ſeeds of diſcord between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*, began to appear, which were however Agidæ *and* Eurytionidæ *whence ſo called.*

† See before, Note (E) p. 245. [a] Plutarch. in Lycurg. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap. Hind. ubi ſupra.

Cynoſureans *who.*

ſtifled by the prudence of thoſe two monarchs. The *Cynoſureans*, who were a colony of *Argives*, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by *Cynoſurus* the ſon of *Perſeus*, were complained againſt by the *Argives* for not only ſuffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewiſe for doing the ſame themſelves, and ſometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the *Lacedæmonians* baniſhed all the *Cynoſureans* that were able to bear arms out of their territorities, and by that ſeverity, not only prevented all ſuch ravages for ſome time, but reſtored a good underſtanding between the *Argives* and them.

Labotas *and* Prytanis.

But this peaceful diſpoſition laſted no longer than till the next reign, when *Labotas* (S), the ſon of *Echeſtratus*, and *Prytanis*, the ſon of *Eurytion*, declared war againſt them. The ground of it was, that though the *Lacedemonians* poſſeſſed the town and territories of *Cynoſura*, by right of their late conqueſt, yet the *Argives* were ſtill incroaching upon ſome part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendſhip. It doth not appear however that this war was of any duration, at leaſt we find not that any thing remarkable was done on either ſide. After this, things continued in a peaceful ſtate, at leaſt with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worſe within doors through the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of the princes, both between themſelves, and between them and the people. *Labotas* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Doryſſus*, and *Prytanis* by his ſon *Eunonus*, the former of theſe, as well as his ſon and ſucceſſor *Ageſilaus*, are by ſome ſaid to have reigned but a ſhort while [d], and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, that the former reigned twenty-nine, and the latter forty-four years [e]. As for *Eunonus*, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length ſtabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two ſons behind him, *Polydectes* by a former, and *Lycurgus* by a ſecond wife. He was ſucceeded by the former, and dying ſoon after, left the kingdom, as we lately hinted, to *Lycurgus*, who only

Doryſſus *and* Eunonus.

Ageſilaus.

Polydectes *and* Lycurgus.

[b] PAUSAN. MEURS. &c.
[c] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. c. 2. & iii.
[d] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. c. 2. HIND. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. p. 97.
[e] MEURS. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

(S) *Herodotus*, who calls him *Leobatus*, tells us in his hiſtory of *Cræſus*, that the great *Lycurgus* had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has ſince ſhewn (15), ſince that prince had been dead ſome time before that lawgiver was born.

(15) *Meurſ. antiq. Lacedem. ap. Gedoyn. in Pauſan. Lacon.*

kept it till his ſiſter was brought to bed of a ſon, to whom he immediately reſigned it, as has been lately hinted; but finding afterwards, that his unexampled generoſity could not ſcreen him either from the reſentment of the ſlighted queen, or from the malicious inſinuations of her creatures, he choſe to divert the impending ſtorm by a voluntary baniſhment, and ſet out for *Crete* about eight months after the birth of his nephew, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth into which he afterwards modelled that government, as will be ſeen at large in the next chapter.

SECT. VIII.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, *and* Achaia.

WE ſhall join theſe ancient kingdoms together in one ſection, becauſe they made but a ſmall figure in the world, in compariſon of thoſe that have gone before, and becauſe they have been either conquered by, or blended with them; whilſt their being ſo often mentioned in the foregoing ſections, and in the following hiſtory of *Greece*, will not permit us to paſs them by without taking notice of their ſituation, original, antiquities, and hiſtory, as far as it can be gathered from ancient authors, their wars and exploits, and other ſuch particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable, and are worth our notice here.

The kingdom of Elis.

THE principal of them is the kingdom of *Elis*, at firſt peopled, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, by the deſcendants of *Eliſhah* the ſon of *Javan*, and grandſon of *Japhet* [a], if not by *Eliſha* himſelf, from whom this territory at leaſt, if not the whole peninſula, was called *Elis* (A), and in the *Chaldean Hellas*, and by the prophet *Ezekiel Eliſha*, where he cele-

Its founders names.

[a] Gen. x. 2. & 4.

(A) *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* call it *Eleia* and *Elea*, and *Scylax Polybius* and *Ovid Elis*; but our readers muſt take notice that thoſe ancient authors do ſometimes include under that name the whole kingdom, and ſometimes *Elis*, properly ſo called, excluſive of the other two parts, *viz. Piſatis* and *Triphalis*.

The poets derive the name of *Elis* from *Eleus* the ſon of *Neptune*, whom they make the firſt founder and king of it (1). *Pauſanias* tells us that *Æthlius*, the ſon of *Jupiter*, and *Protogenia* the daughter of *Deucalion*, was the firſt who reigned here, and gives ſome other etymons of the word not worth notice, ſince we have a much antienter one, and clearer from fiction, in the patriarch *Eliſhah*.

(1) *Vid. int. al. Ovid. Met. et Steph. Byz. ſub voce* Ελις, *et Gronov. not. in eund.*

brates its fine purple dye [b] (B). According therefore to this ſuppoſition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch, or ſome of his immediate deſcendants, it was not without good reaſon, that the inhabitants of this country and of *Arcadia* boaſted themſelves to be *Aborigines* of *Peloponneſus*, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, who came from more remote parts to ſettle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greateſt part of that peninſula [c].

Extent. *Elis* was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of *Peloponneſus*, having the *Ionian* ſea on that ſide, *Arcadia* on the eaſt, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cyparijſos*, or *Chalonites*, now *Capo di Torneſe*, with *Meſſenia* on the ſouth: Its extent from eaſt to weſt was at the wideſt about forty-eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almoſt 23 deg. eaſt longitude; and from north to ſouth about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude [d].

Cities. Its chief cities were thoſe that follow, *viz.* 1. In *Elis* proper, *Cyllene*, a noted ſea-port, *Elis* the capital, *Ephyra*, and *Pylus Ælæus*. 2. In *Piſatis*, *Piſa*, *Olympia Salmone*, *Heraclea*, *Epine*, and three or four more, whoſe names *Strabo* paſſes by. 3. In *Tryphalis*, *Samicum*, *Pylus Tryphyliacus*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Otypanſa*, *Typanea*, *Pyrgus Æpium*, *Bolax*, *Stylla-gium*, and *Phrixa*. We ſhall ſpeak only of the moſt conſiderable of them, 1. *Elis*, ſaid by *Strabo* † to have been formed into a city from ſeveral adjacent villages, is ſituate on the river *Peneus*, and almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large ſpacious place called the *Xyſtos* (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themſelves

[b] Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 4. [c] Pausan. Elid. c. 1. & ſeq. [d] Conf. Strab. Geogr. l. viii. Mela. l. ii. c. 4. Cluver. Wells, & al. † Strabo, l. viii. p. 232.

(B) It is true, the prophet here ſpeaks of iſles, and not of a continent; but we have often ſhewn that that word, in the language of ſcripture, doth not ſtrictly imply an iſland, but the maritime countries, eſpecially thoſe about the *Mediterranean*; and we have the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient authors, that the coaſts of *Elis*, and quite up to the *Corinthian* bay, were famous for a ſhell-fiſh, which they uſed in this dye, and in which they exceeded all nations except *Egypt* (2).

(C) So called from the *Greek* ξυω, to trim or poliſh. This place was ſurrounded with a wall, and lined on the inſide with plantane-trees of great heighth, to caſt an agreeable ſhade on the courſe. Here *Hercules*, in order to

(2) *Pauſan. in Laconic. Vid. et Bochart. ubi ſupra, et auctor ab eo citat.*

themſelves for ſome time by diet, exerciſe, and other ſuch preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the olympic plains [e]. In this place their ſenate did likewiſe uſe to aſſemble, and the candidates for all kind of dignities and employments, came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewiſe a temple dedicated to *Fortune*, with the ſtatue of that blind goddeſs of a ſurprizing bigneſs, and made of wood, covered all over with gold, except the face, hands, and feet. They had likewiſe ſeveral others dedicated to *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, and *Bacchus*. This laſt deity was held in the greateſt veneration, and the *Eleans* pretended that he appeared to them on the day in which his feaſt was celebrated (D). *Elis* had likewiſe a citadel, in which was a temple of *Minerva*, and on the helmet of that goddeſs was carved a cock, becauſe he is ſuppoſed the moſt couragious of all winged creatures [f]. Here was alſo the palace of *Augeas*, one of their kings, and the famous ſtables, the cleanſing of which proved a taſk fit only for the great *Hercules* (E) †.

[e] Pausan. Elid. c. 23. [f] Pausan. ubi ſupra. † See before, pag. 161. Note (I).

to inure himſelf to hard labour, is ſaid to have ſpent ſome time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns and briars. Near the incloſure of this place was a famous cenotaph, or monument, erected in memory of *Achilles*, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women uſed to repair about ſun-ſet during the time of the olympic games, and to lament the death of that hero by ſeveral mournful actions, eſpecially by ſmiting upon their breaſts (3).

(D) This feaſt-day they called *Thya*. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his prieſts repaired on the night before, with three empty flasks, which they left there, ſhut up the temple, and ſealed the locks of it, every by-ſtander being permitted to clap his own ſeal to them; and on the morrow they attended there, accompanied with *Eleans* and ſtrangers; and having firſt ſhewed to them that the gates were ſafe, and juſt as they had left them, they opened them and went in, and found the flasks filled with wine (4).

(E) It is ſaid to have held three thouſand oxen, and not to have been cleanſed for thirty years; ſo that when *Hercules* undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river *Alpheus*, or *Peneus*, according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(3) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* 23. (4) *Id. ib.*

Olympia. 2. THE city of *Olympia*, falſely confounded by ſome writers with *Elis* and *Piſa*, and juſtly exploded by *Cellarius* *, was the next in dignity; ſituate on the famous *Olympian* plains, on which were celebrated the olympic games, inſtituted by *Pelops* in honour of *Jupiter*, and after ſome ſuſpenſion, reſtored again by *Atreus* and *Hercules*. They were celebrated every fifth year, and during five days, but with much greater ſolemnity, and a vaſter concourſe of people than any of thoſe we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by olympiads, to be introduced in *Greece* (F). This city is famed likewiſe for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, ſaid to have been built from the ſpoils which the *Eleans* got from their neighbours the *Piſeans*; in which was a famous ſtatue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world, near which was alſo the famous olympian wood or grove dedicated to the ſame deity. As for its ancient name of *Olympia*, it hath long ſince changed it for that of *Sconri*. 3. *Piſa*, ſituate on the river *Al-*

Olympic games.

* Geogr. ANT. l. ii. c. 23.

(F) This ſolemnity which had been ſo often interrupted, and renewed again by *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelius*, *Lycurgus*, and others, but without any ſettled time, was at length reſtored by *Iphitus*, and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year; ſo that between every celebration, four compleat years expired, which ſome have miſtaken for five. Hence every four years was called an olympiad, which computation was afterwards obſerved for a conſiderable number of centuries, as well as the ſolemnity of thoſe games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whoſe change immediately preceded the ſummer ſolſtice. Againſt that time the prieſts of *Jupiter Olympus*, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to obſerve every new moon, eſpecially that after which the ſolemnity was to be celebrated, and to cauſe it to be proclaimed. They were likewiſe intruſted with the regiſtering of the names of all the victors at thoſe games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between each olympiad.

We muſt however obſerve here that this exact and ready way of computing by olympiads, did not begin immediately after the firſt of them, but commenced only from the firſt year of the 28th, in which *Coræbus* of *Elis* obtained the victory in the race, after which the *Grecian* accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that *Epocha* the times began to be reckoned hiſtorical; whereas thoſe which preceded it, up to the deluge, are called fabulous and heroic, becauſe mixed with fable (5), as thoſe that preceded it were deemed unknown.

(5) *De his vid. Plutarch. Pauſan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter Archæol. Hind. et al. plur.*

pheus

pheus (G), near the mouth of it, and ſaid to have been founded by *Piſus* the grandſon of *Æolus*, and whoſe inhabitants ſignalized themſelves under *Neſtor* at the *Trojan* war. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the *Eleans*, becauſe the *Piſeans* took upon them to celebrate the olympic games by their own authority; for this the *Eleans*, jealous of their privilege, raiſed a war againſt them, and after many battles fought, in which they had ſtill the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and baniſhed its inhabitants. The other cities we ſhall paſs by, as having little worth mentioning in a work of this nature.

THE two chief promontories in this kingdom were, *Chelonites*, by ſome ſuppoſed the preſent *Capo Torneſe*, and *Ichthus*, now *Jardan*. The chief rivers were, the *Alpheus Enipheus*, al. *Barnichius*, and the *Peneus*. The only mountain of note is the *Erymanthus*, now *Dimizana*, on which was built the city of its name, called alſo, according to *Pauſanias*, *Pheaia* and *Sophis*, and by others *Pſophis*, and from which flowed likewiſe the river of the ſame name. Neither ancients nor moderns are altogether agreed about this famed ridge, much leſs about the river and city; ſo we ſhall ſay no more of them.

IT were fruitleſs to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, ſince we cannot tell whether the patriarch, from whom

(G) This river doth run quite through *Arcadia*, *Elis*, and along the city of *Piſa*, ſoon after which it is ſwallowed up in the earth. From thence it is ſuppoſed to run, by a ſubterranean channel under the ſea, without mixing with the ſalt water, and ſo to paſs quite into *Sicily*, where it mixes itſelf with the fountain *Arethuſa*, near the city of *Siracuſe*, inſomuch that any thing that is thrown into it on the *Elis*'s ſide, is ſaid to come out at the fountain above-named (6). Hence the poetic fiction of *Alpheus*'s love to *Arethuſa*, which tells us, that this laſt, to avoid his amorous purſuit, hid herſelf underground, and that he was forced to do the ſame in order to get at her by ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, which he at length accompliſhed near the place where that river and fountain mix their ſtreams.

Pauſanias adds, that the *Eleans* had a law, which condemned any woman to death that ſhould either appear at the olympic games, or even croſs this river, during that ſolemnity: and the *Eleans* add, that the only woman who tranſgreſſed it, had diſguiſed herſelf in the habit of a maſter or keeper of thoſe games, and conducted her ſon thither; but when ſhe ſaw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her diſguiſe, ſo that her ſex was diſcovered. She was however ſpared on account of her father, ſon, and huſband, who had gained the olympic prize; but from that time an order was made, that the keepers ſhould appear there naked (7).

(6) *Vid. Diod. Pauſan. et al.*

(7) *In Elid. c.* 6.

it

it has its name, was the real founder of it, or ſome of his deſcendants. As to what profane authors ſay of it, *Pauſanias* hath taken up his whole 5th and 6th book in deſcribing the various revolutions which have happened among thoſe nations that inhabited it; but both he and others have ſo intermixed their accounts with fable, that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we ſhall give our readers a ſhort ſketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

Kings of Elis.

Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at firſt diſtinct from that of *Piſa*; this laſt having kings of its own for a conſiderable time. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Endymion*, who married *Aſterodia*, or, according to others, *Chromia*, the daughter of *Itomus*, and grand-daughter of *Amphictyon* (H), by whom he had three ſons, *Pæon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. When theſe were grown up, he promiſed his kingdom to him that ſhould win the prize at the olympic race, and *Epeus* proved the happy victor. *Æ-*

Ætolus.

tolus however ſtayed with him at *Elis*; but *Pæon*, unable to brook the loſs of ſuch a noble prize, went to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, and ſettled in that canton on the river *Axus*, which took from him the name of *Pæonia*. *Epeus* went to the ſiege of *Troy*, and is ſuppoſed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horſe. It was in his reign that *Pelops*, the *Lydian*, or, according to others, the *Paphlagonian*, came from *Aſia*, killed *OEnomaus* king of *Piſa*, ſeized on his kingdom, and took the city *Olympia* from the *Eleans*. *Epeus* died without male iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Ætolus*.

THIS prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill *Apis* the ſon of *Jaſon* at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of *Azan* king of *Arcadia*, and was forced to leave *Peloponneſus*, and went to ſettle in *Ætolia*, where we ſhall find him in the ſequel. He was ſuc-

Eleus.

ceeded by *Eleus*, who is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Neptune* by *Eurycyde* the only daughter of *Endymion*, and the father of *Augeas*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom (I).

Augeas.

WE have already mentioned more than once the large ſtable which this prince is ſaid to have had, and its being cleanſed by *Hercules*. The truth of the ſtory, if we may

(H) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(I) This is he who, the *Greeks* pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called *Epea* from *Epeus*, mentioned a little higher.

Others, willing to do *Augeas* a greater honour, make him the ſon not of *Eleus*, but of *Elius*, or the ſun.

believe

believe *Pausanias* [g], was, that he kept such large quantities of oxen and sheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, so that it was become incapable of producing either grass or corn. *Augeas* therefore hired *Hercules* to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and some part of his kingdom. When *Hercules* had performed the task, by turning the river over them (K), *Augeas* refused to give him his hire, pretending that he had done the work more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to *Phyleus*, *Augeas*'s eldest son, and he having given it against his father, was banished the kingdom, together with his client. *Augeas* being afraid of that hero's resentment, was forced to strengthen himself by a double alliance, one with *Actor* the son of *Phorbas*, by *Hermine* the daughter of *Epeus*; and the other with *Amaryncæus*, a *Thessalian*, a man well versed in the art of war, whom he invited into *Elis*. To bind these two the faster to his interest, he made them his associates in the kingdom, so that when *Hercules* came afterwards with a powerful army against him, he met with such stout resistance from them, particularly from *Actor* and his sons, that he was forced to return, and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that these brave youths were to go to the *Isthmian* games, he went and lying in ambush against them, killed them all, and with such privacy, that it cost the *Eleans* some time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was *Hercules*, who by that time was retired to *Tyrinthus*, they sent embassadors in vain to the *Argives* to punish him, and to the *Corinthians*, to interdict the *Argives* from the *Isthmian* games, for suffering the assassin of those who were going to them, to live unpunished in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their request; and *Her-* *Hercules* having raised a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, came and besieged them, took and sacked the city of *Elis*, and was going to vent his resentment against the *Piseans* for assisting them, had not the oracle prevented

What meant by the cleansing of Augeas's *stable.*

[g] Elid. c. 1.

(K) The river, which some pretend to have been the *Alpheus*, and others the *Peneus*, as we observed in a late note, is by our author here called *Minyeus*; which name *Strabo*, who says it was the *Peneus*, thinks was given it by the long stay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is something forced, and it seems more reasonable to suppose, that the river had those two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) *Pausan. in Elid. cap. ii. Vid. et Gedoyn. Not. in eund.*

it.

it. *Hercules*, who would not ſit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a preſent of it to *Phyleus* the ſon of *Augeas*, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom reſtored him all the priſoners he had taken (L), and among the reſt *Augeas*, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to *Pauſanias*; others ſay he killed him and *Eurytus*, another of his ſons [h].

Phyleus. *Phyleus*, thus recalled to the kingdom, did however ſtay in it but as long as was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of the ſtate, after which he retired to the iſland of *Dulichium* (M). And *Augeas* dying ſoon after, the crown fell to his next ſon

Agaſthenes. *Agaſthenes*, whoſe ſon *Polyxenus* having ſucceeded him, went to the *Trojan* war, and was one of thoſe who returned from

Eleus II. thence, and was ſucceeded by *Eleus* II. It was in this prince's reign that the *Dorians* and *Heraclidæ* made their laſt but ſucceſsful attempt againſt *Peloponneſus* under *Hippotes* their general, after having formerly made ſeveral fruitleſs ones againſt it. We have already had occaſion to ſpeak more than once of this expedition, for the ſucceſs of which having conſulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with *Oxylus* an *Ætolian*, whom they ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, becauſe his horſe and he had three eyes between them †.

Oxylus. *Oxylus*, of the race of *Endymion*, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, ſome ſay his brother *Thermius*, others ſay *Alcidocus* the ſon of *Scopius*, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to *Ætolia*, when the *Heraclidæ* met him, and invited him to be their general. The conditions upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered

[h] Conf. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. & PAUSAN. Elid. c. 3. † See before, p. 168.

(L) Theſe priſoners muſt have been very few, in compariſon of thoſe that were killed, ſince *Pauſanias* tells us, that the *Elean* women, finding their country almoſt ſtript of male inhabitants, prayed to *Minerva*, that they might conceive at the very firſt matrimonial intercourſe; and that the goddeſs having granted their requeſt, they built a temple to her, and called it *Minerva*, the mother of mankind. And, moreover, in memory of this ſignal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it *Badu*, which in their dialect ſignifies the ſame as ἡδυ, ſweet, to expreſs the pleaſure of that matrimonial intercourſe (9).

(M) It is but a ſmall inconſiderable iſland on the *Ionian* ſea, near that of *Cephalonia*, and is now called *Dulicha* and *Tziakki*.

(9) *Paxſan. ib. c.* 3.

Pelo-

Peloponneſus they ſhould allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his ſervices, but becauſe he had a title to that kingdom as being the ſixth in a lineal deſcent from *Endymion*, the ſecond king of it. They agreed ſo much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's ſide, his great-grandmother being ſiſter to *Dejanira* the mother of *Hillus* the ſon of *Hercules*. The ſucceſs of this expedition we have ſeen in ſome former ſections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conqueſts between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of *Elis* according to their agreement [i].

Oxylus, who expected to have taken poſſeſſion of it without any oppoſition, found himſelf miſtaken, and *Dius*, who was then upon the throne, refuſed to reſign it to him. However, to avoid expoſing their troops to a battle, they agreed that each ſhould chuſe a champion, who ſhould decide the right of it by ſingle combat, and *Pyrechmes*, an excellent *Ætolian* ſlinger, having won the victory in favour of *Oxylus*, he was immediately proclaimed king of *Elis*. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or thoſe of his ſucceſſors; he had two ſons, *Ætolus* and *Lajas*, the former of whom dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he ſhould be buried, neither within nor out of it. His ſon *Laſus* ſucceeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material tranſactions in this kingdom, if we except ſome of their wars with their *Arcadian* neighbours, and with ſome other ſtates of *Greece*, till we come to the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the olympic games, and cotemporary with the great *Lycurgus* mentioned at the cloſe of the laſt ſection. Laſus.

Before his reign, *Greece* had been almoſt ruined by wars and peſtilence. *Elis* ſeems to have ſuffered more than any other eſtate, ſo that thoſe games had been interrupted for a conſiderable time. *Iphitus* ſent to conſult the oracle concerning the means of appeaſing the angry gods, and obtaining a remedy againſt theſe calamities, and was anſwered, that the reſtoration of thoſe games would prove the ſafety of *Greece*, to procure which he and his ſubjects were exhorted to ſet about it immediately, and with all their might. He began with offering a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, whom the *Eleans* believed to have been upon ſome account or other exaſperated againſt them (N). He next cauſed the olympic games to be pro- *Reſtores the olympic games.*

[i] Et ſeq. ibid. vid. & Apollod. l. ii. Strab. Geogr. l. x.

(N) *Pauſanias* tells us there was a kind of diſpute between the *Eleans* and the reſt of the *Greeks*, whether *Iphitus* was lineally

proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promiſe of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before; he likewiſe took upon himſelf to be the ſole preſident and judge of thoſe games, a privilege which the *Piſeans*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, had often ſharply diſputed with his predeceſſors, and which continued in his deſcendants as long as his line, and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two preſidents whom they choſe by vote, and which in time increaſed to ten, and at length to twelve. We have ſpoken a little higher of the place where they ſat, their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all diſputes that aroſe concerning the victory in all the ſeveral exerciſes which were performed in them.

ÆTOLIA. § *Ætolia* was ſo called, as we have ſeen a little before, from *Ætolus* the ſon of *Endymion*, and brother of *Epeus*, whom he ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Elis*, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed *Apis* the ſon of *Jaſon*, at ſome funeral games. It was anciently called *Curetis* and *Hyanthis*, from thoſe people that inhabited it till driven away by him. What other people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be gueſſed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both ſides, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, were the greateſt robbers in all *Greece*, and continued ſo, during many centuries, after *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, and other heroes, had extirpated thoſe vermin every-where elſe[a] (O). Neither were the *Ætolians* ever wholly maſtered till the *Romans*, whom they had affronted, did totally ſubdue them, under *Fulvius Nobilior*.

[a] THUCYD. l. i. PLUTARCH. in Theſeo. & al.

neally deſcended from *Oxylus*; if he was not, it was not without reaſon that he feared the reſentment of that god, whoſe particular kindneſs to all that were related to him, as *Oxylus* was, would hardly ſuffer ſuch a wrong to go unpuniſhed: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeaſing his anger by this ſacrifice.

(O) *Livy* paints the *Ætolians*, as a proud, arrogant and ungrateful people *, though very good warriors, which laſt is the character *Homer* and *Euripides* give them. They were famed for fighting with only one ſhoe, implied in the epithet of μονοχρηπιδης. *Strabo* and other authors repreſent them as pirates and robbers; and the former makes them the inventors of the ſling †.

* *Hiſt. l.* xxxvi. † *Vid. Strab. ubi ſup. Max. Tyr. Athan. &c.*

THE

THIS ſlip of ground, for ſuch it was, had on the eaſt the *Locrians*, *Phocians*, and *Ozoleans*, from whom they were parted by the river *Evenus*, or *Licormas*. The *Acarnanians* on the weſt, were alſo parted from them by that of *Achelous*, on the north it had the *Dorians*, with part of *Epirus*, and on the ſouth the bay of *Corinth:* Its utmoſt extent from north to ſouth was about 48 miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from eaſt to weſt, where it was wideſt, ſomething above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and ſouthward, eſpecially the latter, where it ſcarcely reached 10 miles. *Strabo* rightly diſtinguiſhes between the ancient and addititious *Ætolia*, the former of which extended itſelf from the *Achelous* to the ſea-coaſt of *Calydon*, where the *Evenus* flowed towards the *Neopactus* and *Eupalion* †; whereas the *Ætolians* did afterwards in proceſs of time greatly enlarge their territories, eſpecially on the *Theſſalian* and *Acarnanian* ſide *; however, they had but one ſea-port of any note on the *Corinthian* bay, namely *OEnias*, ſituate on the mouth of the *Achelous* abovementioned [b]. *Its ſituation and extent.*

IT had no other rivers but the two we have juſt ſpoken of, the former of which was that on which *Hercules* killed the centaur *Neſſus*, and the latter, which was alſo called *Thoas* from its rapidity, deſcended from mount *Pindus* in *Macedonia*, into the *Ionian* ſea. Concerning this laſt the poets have feigned many ſtories, or blended the hiſtory with many fables which the reader may ſee at the bottom of the page (A). As for its name, ſome think it received it from *Achelous* one of the *Rivers.*

† Geogr. l. x. p. 310. * Id. ibid. vid & LIVY, Polyb. & al.
[b] Vid. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER, & al.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the ſon of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, and a competitor with *Hercules* for *Dejanira*, the king of *Calydonia*'s daughter. Theſe two having engaged in a duel, and *Achelous*, finding himſelf likely to be worſted by him, changed himſelf firſt into a ſerpent, and then into a bull. *Hercules* broke both his horns, and gave one of them to *Plenty*, the companion of *Fortune*. Hence the ſtory of the *Cornucopia*. *Achelous*, finding himſelf ſtill inferior to his rival, turned himſelf into the river of that name, in which form he has continued ever ſince, or, as others have it, for grief and ſpight flung and choaked himſelf in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of *Amalthea*, or plenty.

This poetic hodge-podge of ſerpents, bulls and horns, ſeems to have taken its riſe from the ſerpentine turnings and windings, and likely alſo from the rapidity and noiſe of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough ſaid to be the offſpring of

kings of *Ætolia*, and others derive it from the *Greek*, and think it was given it by reaſon of the ſalubrioufneſs of its waters [c]; but as we meet with ſeveral rivers of this name [d], and in quite different countries, *viz.* this in *Ætolia*, another in *Achaia propria*, called alſo *Caucon*, a third and fourth in *Theſſaly*, over-againſt this in *Ætolia*, and ſince called *Epidon*, beſides ſome others in *Aſia Minor*, mentioned by geographers and hiſtorians †, it is not likely they ſhould all have that name upon this laſt account; however this of *Ætolia* is by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable, inſomuch that *Homer* calls it the king of rivers.

Cities. THE country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered ſeveral of their cities almoſt impregnable, and the people ſo ſtout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite ſtates of *Greece*, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame them. The moſt noted of thoſe cities were thoſe that

Thermus. follow: *Thermus* or *Thermius*, ſituate almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance with ſuch high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the ſtates of the country aſſembled, and the repoſitory of all their wealth and treaſure in times of danger, yet was it not ſo much as fortified with a wall, the difficult aſcents and narrow paſſages of the neighbouring mountains, being deemed ſufficient to guard it both from ſurpriſe or invaſion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the nobleſt and wealthieſt *Ætolians*, and had the ſirname of *Panætolium*, upon account of the ſenate holding

Calydon. their meeting there [e]. 2. *Calydon*, ſituate near the foreſt of that name, where *Meleager*, accompanied with the nobleſt youths of *Greece*, ſlew the famed *Calydonian* boar (B). Hither it was that *Hercules* came after he had left *Peloponneſus*, and though

[c] EUSTAT. † Vid. int. al. BRIET. parall. Græc. l. iii. p. 2. STRAB. l. x. ORTEL. Theſaur. EUSTAT. Comm. in Dionyſ. &c. [d] Vid. PAUSAN. in Arcad. c. 38. & Auct. ſup. citat.
[e] Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. x. POLYB. BYZANT. ſub voce Θερμος & Gronov. not. in eund.

of the Ocean and Earth. The two horns were its two ſtreams, where it divided itſelf, and the plenty which theſe brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by ſome other way made ſerviceable to fertiliſe the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the cornucopia.

(B) This fierce and monſtrous creature had done ſo much miſchief about the neighbourhood, that *Meleager* king of the country, who kept his court at *Calydon*, was forced to call to his aſſiſtance a great number of the flower of *Greece* to deſtroy it. The chief of theſe were, *Theſeus Telamon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, and *Iolaus*,

though he had a numerous ſpurious brood ſcattered over all *Greece*, yet wanting legitimate iſſue, married *Dejanira* the daughter of *OEneus*, king of the country, and father to *Meleager*; and to ingratiate himſelf to the *Ætolians*, either turned the current of the river *Achelous*, or made ſome improvments upon it, as gave riſe to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city which ſeems to have continued for ſome time the ſeat of the ancient *Ætolian* kings, was built by *Calydon* the ſon of *Ætolus* [f], from whom the kingdom was for ſome time called *Calydonia*, but reſumed its antient one in ſome following reign. The ſituation of this city was very pleaſant and commodious, being ſeated upon the river *Evenus*, which ran quite through the midſt of it, and having ſome pleaſant plains round it, and the *Calydonian* foreſt at a ſmall diſtance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in proceſs of time to remove the ſeat of the kingdom and ſenate to *Thermus* abovementioned. 3. *Pleuron*, which gave name to a territory whoſe inhabitants were ſirnamed *Curetes*, becauſe they ſhaved the fore-part of their heads, leſt their enemies ſhould lay hold on it, but let the hinder part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of leſs note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted ſtates of *Greece*, the chief of them were *Oechalia*, *Chalces*, *Oenias*, al. *Oeinadæ*, *Ilenas*, and the old and new *Pilene* *.

THE *Ætolians* were in general, a ſtout, warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, ſeldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general the ad-

[f] Vid. BYZANT. ſub voce. ubi ſup. §. 7.

* Vid. BRIET. parall.

Iolaus, all of them the faithful companions of *Hercules*, beſides a number of other heroes. To theſe we may add the famous *Arcadian* princeſs *Atalanta*, who behaved with ſuch uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occaſion, that *Meleager* became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may gueſs at the bigneſs of this monſtrous boar, by the length of his tusks, *Pauſanias*, who tells us that one of them was ſtill preſerved in the temple of *Bacchus* in the imperial gardens, ſays it was above a yard long(10).

The poets pretend, that it was ſent by *Diana* as a puniſhment to *Oeneus*, for having forgotten her when he ſacrificed to all the gods beſides at the cloſe of the harveſt. *Pauſanias* adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to *Argos*, whence he returned again with an army, and recovered it again, but was perſuaded by the *Argolic* king to return thither and died there.

(10) *Arcad. c.* 46.

vantage over them by reaſon of their ſituation. It was chiefly in ſuch excurſive exploits that they ſignalized their courage, without ſtriving to enlarge their territories, till ſome of the *Grecian* wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the *Theban* war, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

It were however needleſs here to give a liſt of their kings, many of whom have been know to ancient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the deſcendants of *Ætolus*, namely *Calydon*, *OEneus* the father of *Dejanira*, and his ſon *Meleager* (C); and to theſe we ſhall only add the two heroes of his race, who ſignalized themſelves, the one in the *Theban*, and the other in the *Trojan* war.

The firſt of theſe was *Tydeus* another ſon of *Oeneus*, by *Althea*. We have already had occaſion to mention him in the hiſtories of *Argos* and *Thebes*. In the firſt of theſe kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manſlaughter, he and *Polynices* having married the two daughters of *Adraſtus*, theſe three princes went jointly againſt *Thebes* to recover *Polynice*'s right; and here it was that *Tydeus* performed ſuch glorious exploits againſt *Eteocles*, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by *Menalippus*, but before

* See before, p. 164, 165, 199.

(C) The fable ſays, that when *Althea* this prince's mother was brought-to-bed of him, ſhe ſaw the three fatal ſiſters ſitting by the fire; one of whom taking a a billet out of it, ſaid, the boy ſhould live as long as it remained unburnt: as ſoon as they were gone, ſhe got up and quenched the ſtick, and repoſited it in a ſafe place.

When *Meleager* was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles, at the killing of the boar mentioned in the laſt note. That young prince having preſented the head of it to *Atalanta*, who had given it the firſt wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention roſe to ſuch a height, that the exaſperated prince killed them both. *Althea* ſeeing her two brothers killed, fell into ſuch fury, that ſhe ran to the fatal brand which ſhe had ſaved, and flung it into the fire; upon which her ſon was immediately ſeized with a burning fever in his bowels, and ſoon after expired.

Pauſanias, who tells us that this fabulous ſtory was deviſed by an ancient tragic poet, named *Phrynicus* (ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the 67th olympiad) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us, upon the credit of two other poets, that *Apollo* killed him with his own hands, becauſe he had taken the part of the *Ætolians* againſt the *Curetes*, mentioned a little higher, and in whoſe favour that god had declared himſelf (11).

(11) *In Phocid. c.* 31.

he

he expired had the satisfaction to see his enemies head brought to him by the brave *Amphiaraus*, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and swallowing them [g].

His son *Diomedes* was one of those who signalized himself at the *Trojan* war, he had the good fortune to return safe from it, but meeting with a worse enemy at home in his faithless wife *Ægiale*, and her paramour *Cometes*, he was forced to retire into *Apulia*, where he shared that kingdom with *Daunus*, as we have seen above. From this time we meet with nothing considerable in the history of this nation, except a few warlike excursions, which they made in conjunction with some of the great estates of *Greece*, in which they assisted sometimes as allies, and sometimes at auxiliaries, and which have been already interspersed in the history of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous *Achean* league which proved so fatal to them, and of which we shall give an account in its proper place. The rest of their time was spent in mutual excursions between them and their neighbours the *Calydonians*, *Pleuronians*, *Dorians*, and *Locrians*, of whom we are to speak next, and especially with the *Ozoleans* and *Acarnanians*, whose territories lay on each side *Ætolia*. These two last being more obscure and inconsiderable than any of the rest, the reader will find all we think needs be said of them in the following note (*D*).

THE

[g] APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 7.

(D) The *Ozoleans*, as we observed in the geography of *Ætolia*, were situate on the east of that kingdom. It was a small territory, lying on the north coast of the bay of *Corinth*, and extending itself above twelve miles northwards, where it was contiguous with *Locris*. On the west, it was bounded by the river *Evenus*, which parted them from *Ætolia*, and on the east they had the kingdom of *Phocis*, spoken of in the close of the sixth section of this chapter. Its chief towns were *Naupactus*, situate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the *Ætolians*, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name, from the *Heraclidæ* building their navy there, with which they invaded *Peloponnesus*; but is now known by that of *Lepanto*, and was taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajaset*.

The *Ozoleans* bid fair for being some of the ancientest inhabitants of these parts, if we admit the etymon which some give us of their names; and that they were so called so from the stench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beasts, without any dressing) gave to their bodies; for this was all the dress which the first inhabitants of *Greece* used, till *Pelasgus*, and some other founders, taught them a better, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the history of *Arcadia*.

Locris. THE *Locrians* were either the ſame people with the *Ozoleans*, mentioned in the laſt note, or ſo blended with them, that they were not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed but by their names, or indeed by any thing but their ſituation. In this reſpect they were

Others think, that this name was owing to the ſtench of their rivers and marſhes; and others again to their quantity of *aſphodel*, or *daffadil*, which grew in thoſe parts, one ſort of which has an ill ſmell, and uſed to be ſowed anciently over graves; a third affirm, that this ſtench was cauſed by the blood, which the centaur *Neſſus* ſcattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by *Hercules*.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not ſo ill-ſcented, is, that in the reign of *Oreſtheus* the ſon of *Deucalion*, his bitch brought forth inſtead of whelps a ſtick of wood, which that prince cauſed to be put into the ground, from which, when the ſpring came, a vine ſprang forth. Hence they pretended, that that name of *Ozoles*, came not from οζειν, to ſtink, but from οζος, a branch or ſprout: however that be, *Pauſanias* tells us the *Locrians*, who were likewiſe called *Ozoles*, were ſo ill pleaſed with that name, that they changed it for that of *Ætolians* (12), we ſhall ſpeak of them in the next place above.

As for the *Acarnanians*, their territories were parted on the eaſt by the river *Achelous*, and ſurrounded by the *Ionian* ſea on the weſt and ſouth, and on the north joined to *Epirus*, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were anciently known by the name of *Curetes*, but whether of the ſame race with thoſe of the *Celtic* nation mentioned in a former chapter *, or, whether ſo called, becauſe, like the *Pluranes*, they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not originally of *Celtic* extraction, is not eaſy to determine.

Their name of *Acarnanians* they afterwards received from *Acarnanus*, the ſon of *Alcmon*. This laſt was the ſon of *Amphiaraus* the noted ſoothſayer, whoſe wife *Eripyle* had been bribed by *Polynices* with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the *Theban* war; for which reaſon he left orders with his ſon to murder her, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. He having executed his father's commands, was ſo tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the *Delphic* oracle for relief; and was anſwered, That if he could find out ſome country, which had ſprung up out of the ſea, ſince his parricide, and ſettle there, he ſhould be freed from his mother's avenging ghoſt. After much ſeeking, he found this ſpot of ground, which the *Achelous* had thrown up, and ſettled himſelf there.

He ſoon after married *Callirrhoe*, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two ſons, *Acharnan* and *Amphoterus*, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think the difference between the *Acarnanians* and *Curetes*

(12) *Ibid. c.* 38. (13) *Strab. Mel. et al.* * *Vid. ſup. et ſeq. et ſub not.* A. *p.* 26. † *Ibid. p.* 165. (14) *Pauſan. in Arcad. c.* 24. (15) *Vid. Byzant. ſub voce Acarnania.*

were divided into the *Locri Ozolæ* abovementioned, which inhabited the ſouthern or maritime parts. They were likewiſe called *Locri Zephirii* or *Weſterly*, on account of their ſituation with reſpect to the other two, and extended themſelves only from *Naupactus* to the frontiers of *Phocis*, along the ſea-coaſt, about 200 ſtades or 8 leagues in length. 2. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, ſo called from the mount *Cnemis*; theſe were ſituate in the middle; and 3. The northern *Locri*, ſirnamed *Opuntii* from their chief city *Opus*, or *Opoes*, near the coaſt of the *Ægean* or *Eubean* ſea; authors however are not ſo well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of theſe ancient nations [h]. Ancient indeed, if we conſider that *Homer* tells us they came to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and ſlings, and that the *Ozoleans* carried an early colony into *Italy* under the conduct of their princes *Evas* and *Ajax*, and built a city there near the *Zephyrian* promontory, from which they are called *Locri Epizephyrii* [i].

OPUNTIAN LOCRI.

THE *Ozolean Locrians* were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of *Phocis*, of which we have given an account in a former ſection. Their country was partly plain and fertile, partly mountainous and barren. They are branded with being much addicted to ſodomy, and having their women in common †. They made feaſts at the death of their relations; and if a ſick man was forbid the uſe of wine and recovered, he was nevertheleſs put to death for it *; but all this is to be underſtood of the ancient *Locri* before they had been civilized with the reſt of *Greece*.

OZOLEAN LOCRI.

Their three tribes.

Their chief city was *Amphiſſa*, ſituate on the *Evenus*. *Herodotus* calls it *Amphicea*, and the inhabitants *Amphicaioi* or *Amphicei*. It was afterwards taken by the *Phocians*, and deſtroyed with the reſt of the *Phocian* cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, *Pauſanias* tells us it took the name of *Ophitea*, if the text has not been cor-

[h] De his vid. PTOLOM. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER. & al. ſup. citat. [i] PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 33. & Phocid. 38. † TYR. Max. Athen. HERACL. & al. * ÆLIAN. Var. l. ii. c. 37.

tes was, that the latter ſhaved the forepart of their heads, and the others did not. Again, ſome derive the name of *Curetes* from the mount *Curius*; and others from the *Greek* κυρεαι maidens, becauſe they affected to go dreſt like young women, though in this latter ſenſe it ſhould properly be writ κορεαι. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their conſtant wars with the *Ætolians*, at leaſt during this epocha. The remainder of their hiſtory will be beſt ſeen in that of *Epirus*, of which they afterwards became a province.

EPICNEMEDIAN LOCRI.

rupted by his tranſcribers [k] (E). *Epicnemidian Locrians* were the only ones of all the three, who had a right to ſend deputies to the grand *Amphictyonian* court at *Delphos*. Their metropolis was *Thronium*, mentioned by *Homer*, *Ptolomy*, and other ancient authors [l]. They had another city called *Cnemis*, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Thoſe who deſire to know more of theſe ancient cities, as well as *Opus* or *Opoes*, belonging to the other *Locrian* tribe, may ſee an ample deſcription of them in the authors above quoted †. How they came by their common name of *Locrians*, whether they were colonies of one another, and if ſo, which was the aucienteſt, is paſt our ſkill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we ſhall in the ſequel ſee that they ſignalized themſelves as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*.

DORIS.

§. *Doris* was ſituate on the ſouth of *Theſſaly*, being parted from it by mount *Oeta*, and a ridge of other hills. It had on the ſouth *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia*. On the eaſt it was parted from the *Locri Epicemidæ*, by the river *Pindus*, and on the weſt from *Epirus* and *Acarnania* by that of *Achelous*. Other rivers of note they had not, except the *Cephiſus*, which had its ſpring head in the neighbourhood. Mountains

[k] Id. ibid. vid. & BYZANT. ſub voce Αμφικαια & Gronov. not. in Loc. [l] POLYB. LIVY, PAUSAN. vid. & PALMER. Antiq. Græc. l. v. & STEPH. BYZ. ſub voce. † Vid. & Palmer. antiq. Græ. l. iv. & alib. paſſ.

(E) This laſt is more likely to be the caſe, both becauſe *Herodotus* nowhere calls it by this new name, but always *Amphicea*, and more particularly becauſe this laſt name doth better agree with the etymon which *Pauſanias* himſelf gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of ſome fear for his young ſon, had cauſed him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf; but was ſaved by a ſerpent who twined about, and defended him. The father coming at that inſtant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow, which killed both the ſerpent and his ſon, and when he was better informed by ſome ſhepherds, who had beheld the encounter, he cauſed them to be both burnt upon the ſame funeral pile.

It ſeems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence Αμφικαια, from Αμφω καισθαι, both being carried to the ſame pile, than *Ophitea*, which has no alluſion to that or any other part of the ſtory (17).

(16) *Phocid. c.* 34. (17) *Vid. Sylburg. Palmier. et Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.*

they had in great number, and thoſe not inconſiderable ones: the moſt famed were *Oeta* and *Pindus*, often mentioned in this chapter, which with ſome others of leſs note, ſurrounded them on the north, as the *Callidromians* did on the weſt; yet they abounded with ſpacious plains, and very fruitful; the air was ſweet and healthy, and their ſoil capable of being improved to all the advantages of huſbandry. Their territories were not large, they extending only about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the wideſt, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30 min. eaſt longitude [m].

THIS country was called *Doris*, and the people *Dores*, from *Dorus* the ſon of *Helen*, and grandſon of *Deucalion*, who firſt peopled, or rather conquered it, at leaſt that part of it which lies below the mountains of *Oeta* and *Pindus*: the country was likewiſe called *Tetrapolis* from its four cities, *viz. Pindus*, *Erineus*, *Cytinium*, and *Boium* or *Boœum*; *Ptolomy* adds to them that of *Lilæa*, but others place it more rightly in *Phocis* *. The *Dores* though they inhabited ſuch a mountainous tract, were yet very polite, good orators, poets, and muſicians, and yet ſtout and warlike, and uſed to wear a tuft of horſe-hair on their helmets, from which *Homer* ſtiles them τριχαϊτες. They ſpread their colonies in ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, and among others founded the city of *Chalcedon* on the *Euxine Sea*, for which they had the nickname of *Blind* for their ill choice; and it is on account of theſe frequent colonies, that we find ſeveral countries called *Doris*. Thoſe that continued in their original one were at length driven from it by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit for ſome time about *Macednum*, and the neighbourhood of *Pindus*, but returned ſoon after to *Dryopis* (F), and the country about *Oeta* [n], where they continued till they made that famous deſcent into *Peloponneſus* with the *Heraclidæ*, of which we have ſpoken in ſome

Doris, *whence ſo called.*

[m] Vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, CELLAR, WELLS, &c.
* STRAB. ubi ſup. STEPH. de urb. in voc. [n] HERODOT. l. i. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. &c.

(F) A country ſituate in the neighbourhood of the mount *Oeta* and *Parnaſſus*, and called *Dryopis*, from *Dryope* the daughter of *Eurypylus*, or, as the poets feign, a nymph raviſhed by *Apollo*; but more probably from δρυς, an oak, and οψ, voice, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain, and the ruſtling of their leaves.

However, the *Dryopes* valued themſelves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themſelves the ſons of *Apollo*; wherefore *Hercules* having overcome them in fight, took them priſoners, and carried them to *Del-*

ſome former ſections, and whither they carried alſo their dialect called from them *Doric* (G). Their chief city was called *Doris* from the founder of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned, by *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and others °.

Cities.

2. *Erineus*, ſituate on the moſt northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part *Doris* from *Macedonia*, and mentioned by all the ancient geographers and hiſtorians. 3. *Lilæa* on the ſouthern frontiers, and adjoining to *Phocis*, if not in it, as was lately hinted. 4. *Bium*, as it is called by *Ptolomy*, or *Bojon*, as *Strabo* and others call it, with ſome few of leſs note.

WE have nothing remarkable left concerning theſe people before their naval deſcent into *Peloponneſus*, the particulars and ſucceſs of which have been ſeen in the former ſections, and need not to be repeated here. After their conqueſt of and ſettlement in that *Peninſula*, in conjunction with the *Heraclidæ*, they built a ſtately temple to *Jupiter Tropeus*, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and anſwerable to the ſirname given to that deity, ſince it almoſt overturned the whole ſtate of affairs in all the different kingdoms and ſtates of *Peloponneſus*, whoſe cities were now forced to receive a garriſon of *Dorians*, and to ſubmit to a foreign government.

Temple of Jupiter Tropeus.

° De his vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. &c. BYZANT. & PALMER. Ant. Gr.

phos, where he preſented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into *Peloponneſus*; which he accordingly did, and gave them a ſettlement there near the *Aſmean* and *Hermionion* territories; hence the *Aſmeans* came to be blended with, and to call themſelves *Dryopes* (18).

(G) The *Dorians* gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the *Greeks*, but was preſerved moſt pure by the *Meſſenians*, even through all their various tranſmigrations. It was juſtly eſteemed the moſt elegant, ſweet and beſt adapted to *Lyric* poetry and muſic, of which the *Dores* were very fond, and the moſt expert in of all the *Greeks* *; ſo that they likewiſe gave their name, 2. to the *Doric* muſic, in oppoſition to that of the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*; and 3d. to the *Doric* order, one of the five in architecture.

Thoſe three kinds of muſic uſed to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated *Pronomus* invented a fourth ſort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(18) *Pauſan. in Meſſenic. c.* 34.
(19) *Pauſan. in Bœotic. c.* 12. *Athen. l.* xiv. *c.* 7.

* *See Briet. ubi ſup. part* ii. *l.* iii.

Achaia

§ *Achaia Propria* (H), ſo called from *Achæus* the ſon of *Xutus*, was originally called *Ægialea* from *Ægialeus* the firſt king of *Sicyon*, as ſome affirm †; others think it comes from the *Greek Ægialos*, ſea-ſhore, becauſe above half of it was ſurrounded with the ſea [p], but whether it was originally part of the *Sicyonic* kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed ſeems the more probable, becauſe the king who reigned there when *Ion* the brother of *Achæus* came to invade it, is called *Selinus* by the laſt quoted author, whereas there was no *Sicyonian* king of that name, in the liſt we have left of them, unleſs perhaps *Selinus* be the ſame with *Telchin*, or *Selchin*, as he is alſo called, the grandſon of *Ægialeus*. However that be, the country took then the ſurname of *Ionian*, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*; and it is likely that that of *Achaia* was not given to it till the ſons of *Achæus* came and invaded it, and drove out the *Ionians*. ACHAIA *whence ſo called.*

Achaia had *Sicyon* on the eaſt, and the *Ionian* ſea on the weſt; the kingdom of *Elis* and that of *Arcadia* on the ſouth, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north. It would be impoſſible to fix the right limits of it, becauſe they were in ſuch conſtant fluctuation, that whatever was ſaid of them would only agree with on ſingle epocha; but taking them in the largeſt ſenſe, its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt ſeems to have been no more than about fifty miles, and from north to ſouth about half that diſtance [q], being within the 38th deg. of latitude, and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not except the *Pierus* which diſcharged itſelf into the *Ionian* ſea, at the mouth of which was the city of *Olenus*, a famous ſea-port mentioned by ancient authors, and ſo called from *Olenus* its founder, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Jupiter*, or, according to others, of *Vulcan*; the *Lariſſa* which parted it from *Elis*, the *Achelous* formerly mentioned, the *Eraſinus* different from that of the ſame name in *Argos*, and *Crathis*, all which retain ſtill their old names with very little variation. As for the other cities of *Achaia*, *Situation and extent.* *Rivers.*

† See before, p. 147, & ſeq. [p] PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 1. [q] STRAB. MELA, &c. Vid BYZANT. in voce.

(H) It is called *Achaia Propria* to diſtinguiſh it from the general name of *Achaia*, by which *Greece* itſelf was ſometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the *Romans* to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, and *Epirus*; and *Achaia* containing all the remainder of *Greece*, both inland and the iſlands about.

we

we ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the following ſketch of their hiſtory.

Xuthus, one of the ſons of *Hellen*, the ſon of *Deucalion*, having been baniſhed by his other brothers out of *Theſſaly*, after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzled the royal treaſury, came to *Athens*, where *Erectheus* gave him his daughter *Creuſa*, by whom he had two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. After *Erectheus*'s death, a diſpute ariſing between his ſons, *Xuthus* was choſen umpire between them, and having adjudged the ſucceſſion to *Cecrops* II. who was the eldeſt, the others drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and ſettled in *Achaia* *, and died there. His ſon *Achæus* did ſoon after raiſe a ſmall number of *Athenian* and *Ægialean* forces with which he went into *Theſſaly*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for manſlaughter, and went to *Laconia*, where he died, but his poſterity continued there, till they were expelled from it by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*.

Achæus *born.*

Expedition into Theſſaly.

But in the mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called *Ægialea*. *Selinus*, then king of it having but one only daughter, inſtead of repulſing him, gave her to him in marriage, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. *Ion* having ſucceeded his father-in-law, built a city and called it by his wife's name *Helice*, and from him the *Ægialeans* were ſirnamed *Ionians*; but the country ſeems to have retained its ancient name, ſince *Homer* in the liſt of *Agamemnon*'s forces, makes mention both of it and of the city *Helice*.

Ion *invades* Ægialea.

Ion who had lately defeated the *Thracians* and performed wonders againſt them, was for his ſingular merit and valour ſoon after choſen general of the *Athenian* forces in their war againſt the *Eleuſians*, and was either killed in it, or died ſoon after, and was buried in a ſmall town of *Attica*. He is ſaid by *Strabo* to have been the firſt who divided the people into four ranks or claſſes, *viz.* huſbandmen, artificers, prieſts, and guards or military men. He made likewiſe ſeveral wiſe regulations, for which as well as his ſingular merit, he left his name to the country, and the crown to his deſcendants, who enjoyed it undiſturbed for a conſiderable time. In the mean while, thoſe of his uncle *Achæus*, known by the name of *Achæans*, had ſpread themſelves in ſeveral parts of *Greece*, particularly in the kingdom of *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. When therefore they came to be driven out of theſe two countries by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*, they bethought themſelves of laying

Made general of the Athenians.

Achæans *invade the* Ionians.

* See before, p. 177.

claim

claim to *Achaia*, and of driving the *Ionians* out of it. They had their brave king *Tisamenes* the son of *Orestes* at their head, and pleaded a superiority of kindred, being descended from the eldest son of *Xuthus*; but what they trusted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them some *Dores*, who agreed to assist them in this expedition. Accordingly they came against them with this army, and sent a herald to them to demand that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The *Ionians*, surprized at such an unexpected message, resolved however to oppose their entrance with all their might. They knew that if they were once suffered to settle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince *Tisamenes*, whose noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: they therefore resolved to march against the invaders, and on the very first onset the *Achæans* lost indeed their prince, but gained the victory, and pursued it to the very gates of *Helice*. The *Ionians* thus over-powered, were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into *Attica*, where *Melanthus* then reigned, and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps so much in consideration of the great services which their progenitor *Ion* had done to that kingdom, as to make use of their assistance against the *Dores*, whom he now began to fear. Here they stayed no longer than till the first archontat, when *Medon*'s brethren, unwilling to submit to their lame brother, invited them among other *Grecians* to go and seek their fortune elsewhere *.

Defeat them.

As for the *Achæans*, their prince being dead, and the *Ionians* gone off, his sons agreed to divide their new conquest by lot; this kingdom chiefly consisted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the *Greek* writers; for as to the *Ionians*, *Strabo* tells us they had built nothing but villages; namely, 1. *Helice*, mentioned above: 2. *Ægion* or *Ægium*, to which the assembly of the estates was removed after the submersion of *Helice*, as being the next in dignity and bigness: 3. *Olenus*: 4. *Phares*: 5. *Ryphes*: 6. *Tritia*: 7. *Cerynea*: 8. *Bura*: 9. *Dymea*: 10. *Æges*: 11. *Ægira*: 12. *Pellene*. These twelve cities were at first divided between the four sons of *Tisamenes*, *Diamenes*, *Sparton*, *Telles*, and *Leontomenes*; for as to his fifth son *Cometes*, he was already gone into *Asia*. These, together with their cousin *Damasias*, the son of *Penthillus*, and grandson of *Orestes*, having jointly

Achaia *divided.*

Government changed.

* See before, p. 187. & seq.

reigned

reigned over this new *Achaian* ſtate for ſome time, agreed again to take into partnerſhip *Preagenes* and his ſon *Patrus*, who were the ſovereigns of thoſe *Achæans*, who had been baniſhed out of *Lacedemon*, and gave them the ſovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the laſt of theſe *Patra*. By what appears from this diviſion of the *Achaian* government, it ſeems as if it then became a kind of ariſtocracy, rather than a ſeven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what ſhare the ſubjects had in it we cannot find out; only it ſeems from the ſhort ſketch *Pauſanias* gives us of it, that all thoſe cities above-mentioned, except *Pellene*, were in ſome meaſure free cities, and that the ſtates of *Achaia* ceaſed not to aſſemble themſelves, even when the reſt of *Greece* was terribly harraſſed with wars and peſtilence (A). In this aſſembly it was that the famous *Achæan* league was formed, into which the *Sicyonians* came the very firſt, and were followed by all the other eſtates, not only of *Peloponneſus*, but by thoſe on the other ſide of the *Iſthmus*; even at length by all *Greece*, except the *Lacedemonians*, who ſoon after entered into a war againſt them, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

[r] Vid. PAUSAN. in Achaic. paſſ. & PLUTARCH. D. SICUL. & Auct. ſup. citat.

(A) *Strabo*, after mentioning the twelve *Achæan* cities above-named, ſays, they were governed each by two prætors, annually choſen, at the head of a ſenate: but he adds, that at the end of twenty years, they began to chuſe but one, and continued doing ſo till the prætorſhip of *Aratus*, the noble deliverer of *Greece*; of whoſe exploits and undeſerved fate, we ſhall give an account in the next chapter.

All that needs to be added here, with reſpect to the *Achæans*, is, that they ſo well fortified themſelves in their new ſettlement, after having driven the *Ionians* out of it, that they were able to make head againſt the *Heraclidæ*, and preſerved their laws and liberty, even after all the reſt of *Peloponneſus* had been ſubdued by them, and under a ſeries of kings from *Tiſamenes* to *Ogygus*; after which they ſettled themſelves into a kind of Republic, as hath been already hinted. And ſo highly eſteemed were they by all the *Greeks*, that ſeveral of their ſtates choſe them for arbitrators of the differences that happened between them; particularly the *Thebans*, after the famed battle of *Leuctra* *. *Polybius* adds, that the *Achæans* ſo far gained the love and eſteem of all the *Peloponneſians*, that their name became common to all that country †.

* *Strab. ubi ſup. p.* 385. † *Lib.* ii.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Hiſtory of the ATHENIANS.

SECT. I.

Of the ſtate of ATHENS *from the eſtabliſhing annual archons, to the* Achæan *league.*

THE *Athenians* acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the moſt glorious nation in *Greece*, when *Greece* was in her greateſt glory, and which makes the *Athenian* name venerable, even in theſe diſtant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though *Athens*, as we have already ſhewn, was in ancient times, as indeed moſt nations were, governed by kings, yet thoſe kings were far from being abſolute. The beſt of them preſcribed bounds to themſelves, and the people preſcribed bounds to the worſt. For the *Athenians* were always friends to liberty, and reſerved even in the days of *Theſeus*, ſuch an authority in their hands, as engaged *Homer* to difference them from the other nations of *Greece*[a]. The glorious death of *Codrus*, who ſacrificed himſelf for his ſubjects, and his ſons diſputing the ſucceſſion, furniſhed the *Athenians* with a pretence for ridding themſelves of kings. It was improbable, they ſaid, that ever they ſhould have ſo good a prince as *Codrus*, and to prevent their having a worſe, they would have no king but *Jupiter*[b]. However, that they might not ſeem ungrateful to his family, they made his ſon *Medon* their ſupreme magiſtrate, with the title of *Archon*; they afterwards rendered that office *decennial*, but continued it ſtill in that family. The extinction of the *Medontidæ* at laſt left them without reſtraint, upon which they not only made this office *annual*, but created nine *Archons*[c]; by the latter invention they provided againſt the too great power of a ſingle perſon, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehenſion of their *Archons* having time to eſtabliſh an *optimacy*, and ſo change the conſtitution. In one word, they attained now what they had long ſought, the making their ſupreme magiſtrates *dependant* on the *people*.

Monarchy aboliſhed at Athens.

Archons created.

[a] *Iliad.* lib. v. [b] Schol. in Nub. ARISTOPHAN. [c] DION. HALICARN. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. EUSEB. Chron. PAUSAN.

THAT

Honours and titles annexed to their office.

THAT these magistrates might however retain as much authority and dignity as might be sufficient to preserve the order and peace in the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The *first* was stiled by way of eminence, *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The *second* was called *Basileus*, i. e. king. He too had his peculiar function, and his particular tribunal. The *third* had the name of *Polemarchos*; war was his province especially, though he had the direction of many things besides military affairs. The other *six* had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws, and conservators of the constitution. We shall speak of all these offices distinctly in their proper place; at present we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the *abolition* of the decennial magistracy in *Athens*. As to the reasons on which the names of the three first magistrates and their distinct offices were founded, they are variously and not very clearly reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magistrates to these new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former as was consistent with the ends for which this change was made. As the *Romans* allowed their consuls to have fasces carried before them, and bore with the word *Rex*, when it implied no more than a supreme sacrificer. This change happened at *Athens* in the twenty-fourth olympiad, but in what year of that olympiad is not well settled. *Creon* was the *first* of the new *Archons*, and the names of his successors, at least such of them as are recorded in history, the reader will find in the following table, which also shews the years in which they bore that office (A).

(A) Though little has been said, in a regular manner, by the ancient historians of *Greece*, concerning the forming of the *Athenian* republic, and the power of its magistrates; yet the industry of such of the learned as have laboured in this way, and by collecting the scattered passages of *Grecian* writers, have formed treatises of the *Athenian* government under its several mutations, have given us such lights on this important subject, that it would be unpardonable in us, not to set it clearly and distinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be necessary to give some account of these last mentioned authors, that if such as peruse this work should be desirous of entering more deeply into *the Athenian* policy, than *the* construction of this history will permit us to do, they may not be at a loss for guides. *William Postel*, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was deservedly famous for his extensive learning, hath written a very curious treatise of the

An exact TABLE of such of the annual archons of *Athens* as are mentioned in history.

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		xxiv.
684	*Creon* —	1
683	*Tlesias* — —	2
682	*Lysias* — —	3
		xxvii.
670	*Antosthenes* —	3
		xxix.
663	*Archimedes* —	2
		xxx.
658	*Miltiades* ——	3
		xxxiii.
645	*Dropis* ——	4
		xxxv.
639	*Damasius* I. —	2
		xxxvi.
634	*Epænetus* —	3
		xxxix.
623	*Draco* ——	2
		xliii.
608	*Aristocles* —	4
		xlv.
599	*Megacles* —	2
598	*Phisombrotus* —	3
597	*Solon* ——	4
		xlvi.

the *Athenian* republic, consisting of thirty-five chapters; wherein he handles, concisely, the functions of the *Athenian* magistrates, the rights of the people, and the dependency of the several parts of the *Attic* constitution on each other (1). But if the succinctness of *Postel* leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, *Sigonius*'s four books with his scheme of the *Athenian* history, will sufficiently supply it. *Sigonius* was a man of much reading, vast diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the same kind which he composed (2). This excellent person was a professor in the university of *Modena*, and by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired such a stupendous knowledge in history and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As *Sigonius* exceeded *Postel*, so *Sigonius* himself has been transcended by *Ubbo Eminius*, rector of the university of *Groningen*, who having resolved upon a work of the same nature, made his description extend not only to the *Athenians*, but to all the republics of *Greece*, and ordering it so, that this description made but one third part of his work; the two former parts containing an exact description of ancient *Greece*, and a regular history of its inhabitants collected in the words mostly of original writers (3). If to these we add the almost numberless treatises of the very learned *Meursius*, on every part of the *Athenian* government (4), there can no question be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly understood as any thing of the same nature can be. But as things are never perfect at first, so we held it more reasonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the construction of the *Athenian* democracy to its settlement by *Solon*, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

(1) *Tractatus de repub. sive magistratibus Atheniensium.* (2) *De Republica Atheniensium, Veneties* 1565, 8vo. (3) *Vetus Græcia opus distinctum in Tomos tres.* (4) *Themis Attica, Cecropia, Lection, Attic.*

A. c. Ch.		*Olymp.*
596 *Dropides*	—	1
		xlvii.
591 *Euorates*	—	2
590 *Simon*	—	3
		xlix.
582 *Damasias* II.		3
		li.
576 *Archestratides*	—	1
		lii.
569 *Austomenes*		4
		liv.
561 *Hippoclides*	—	4
		lv.
560 *Comias*	—	1
559 *Hegestratus*	—	2
		lvi.
552 *Euthydemus*		2
		lviii.
547 *Euxiclides*	—	2
		lix.
543 *Alcæus*	—	2
		lxii.
532 *Heraclides*	—	1
		lxiv.
523 *Miltiades*	—	2
		lxviii.
Isagoras —	*an. incert.*	
		lxix.
Acestorides --	*an. incert.*	
		lxx.
Myrus —	*an. incert.*	
		lxxi.
496 *Hyparchus*	—	2
495 *Philippus*	—	3
494 *Themistocles*		4
		lxxii.
492 *Diognetus*	—	2
491 *Hybrilides*	—	3
490 *Phœnippus*	—	4
		lxxiii.
488 *Aristides*	—	1
487 *Anchises*	—	2
486 *Acratides*	—	3
		lxxiv.
484 *Leostratus*	—	1
483 *Nicodemus*	—	2

A. c. Ch.		*Olymp.*
482 *Aphephon*	—	3
		lxxv
480 *Callias, qui & Calliades*		1
479 *Xanthippus*	—	2
478 *Timosthenes*	—	3
477 *Adimanthus*	—	4
		lxxvi.
476 *Phædon*	—	1
475 *Dromoclides*	—	2
474 *Acestorides*	—	3
473 *Menon*	—	4
		lxxvii.
472 *Chares*	—	1
471 *Praxiergus*	—	2
470 *Demotion*	—	3
469 *Phædon*	—	4
		lxxviii.
468 *Theaginedes*	—	1
467 *Lysistratus*	—	2
466 *Lysanias*	—	3
465 *Lysistheus*	—	4
		lxxix.
464 *Archimedes*	—	1
463 *Tlepolemus*	—	2
462 *Conon*	—	3
461 *Euippus*	—	4
		lxxx.
460 *Phaciclides*	—	1
459 *Philocles*	—	2
458 *Bion*	—	3
457 *Mnesitides*	—	4
		lxxxi.
456 *Callias*	—	1
455 *Sosistratus*	—	2
454 *Ariston*	—	3
453 *Lysicrates*	—	4
		lxxxii.
452 *Chærephanes*	—	1
451 *Antidotus*	—	2
450 *Eutydemus*	—	3
449 *Pedieus*	—	4
		lxxxiii.
448 *Philiscus*	—	1
447 *Timarchides*	—	2
446 *Callimachus*	—	3

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
445	*Simachides, qui & Lysimachides*	4
		lxxxiv.
444	*Praxiteles* —	1
443	*Lysanias* —	2
442	*Diphilus* —	3
441	*Timocles* —	4
		lxxxv.
440	*Myrichides sive Marichidas*	1
439	*Glaucis* —	2
438	*Theodorus* —	3
437	*Euthimenes* —	4
		lxxxvi.
436	*Nausimachus, qui & Lysimachus*	1
435	*Antichides* —	2
434	*Charis* —	3
433	*Aspendes* —	4
		lxxxvii.
432	*Pythodorus* —	1
431	*Eudemus* —	2
430	*Apollodorus* —	3
429	*Epami[illegible]* —	4
		lxxxviii.
428	*Diotimus* —	1
427	*Euclides* —	2
426	*Scytodorus, qui & Euthydemus*	3
425	*Stratocles* —	4
		lxxxix.
424	*Isarchus* —	
423	*Aminias* —	2
422	*Alcæus* —	3
421	*Arieto, qui & Aristion* —	4
		xc.
420	*Aristophilus, qui & Astyphilus*	1
419	*Archias* —	2
418	*Antiphon* —	3
417	*Euphemus* —	4
		xci.
416	*Aristomnestus* —	1
415	*Chabrias* —	2
414	*Pysander* — —	3

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
413	*Cleocritus* —	4
		xcii.
412	*Callias* — —	1
411	*Theopompus* —	2
410	*Glaucippus* —	3
409	*Diocles* —	4
		xciii.
408	*Euctemon* —	1
407	*Antigenes* —	2
406	*Callias* — —	3
405	*Alexias* — —	4
		xciv.
404	*Pythodorus* —	1
403	*Euclides* — —	2
402	*Micio* — —	3
401	*Zenetetus, qui & Epenetus*	4
		xcv.
400	*Laches* — —	1
399	*Aristocrates* —	2
398	*Itycles* — —	3
397	*Lysiades* — —	4
		xcvi.
396	*Phormio* — —	1
395	*Diophantus* —	2
394	*Eubulides* — —	3
393	*Arches, qui & Demostratus*	4
		cxvii.
392	*Philocles* — —	1
391	*Nicoteles* — —	2
390	*Demostratus* —	3
389	*Antipater* — —	4
		xcviii.
388	*Pyrrhio, qui & Pyrghium*	1
387	*Theodotus* — —	2
386	*Mystichides* —	3
385	*Dexiteus* — —	4
		xcix.
384	*Diotrephes* —	1
383	*Phenestratus* —	2
382	*Menander, qui & Evander*	3
381	*Demophilus* —	4

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		c.
380	*Pytheas* — —	1
379	*Nicon* — —	2
378	*Nausidicus* — —	3
377	*Callias* — —	4
		ci.
376	*Chariander* —	1
375	*Hypodamus* —	2
374	*Socratides* — —	2
373	*Asteus* sive *Asteus*	4
		cii.
372	*Aristhenes* sive *Alcisthenes*	1
371	*Pharasiclides* —	2
370	*Dysnicitus* —	3
369	*Lysistratus* — —	4
		ciii.
368	*Nausiegenes* — —	1
367	*Polyzelus* — —	2
366	*Cephisodorus* —	3
365	*Chion* — —	4
		civ.
364	*Timocrates* — —	1
363	*Characlides* —	2
362	*Molio* sive *Molon*	3
361	*Nicophemus* — —	4
		cv.
360	*Callimedes* — —	1
359	*Eucharistus* —	2
358	*Cephisodorus* —	3
357	*Agathocles* — —	4
		cvi.
356	*Elpines* seu *Elpinius*	1
355	*Callistratus* —	2
354	*Diotimus* — —	3
353	*Eudemus* — —	4
		cvii.
352	*Aristodemus* —	1
351	*Thessalus* — —	2
350	*Apollodorus* —	3
349	*Callimachus* —	4
		cviii.
348	*Theophilus* —	1
347	*Themistocles* —	2
346	*Archius* — —	3
345	*Eubulus* — —	4

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		cix.
344	*Lysiscus* — —	1
343	*Pythodorus* —	2
342	*Sosigenes* — —	3
341	*Nicomachus* —	4
		cx.
340	*Theophrastus* —	1
339	*Lysimachides* —	2
338	*Charondas* seu *Charonides*	3
337	*Phrynicus* — —	4
		cxi.
336	*Pythodorus* — —	1
335	*Euenetus* — —	2
334	*Cteficles* — —	3
333	*Nicocrates* —	4
		cxii.
332	*Niceratus* — —	1
331	*Aristophanes* — —	2
330	*Aristophon* — —	3
329	*Cephisophon* —	4
		cxiii.
328	*Euthycritus* —	1
327	*Hegemon* — —	2
326	*Chremes* — —	3
325	*Anticles* — —	4
		cxiv.
324	*Hegesias* — —	1
323	*Cephisodorus* —	2
322	*Philocles* — —	3
321	*Archippus* sive *Apollodorus.*	4
		cxv.
320	*Neæchmus* —	1
319	*Apollodorus* — —	2
318	*Archippus* — —	3
317	*Demogenes* — —	4
		cxvi.
316	*Democlides* — —	1
315	*Praxibulus* —	2
314	*Nicodorus* — —	3
313	*Cheophrastus* —	4
		cxvii.
312	*Ptolemo* — —	1
311	*Simonides* — —	2
310	*Hieronnemon* —	3

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
309	*Demetrius Phalereus*	4
		cxviii.
308	*Charinus* sive *Cœrinus* —	1
307	*Anaxicrates* — —	2
306	*Coræbus* sive *Corybus*	3
305	*Xenippus* sive *Euxinippus*	4
		cxix.
304	*Pherecles* — —	1
303	*Leostratus* — —	2
302	*Nicocles* — —	3
301	*Calliarchus* —	4
		cxx.
300	*Hegamachus* —	1
299	*Euctemon* — —	2
298	*Mnesidemus* —	3
297	*Antiphates* —	4
		cxxi.

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
296	*Nicias* — —	1
295	*Nichostratus* —	2
294	*Olympiodorus* —	3
293	*Philippus* — —	4
		cxxii.
290	*Philippus* — —	3
		cxxv.
279	*Gorgias* — —	2
278	*Anaxicrates* — —	3
277	*Democles* — —	4
		cxxvii.
271	*Pytharatus* —	2
		cxxix.
264	*Diognetes* — —	1
		clx.
140	*Antitheus* — —	1
		clxxx.
60	*Herodes* — —	2

As we are obliged to gather the history of *Athens* at the entrance of this period from such historians as have flourished long after the date of the events which they relate, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several that remain, we know nothing more than that they were archons in such a year, which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better settling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which such and such persons were archons; because anciently the *Athenian* story was better known than that of any other people, and therefore served the purpose of historians in this respect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in *Athens*, the nobility were likewise desirous of preserving it to themselves, and though they frequently found it necessary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients which in the end defeated the designs of the people, and hindred them from attaining that measure of authority they sought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy chosen by the people, but they were chosen out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the ancient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, *viz.* that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for as yet the *Athenians* had no writ-

ten laws, but every magiſtrate acted according to the principles of natural equity[d].

The more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the leſs eaſily were they governed. Merchants from *Syria* and *Egypt*, very probably gave them firſt to underſtand the expediency of written laws, which might ſerve to rule the magiſtrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the *Athenians* would not be at reſt without them. The ſame ſpirit which had compelled former alterations in government, made it neceſſary now that laws ſhould be compiled, and therefore the nobility pitched upon *Draco* to undertake this arduous employment (B).

Draco. Year of the flood 1725. Before Chriſt 623.

Draco was archon in the ſecond, though ſome ſay in the laſt year of the thirty-ninth olympiad, when it is ſuppoſed he publiſhed his laws. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in hiſtory, yet we no where find ſo much as ten lines together relating to him and his inſtitutions, which is certainly the reaſon that the collectors of *Greek* hiſtory have written ſo ſuperficially about them. We cannot pretend to ſupply their deficiencies; but from the ſcattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the beſt account of him and his laws that we can. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endowed with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a great lover of his country, but at the ſame time ſevere in his temper, and extremely *rigid* in the rules which he had laid down for the government of *Athens*[e]. He eſteemed the taking of life away ſo high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds

His character.

[d] Snidas in Δραχων. [e] A. Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. ii. c. 18. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græcos. Clem. Strom. l. i.

(B) When it is ſaid that *Draco* firſt gave laws to the *Athenians*, it muſt be underſtood in an extenſive ſenſe; for otherwiſe it is certain, that *Ceres* was the firſt who taught the *Athenians* to lead a ſocial life, and to become ſubject to the wiſeſt among them, that their wiſdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed, that *Ceres* gave theſe laws by her favourite *Triptolemus*; and we are farther told what thoſe laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; *Honour your parents*; *Worſhip the gods*; *Hurt not animals* (5). Theſe precepts were retained likewiſe by *Draco*, and made the very foundation of his inſtitutions; yet, notwithſtanding all this, he was, in the ſenſe we uſually take the word *in*, *the* legiſlator of the *Athenians*, ſince he firſt reſtrained the magiſtrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal, and in what manner ſuch as committed them ſhould be puniſhed.

(5) *Porphyr. de Abſtinentia.*

of

of men, he ordained that proceſs ſhould be carried on even againſt inanimate things, if they had accidentally cauſed the death of any perſon. So that for inſtance a ſtatue which had fallen upon or killed a man, was baniſhed, it being rendered criminalfor any one to keep it in *Attica* [f]. Happy had it been for himſelf and for his country, if the ſame ſpirit of humanity had reigned throughout his inſtitutions; but ſo it was, that he puniſhed all things with death, even indolence, and the taking an apple was as ſeverely puniſhed as ſacrilege, for which he himſelf aſſigned this reaſon; *ſmall faults ſeem to me worthy of death, and for the moſt flagrant offences, I can find no higher puniſhment* [g]. The care of executing theſe laws he entruſted chiefly with the *Ephetæ*, a court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many reſpects, whence he is by ſome ſaid to have inſtituted it, but that is a miſtake. He did indeed make it ſuperior to the *Areopagus*, to which it was before inferior, and *Solon* reſtoring the precedency of the laſt-mentioned court has been by a like miſtake reported to be the inſtitutor thereof [h]. *Draco* was far in years when he gave laws to *Athens*; ſome have been of opinion that he borrowed moſt of his principles from the books of the *Phœnicians*, but this can hardly be proved [i]; certain it is that his inſtitutions were not ſtiled *Nomoi*, but *Theſmoi*, i. e. not laws but ſanctions, as if they proceeded from more than human wiſdom [k]; but this did not hinder their falling into diſlike with the *Athenians*, even in his life-time; and as their diſlike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from *Athens*, from whence he went to the iſland of *Ægina*, where he was received with the higheſt reſpect; but the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him, than the hatred of the *Athenians*. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience to ſhew their regard for him, threw, as the cuſtom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of theſe being very great, they ſtifled the old man, who was too weak to diſengage himſelf from the load, their inconſiderate kindneſs caſt over him [l]. *Ariſtotle* tells us, that *Herodicus* was wont to ſay, *That his inſtitutions ſeem rather to have come from a dragon than a man*, alluding to his name [m], and *Demades* rendered himſelf famous by obſerving, *that* Draco's *laws were not written with* ink, *but* blood [n]. It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the

His laws.

Obliged to retire from Athens.

His death.

[f] Pausan. Attic. [g] Plutarch. in vita Solon. [h] Potter's Archæolog. Vol. I. p. 102. [i] Joseph. cont. Apion. [k] Ælian. hiſt. var. l. viii. c. 10. [l] Hesych. Illuſt. de Philoſ. [m] Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Solon.

Athenian people made that legiſlator have recourſe to ſo harſh a method; for that he was not of altogether ſo ſavage a temper as he is generally repreſented may be probably conjectured from thoſe fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by time, and from the knowledge we have of his being ſtrongly inclined to poetry, a ſtudy ſeldom agreeable to cruel minds [o] (C).

War with the Mitylenæans. *Year of the flood* 1742. *Before Chriſt* 606.

NOTHING conſiderable happened at *Athens* from the time of *Draco*'s archonſhip till that republic engaged herſelf in a war with the *Mitylenæans* about the city of *Sigeum*, which was ſeated near the mouth of the river *Scamander*; the *Athenian* army was commanded by *Phrynon*, a perſon equally remarkable for the comelineſs of his form, and the generoſity of his mind. The *Mitylenæans* were commanded in chief by *Pittacus*, one of the famous ſages of *Greece*; as theſe commanders looked on the honour of their ſeveral countries to be engaged in this buſineſs, they exerted their utmoſt abilities with equal ſucceſs. At laſt theſe chiefs met in ſingle combat, wherein *Phrynon* depended on his valour only, but *Pittacus* made uſe of craft; for concealing behind his ſhield a net, he

[o] Vide Note (C).

(C) *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks very ſlightly of *Draco*'s laws. He ſays, they had nothing extraordinary in them, except their cruelty (6); which expreſſion, as I apprehend, has given occaſion to the cenſures of many other authors. With reſpect to *Draco*'s laws, what fragments ſtill remain put it not in our power to decide either for him or againſt him. *Porphyry* hath preſerved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlaſting law in *Attica*, that the gods are to be worſhipped, and the heroes alſo, according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors, and in private only, with good words, firſt-fruits, and annual libations (7). This ſeems to have been a commentary on *Triptolemus*'s laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worſhipped. *Heſychius* (8) mentions a law, whereby a perſon eaſing himſelf in the temple of *Apollo*, was adjudged to ſuffer death. It is highly likely, that amidſt the diſturbances which made laws neceſſary, *Draco* ſaw, or at leaſt thought he ſaw, a neceſſity of puniſhing very ſeverely, ſince the licentiouſneſs of the people was grown to ſuch a pitch, that nothing but harſh meaſures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant ſeverity of his *Theſmoi* or *Sanctions*, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from ſtriking deep, ſo that by degrees they growing into diſſuetude, the commonwealth ſtood more in need of new laws, than ever ſhe ſtood in need of *Draco*'s.

(6) *Ariſt. Polit. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. *Thyſ. Coll. leg. Ath. & Rom.*

(7) *De Abſtinent.*

(8) *Ap. Aut.*

therewith

therewith ſuddenly entangled *Phrynon*, and eaſily ſlew him; but this not putting an end to the war, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, interpoſed, and both parties having ſubmitted the diſpute to his arbitration, he decreed that *Sigeum* ſhould belong to the *Athenians*. This happened in the third year of the forty-third olympiad [p] (D).

ABOUT ſeven years after this war was ended, *Athens* was torn by civil diſſentions; *Cylon*, a man of a moſt ancient family, ſon-in-law to *Theagenes*, tyrant of *Megara*, whoſe affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whoſe great riches procured him many dependants, formed in his own mind a deſign of ſeizing the ſupreme power; this he communicated to ſuch as he thought fit to be truſted with ſo important a ſecret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to conſult the oracle of *Apollo*, when would be the fitteſt time for them to put this deſign in execution. The oracle anſwered, *When the citizens were employed in celebrating the higheſt feaſt to* Jupiter. *Cylon* and his aſſociates waited therefore for the forty-fifth olympiad, and when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games, the conſpirators made themſelves maſters of the citadel. *Megacles*, who was at that time archon with his eight aſſociates, and the whole power of *Athens*, immediately beſieged them therein, and *Cylon* and his party found themſelves ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed, eſpecially for proviſions and water, that they knew not what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their eſcape, but the meaner ſort were left to ſhift for themſelves [q]. In this extremi-

Cylon *forms a conſpiracy to ſeize the ſupreme power.* Year of the flood 1749. Before Chriſt 599.

[p] POLYÆN. Strateg. lib. i. c. 25. PLUTARCH. de Malign. HERODOT. [q] HERODOT. l. v. THUCYD. lib. i.

(D) The war between the *Mitylenians* and the *Athenians* about the city of *Sigeum*, hath coſt the learned a good deal of trouble. *Herodotus* doth not ſay any thing of *Pittacus*, in the account he gives us of this buſineſs; but *Plutarch* alledges this as one inſtance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any but the *Athenians* juſtice (9). But then *Plutarch*, in commending exceſſively *Pittacus*'s enſnaring *Phrynon*, ſeems to ſpeak him a little prejudiced on that ſide, at leaſt as the rules of honour are now ſettled. *Polyænus* tells this ſtory without making any farther comment thereon, than that *Pittacus* was undoubtedly the firſt inventor of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the *Romans* in their ſhews, but with this difference from *Pittacus*'s behaviour, that the *Retiarius* fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas *Phrynon* thought nothing of a net till he found himſelf intangled in it.

(9) *Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot.*

(10) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 28.*

ty they fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and took sanctuary therein; *Megacles* persuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themselves upon their county; when they assented to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddess, and carried the clew with them to demonstrate that they were still under sanctuary; but unfortunately, as they passed the temple of the furies, the line snapt of itself, and *Megacles* and his officers construing this into a renunciation by the goddess fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as fast as they could: such as were without the temple were immediately dispatched: such as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none escaped but such as bribed the wives of the officers of justice. But this did not put an end to the sedition, the remains of *Cylon*'s faction created great disturbances, not by pretending to domineer over their countrymen, but by insinuating that the violation of *Minerva*'s sanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the misfortunes that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. These discourses had such an effect, that *Megacles* and his officers were stiled *execrable*, and held to be persons under the peculiar displeasure of the gods[r]. What happened in consequence of this we shall shortly see: In the mean time, let us observe that the oracle of *Apollo* justified itself by declaring that *Cylon* and his adherents mistook the feast; that intended by the oracle being the *Diasia* held in *Athens* to the honour of *Jupiter*, and not the olympic games[s] (E).

But fails in his attempt, and is murdered.

WHILE

[r] PLUTARCH. in vita Solon. ubi supra.

[s] DACIER. in Plutarch.

(E) There was for a long time after the democracy took place a strong party against it, who left no measures untried, in order, if possible, to restore their ancient form of government. *Cylon*, as a man of quality, repined at the sudden change of the magistrates, and at the thoughts of asking that as a favour, which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The design of seizing the citadel, if it had succeeded, would, in all probability, have ended the dispute in his favour; but the number he drew together proving far inferior to those who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwise than he expected, and to endure a siege where he hoped to make a conquest (11). In the citadel, there were two temples to *Minerva*; that seated in the middle was stiled *Parthenion*, alluding to her constant preservation of her virginity: it was afterwards burnt by the *Persians*, but repaired by *Pericles*, with such skill as well as

(11) *Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in vit. Solonis.*

WHILE *Athens* was in this confusion the *Megarensians* attacked *Nisea*, and having taken it afterwards, drove the *Athenians* out of *Salamis*, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the *Megarensians*, continually victorious, cut off such numbers of them, that at last, despairing of success, and afflicted with the mighty loss they had received, the *Athenians* made a law that it should be capital for any one to propose to attempt the recovery of *Salamis* [t]. About this time also the city was exceedingly disturbed with superstitious fears, and frightful appearances; this moved them to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and the answer they received was, that the city must be *expiated*. Upon this *Nicias* was sent to *Crete* to bring from thence *Epimenides* the *Phestian*, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. He coming to *Athens* took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the *Areopagus*, and turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. *Epimenides* directed also many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, *viz.* the chapel of *Contumely*, and the chapel of *Impudence*. He is reported to have looked wistfully on the port of *Munychia* for a long time, and afterwards to have said to those who were near him, *How blind is man to future things, for did the* Athenians *foresee what mischief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth* [u]. This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and seventy years after, when *Antipater* constrained the *Athenians* to admit his garrison into that place. During his stay at *Athens* he became intimately acquainted with *Solon*, who was already taken notice of for his shining parts and admirable moderation. As for *Epimenides*, the *Athenians*

The Megarensians *take* Nisea *and* Salamis.

Epimenides *sent for.*

His prediction.

[t] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. vita Epimen.

[u] DIOGEN. LAERTIUS, in

as magnificence, that the remains thereof are to this day admirable, and shew it to have been one of the finest structures in the world (12). As to the proceeding against *Cylon*'s confederates, it was against the common custom of *Greece*, and might very well alarm a nation so prone to superstition as the *Athenians* were; for though they had the quickest wits of all the inhabitants of *Greece*, yet, in these respects, they were more scrupulous than any other people, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, when we come to speak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

(12) *Cecropia. Wheeler's Voyages.*

thenians

thenians were highly satisfied with what he did for them, and in token of their gratitude, offered him presents of great value and considerable honours; but he requested only a branch of the sacred olive; and this being given him, he returned well satisfied to *Crete* [x] (F).

It

[x] Plutarch. in vita Solón.

(F) This *Epimenides* was a very extraordinary person. *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that he was the inventor of the art of lustrating or cleansing houses, or rather, that he was the first that lustrated houses or fields, which, if spoken of *Greece*, may be true, for *Moses* had long before taught something of this nature to the *Jews*. This was practised on the great day of attonement, which might very well be called the annual lustration of *Israel*. Upon that day the priest took for himself a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the priest offered for himself; then he cast lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of *Jehovah*, and was offered; the other *Azazel*, or, as we translate it, the scape-goat; the latter was presented also before the altar of God, and the priest laying his hands upon him, confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel*, and all their transgressions, which *Moses* calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then sent away into the wilderness, *because he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of separation* (13). The reader will easily see that we have given this account of the scape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is said of *Epimenides's* method of cleansing the city of *Athens*, which has a visible resemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied therefrom, or from the custom of some other eastern nations, which originally borrowed it from the *Hebrews*. There were however other ceremonies practised for the same purpose. *Tzetzes*, in his poetical chronicle, has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which lustrations were made, their causes and effects.

Thus was in ancient times lustration made:
When any city groan'd beneath the weight
Of famine, plague, or worse calamity,
Forthwith a grateful *victim* was prepared,
Which at the holy altar when they'd placed,
They cast upon the pile, cheese, cakes, and figs;
Then striking quick seven times its genitals
With sea leeks, and wild figs, and other fruits
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees,
Next tow'rds the wind the sportive ashes cast
Upon the sea; thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city laboured, drove away (14).

As to *Epimenides*, *Strabo* reports that he made a great use of verses and of hymns in his purifi-

(13) *Leviticus* xvi.

(14) *Tzetzes. Chil. Hist. v.* 93.

Solon. Year of the flood 751. Before Christ 597.

IT was about this time that *Solon*, whom we before mentioned, began to shew himself to his countrymen, and to display those rare qualities which rendered him so deservedly beloved while living, and which have preserved uninjured for so long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every respect formed to make a figure in the *Athenian* commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he descended lineally from *Codrus*; his mother was nearly related to the mother of *Pisistratus*, and he had a brother whose name was *Dropides*, who was archon the year after himself[y]. We are told that he was born at *Salamis*; however, we think that may be doubted from certain verses of his, which we shall have occasion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generosity of his father left *Solon* in no very happy condition; this, as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandize, though he might otherwise have subsisted well enough by the assistance of his friends; but this did not suit that greatness of soul which he inherited; he chose therefore to travel, and to merchandize, that he might live independent at home on his return, and not suffer that house to receive kindnesses, whose custom it had been to bestow them. It is plain both from his actions and his writings, that he was a disinterested patriot. The shameful decree, that none under pain of death should mention the recovery of *Salamis*, grieved him to the

[y] DIOG. LAERT. vit. Solon.

purifications (15); and *Suidas* tells us, that he wrote in verse many rules and instructions for these sort of rites (16). *Laertius* reports, that as he was about to mark out a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction, *not to the* nymphs, *but to* Jupiter. Besides the prophecy before-mentioned relating to the haven *Manychia*, *Epimenides* uttered another during his stay at *Athens*; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the *Persian* power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, for that the *Persians* would not for many years attempt any thing against the *Greeks*, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they fought to destroy (17). Having related such strange things of this prophet and philosopher, it will not be amiss to close this note with observing, that the sacred olive mentioned above, was the tree produced by *Minerva* when she contended with *Neptune*, and that *Aristotle* was a downright infidel, with respect to the stories of *Epimenides*'s foretelling future events; that famous sage being of opinion our lustrator's talents lay quite another way, *viz.* in discovering what old crimes had produced present punishments, and how attonement might be made, and those ills taken away.

(15) *Geogr. lib.* x. (16) *In voce* Επιμ. (17) *In vit. Epimenid.*

heart;

heart; he therefore compoſed an elegy conſiſting of an hundred verſes, to inflame the minds of the people againſt the *Megarenſians*, who had taken from them that iſland. Having digeſted this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market-place as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and aſcending the ſtool of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had compoſed to the people who gathered round him; that poem began thus:

From *Salamis*, behold a cryer come,
Who brings you news, in nervous verſes home.

But the moſt moving ſtrokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following verſes:

Rather than *Athens*, would I ow'd my birth,
To *Pholegondrian*, or *Sicinian* earth;
Since men will ſay where-ever I am toſt,
He's of that daſtard race, who *Salamis* have loſt.

It ended thus:

To *Salamis* let us renew our claim,
And with the iſle reſtored, reſtore our fame.

Perſuades the Athenians *to attempt the recovery of* Salamis.

Piſiſtratus, who, as we before obſerved, was his near relation, mixed himſelf with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he, by his perſuaſive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which *Solon* had kindled by his verſes, ſo that of a ſudden the ſentiments of the *Athenians* were wholly changed, and they determined to aſſert their right to *Salamis*, and decreed a war accordingly. It is not eaſy to ſay who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition; ſome ſay *Solon*, and that *Piſiſtratus* accompanied him; others ſay that *Piſiſtratus* went general, and that *Solon* aſſiſted him with his advice[z] (G).

[z] Plut. Diog. Laert. Pausan. &c.

(G) The name of *Solon*'s father was *Euphorion*, or, as moſt writers affirm, *Execeſtides*, and we know nothing more of him, than that notwithſtanding his liberality, and the nobility of his deſcent, he was far from being conſiderable in *Athens*. *Ariſtotle* reckons *Solon* himſelf among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth is, that *Solon* was never rich, it may be becauſe he was always honeſt: ſomething of this ſort ſeems to be implied in the following verſes, which are accounted excellent:

Many unjuſt grow rich, and pious poor;
We would not change our virtue for their ſtore;
For conſtant virtue is a ſolid baſe,
Riches from man to man uncertain paſs (19).

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in thoſe days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon

[(19) *Plutarch. in vita Solonis.*

THERE are various accounts of the manner in which *Salamis* was again reduced under the *Athenian* power; the moſt current ſtory is, that *Solon* coming with *Piſiſtratus* to *Colias*, and finding the women buſy there in celebrating, according to the cuſtom, the feaſt of *Ceres*, ſent a confident of his to *Salamis*, who pretending to be no friend to that people, told the inhabitants that, if they had a mind to ſeize the faireſt of the *Athenian* ladies, they might do it by paſſing over to *Colias*. The *Megarenſians* giving eaſy credit to what this man ſaid, preſently fitted out a ſhip, which *Solon* perceiving from the oppoſite ſhore, immediately diſmiſſed the women, and having dreſſed a ſufficient number of beardleſs youths, in female habits, under which they concealed every one a dagger, he ſent them to the ſea-ſide to dance and divert themſelves as the women were wont to do. When thoſe who came from *Salamis* drew near the coaſt, and ſaw theſe young people ſkipping up and down, they ſtrove who ſhould leap firſt out of the veſſel, and running one and all to catch theſe damſels, their ſhip was ſurprized, themſelves murdered, and the *Athenians* embarking on board their veſſel, ſailed immediately to *Salamis* and took it. *Polyænus* has inſerted this relation, and *Plutarch* alſo admits that it was the current ac-

By what ſtratagem recovered.

upon his hands, he wrote and publiſhed a great many poems; certain it is that all he did in this way deſerves the higheſt commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his ſubjects uſeful and ſublime, and therefore *Plato* had juſt reaſon to ſay that if he had finiſhed all his poems, and particularly the hiſtory he brought out of *Egypt*, and had taken time to reviſe and correct them as others did, neither *Homer*, *Heſiod*, or any other ancient poet would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himſelf, he had a juſt and high idea of the power of verſe, which he thought capable of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in proſe with peculiar neatneſs of expreſſion and perſpicuity.

It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a perſon not only of exalted virtue, but of a moſt pleaſant and agreeable temper. He loved ſociety, and made it his buſineſs to promote the welfare thereof, he conſidered men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue, and their proneneſs to evil in his view, adapting his laws ſo as to ſtrengthen and ſupport the one, and to check and keep under the other; his inſtitutions are as remarkable for their ſweetneſs and practability, as thoſe of *Lycurgus* are for harſhneſs and forcing human nature. The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion as to the character of *Solon*, ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary for the framing a right idea of his conduct as a legiſlator.

(20) *In Times.*

count;

count; he tells us however that others had related it after this manner: The first thing *Solon* did after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to consult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, from whom he received this response;

Let sacrifice be to those heroes paid,
Who under the *Asopian* ground are laid,
And dead, are by the setting sun survey'd.

Solon took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was so happy as to interpret it right. He guessed that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were *Periphemus* and *Cychris*, he sailed therefore by night to *Salamis*, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five-hundred *Athenian* volunteers, who in case they succeeded, were to have the government of the island. These imbarqued in a galley of thirty oars, and in a considerable number of fishing boats, and setting sail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the isle of *Salamis* which looked towards *Eubœa*. The next morning the whole island was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account; at last the *Athenian* gally was descried, the *Megarensians* thereupon manned out a stout ship, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a sudden surrounded by *Solon*'s armed boats, and quickly taken. The *Athenians* having put to death all the men surprized in this vessel, filled it with their choicest youth, dressed in *Megarensian* habits, which procured them an easy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haste on shore, and attacked those who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the *Athenians* marched by land and attacked the city on the other side with such fury, that it was speedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event, they instituted a solemn feast, during which an *Athenian* ship came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on shore, and ran towards the promontory *Sciradium* as if to join his companions, who had marched by land. Near this place there stood a temple to *Mars*, which was supposed to have been erected by *Solon* in memory of this victory, which put the *Athenians* in possession of the whole island, the rest of the *Megarensians* retiring to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Solon*. The *Megarensians* so highly resented the loss of *Salamis*, that, notwithstanding the treaty, they presently sent new forces thither, against whom the *Athenians* fought, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune. At last it was decreed to leave this dispute to the *Lacedæmonians*, who commissioned the five following persons, viz. *Critolaides*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas*, and *Cleomenes*, to hear both parties. *Solon* pleaded

Different accounts of the taking of Salamis.

on

on this occaſion the cauſe of his country, and ſome have ſuggeſted that he practiſed a little fraud to make it go the better; they ſay, that finding the following verſe in *Homer*,

Ajax from *Salamis* twelve frigates brought,

he added thereto,

And rang'd his troops where the *Athenians* fought.

FROM whence he would have inferred, that *Salamis* even at that time belonged to the *Athenians*. But the friends of *Solon* aſſert that this is an idle ſtory, and that their great orator made uſe of quite another proof; he made it appear, ſay they, that *Philæus* and *Euryſaces* the ſons of *Ajax* ſettled at *Athens*, and being received into the number of citizens, gave up that iſland to the *Athenians*, *Philæus* becoming ſo conſiderable a perſon, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, the perſons buried in *Salamis* lay with their faces to the weſt, agreeable to the cuſtom of the *Athenians*, and directly contrary to that of the *Megarenſians*, who turned the faces of their dead towards the eaſt, and that moreover only one perſon was laid in a grave, which likewiſe correſponded with the practice of the *Athenians*, and differed from the *Megarenſian* cuſtom, which was to bury three or four in one grave [a]. It would be needleſs to trouble the reader with any farther circumſtances of this debate; let it ſuffice then to ſay that we are informed by *Ælian*, that *Solon* carried his cauſe, not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of ſtrong argument, urged in plain and perſpicuous terms [b].

The claim of the Athenians to Salamis on what founded.

ON the return of *Solon* to *Athens* he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occaſion of admiring his wiſdom. It happened that the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a town ſeated in the bay of *Corinth*, after having by repeated incurſions waſted the territory of *Delphi*, beſieged the city itſelf from a greedy deſire of making themſelves maſters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of *Apollo*. Advice of this being ſent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the ſtates-general of *Greece*, *Solon* adviſed that this matter ſhould be univerſally reſented, and that all the *Greek* ſtates ſhould immediately join in ſaving the *Delphic* oracle, and puniſhing the impiety of the *Cirrhæans*; with which the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war againſt that people. *Solon* was not however appointed general of this expedition, as *Hermippus* from another author relates, nor did he command the *Athenian* troops. *Clyſthenes*, tyrant of *Sicyon*, commanded in chief, and *Alcmæon* was general of the *Athenian* quota;

A general war decreed againſt the Cirrhæans

[a] PLUT. in vita SOLONI DIOGEN. LAERT. [b] Var. Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 19.

Solon

Solon went however as counſellor or aſſiſtant to *Clyſthenes*, and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a proſperous iſſue. For when the *Greek* army had beſieged *Cirrha* ſome time without any great ſign of ſucceſs, *Apollo* was conſulted, who anſwered,

In vain you hope to take the place before
The ſea's blue waves roll o'er the hallow'd ſhore.

THIS reſponſe ſtruck the army with ſurprize, from whence *Solon* extricated them by adviſing *Clyſthenes* to conſecrate ſolemnly the whole territories of *Cirrha* to the *Delphic Apollo*, whence it would follow that the ſea muſt waſh the ſacred coaſt [c]. *Pauſanias* tells us that he made uſe of another ſtratagem, which was this; he cauſed the channel of the river *Pliſtus* to be turned, which ran through the city of *Cirrha*, hoping thereby to have diſtreſſed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his ſcheme did not thoroughly ſucceed, which as ſoon as he perceived, he cauſed a great number of helebore roots to be ſliced and thrown into the *Pliſtus*, and when the water was thoroughly impregnated with the juice of theſe roots, he cauſed the river to be turned back into its old channel. The *Cirrhæans*, overjoyed at the ſight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof; upon this an epidemic flux enſued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was preſently taken. Some authors have attributed this to *Clyſthenes*, but that was becauſe he commanded in chief, and *Solon* was no more than his counſellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were ſeverely puniſhed, and *Cirrha* became henceforward the arſenal of *Delphi* [d].

The city of Cirrha *by what means reduced.*

WHEN *Solon* returned home from this expedition he found all things out of order, the remnant of *Cylon*'s faction began to gather ſtrength, and to excite mighty diſturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their ſource from the anger of the gods, occaſioned by the impious cruelty of *Megacles* and his faction. It happened that the loſs of *Salamis* a ſecond time coincided with this clamour, and now, as many writers report, *Epimenides* came and luſtrated the city, which *indeed* is highly probable, if there were but ſufficient authority to fix his arrival at *Athens* ſo low as this ſedition muſt have happened. But to return to the proper ſubject of our hiſtory: *Solon* interpoſed on this occaſion, and perſuaded thoſe who were ſtiled execrable to abide a trial. To this when they had con-

New diſturbances in Athens.

[c] PLUT. in vita Solon. [d] PAUSAN. in Phocicis. POLYÆN. Strat. lib. iii. p. 7. SUIDAS in voce Σολων.

sented, three-hundred persons were chosen to judge them, one *Myron* of the *Phlyensian* ward taking upon him to prosecute, which he did with such effect, that the three-hundred condemned such of *Megacles*'s faction as were living, to perpetual banishment, and caused the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country; thus this sedition was appeased, and *Athens* became once more at rest [e].

The mutineers condemned to perpetual banishment

The turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of *Attica* would not suffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their constitution, though they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes divided the *Athenians* into three parties, the *Diacrii*, *Pediæi*, and *Parali*; the first of these were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared positively for perfect democracy; the second dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, supposing that the government would then be for the most part in their hands; the third party living on the coast were men of moderate principles, and in consequence thereof desired a mixt government. In the midst of these debates there sprung up a new cause of trouble; the rich taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer sort in such a manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as *Plutarch* tells us, being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of the produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, so that some were made slaves at home, and many sold abroad; nay, to such a pitch was this mischief grown, that many sold their children to pay their creditors, and others in despair quitted *Attica* and went elsewhere. Such however as had more spirits than the rest were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be born; these began to look about for a leader, declaring openly enough that they intended to make a thorough change in the government to free such as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a repartition of lands. In this desperate situation the citizens in general cast their eyes upon *Solon*. Those who were in the greatest fear of what might happen from present troubles were for exalting him to the sovereignty; nay, the most prudent *Athenians*, when they considered how difficult a thing it would be to reform so disordered a commonwealth by law and reason, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewise asserted that the oracle of *Apollo* advised the same thing in the following response directed to *Solon*:

Three different factions in Athens.

Disturbances raised by the debtors.

Some are for raising Solon to the sovereignty.

[e] Plutarch. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. in vita Solonis.

Aſſume the helm, the ſhip with prudence guide,
And thouſands will aſſiſt to ſtem the tide (H).

Which he declines.

It was upon this occaſion that *Solon* ſhewed a ſpirit of patriotiſm which perhaps never had its equal: He condeſcended ſo far as to make uſe of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatneſs of ſoul diſſembled with and cheated both parties, that he might ſave all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wiſh, and might have done his country good too; he refuſed this as far as it might have benefited himſelf, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people; thus he demonſtrated that neither fear nor indolence had any ſhare in his reſolution [f].

Is choſen Archon.

He was choſen archon without having recourſe to lots, and when he was choſen he diſappointed the hopes of both parties; where-ever he found things tolerable well under the old conſtitution, he refuſed to alter them at all, and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reaſon and neceſſity of thoſe changes he did make, laying this down as a maxim, *That*

[f] Plutarch. ubi ſup. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

(H) What rendered *Solon* ſo popular was a ſaying of his which all liked, and few underſtood; it was this, *Equality breeds no ſtrife*; the rich interpreted this of dignity and power; the poor of riches and eſtate. Thoſe therefore who agreed in nothing elſe, were unanimous in their reſpect towards him; the rich were contented to ſubmit to his deciſions, becauſe he was himſelf a man of fortune, and the poor dreading nothing from one ſo mild in temper, and ſo remarkably honeſt. The private friends of *Solon* encouraged him to lay hold of ſo fair an opportunity, and to aſſume the royal dignity, adding, that it was a ſhame ſo wiſe a man ſhould be frighted with a name, and reject a legal ſovereignty, becauſe it reſembled tyranny. This great man withſtood alike the deſires of the many, and the perſuaſions of the few: he aſſured the former, that he would never become maſter of his countrymen; and he told the latter, that how fair a ſpot ſoever tyranny might ſeem, it had this misfortune, that it had no paſſage out; and when his intimates laught at this reſolution of his, and quoted the example of *Tynondas* tyrant of *Eubœa*, and *Pittacus*, at that time prince of *Mitylene*, he contented himſelf with writing thus to *Phocus*, who it ſeems preſſed him moſt, to ſhew that he was ſteady in his reſolution:

That I have *Athens* ſpar'd, preſerv'd my fame,
Nor ſoil'd my glory with a tyrant's name:
That when I might have kill'd, I choſe to ſave,
I bluſh not, for I think the action brave:
And that I have done more than moſt men have.

those

those laws will be best observed which power and justice equally support. He was a perfect judge of human nature, and sought to rule men by shewing them it was their interest to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he esteemed right, and therefore he answered a person who asked him *whether he had given the* Athenians *the best laws in his power*; *I have establish'd the best they could receive*; knowing well that it was an impossible thing to please all, he made it his utmost care not mightily to displease any, whence it followed, that none sought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

Solon composes the dissention of the Athenians.

As to the main occasion of the sedition, *viz.* the oppressed state of the meaner sort, he certainly took it away in a great measure by a contrivance which he stiled *Sisachthia*, i. e. a *discharge*; but what this was, authors are not agreed on; some say that he released all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm that the poor were eased, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the interest, and increasing the value of money, a *Mina* which before was worth seventy-three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable that the *Sisachthia* was a total discharge or remission, otherwise *Solon* would hardly have boasted in his verses, that by this means he had removed the many marks of mortgages which were every where frequent; for the *Athenians* had a custom of hanging up billets to shew that houses were engaged for such or such a sum of money; that he had freed from apprehension such as were driven to despair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage such as were slaves in their native soil. In the midst of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almost overturned all his schemes. *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*, his intimate friends, having been consulted by him on an oration, he had prepared to engage the people to consent to the discharge of debts, on a promise that he would attempt nothing as to lands; these men betraying the trust he reposed in them, borrowed great sums of money, and purchased estates before the edict came out; this was at first thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this aspersion was presently wiped off, when it appeared that *Solon* himself was a sufferer, as some say, five talents, others seven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at interest, and which in consequence of his own law he lost: his friends however could never recover their credit, but were for ever stigmatized

The ungenerous conduct of three of his friends.

Groundless aspersions against Solon.

with the opprobrious appellation of *Chreocopidæ*, i. e. *Debt-Sinkers* [g].

THE *Athenians* were as little pleased with *Solon*'s management as with their former condition, the rich and the poor being equally dissatisfied; the former thought he had done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, because he had not divided the lands of *Attica* equally amongst them. It is from *Solon* himself that we have this account, and we have it in his usual manner, that is, in verse:

I was your darling heretofore, but now,
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a sal'ry with his place.

IN a short time however they had wit enough to discover they were in the wrong, and *Solon* in the right, and they gave at least a more public, if not a more general token of their repentance, than they had shewn of their displeasure; for they instituted a solemn sacrifice in testimony of their acquiescing under the institution, and called it *Sisacthia*, at the same time they unanimously elected *Solon* legislator of *Athens*, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their constitution as he thought proper [h].

Is declared legislator of Athens.

THE first thing this great man did after his country had conferred upon him so extraordinary an office, was to *cancel* the laws of *Draco*, excepting only those relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, since there is nothing more dishonourable, and at the same time more dangerous to a state than latent laws, *i. e.* such as are disused and yet in being, which was the case of *Draco*'s; their severity rendered them hateful, but *Solon* took away their authority; nor would he suffer his institutions to bear the same name, as we have already shewn. It was the desire of *Solon* to act in all respects moderately, he therefore resolved to place the dernier resort, as we phrase it, or supreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the first of these consisted of such whose stock amounted to five-hundred *Medimni*, or measures of fruit, these he stiled *Pentacosimedimni*, and they paid a talent to the publick treasury. The second class consisted of such as were able to keep a horse, or were worth three-hundred measures, they were stiled *Hippodatelountes*, i. e. bound to find a horse; the third class was made up of such as were worth two hundred measures, they were stiled *Zeugites*, which implies a middle rank, because

Cancels the laws of Draco.

Divides the people into four ranks.

[g] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. [h] PLUTARCH. ubi supra, &c.

they

they ſtood between the knights of the loweſt order of the people, who were ſtiled *Thetes*; theſe were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general aſſembly of the people, which was thought at firſt a matter of little conſequence, ſo that the nobility gave themſelves no pain about it, though in after times it was found of the higheſt conſequence, as *Solon* foreſaw it would be; the reaſon of it was this: *Solon* purpoſely drew up his laws in obſcure terms, and allowing in all caſes an appeal to the people, doubts often aroſe, appeals were conſequently frequent, and hence, though the common ſort could not attain to magiſtracy, yet they had a mighty power in the ſtate (I).

HEREIN conſiſted the ancient democracy of *Athens*; but becauſe that kind of government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, *Solon* in order to ſecure it, eſtabliſhed two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make uſe of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to ſecure it. The firſt of theſe was the court of *Areopagus*, which though ſettled long before, had loſt much of its power by *Draco*'s preferring the *Ephetæ*. In ancient times, and till *Solon* became legiſlator, it conſiſted of ſuch perſons as were moſt conſpicuous in the ſtate for their wealth, power, and probity; but *Solon* made it a rule that ſuch only ſhould have a ſeat therein as had ſerved the office of archon; this had the effect he deſigned, it raiſed the reputation of the *Areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees ſo wonderfully venerable, that none conteſted or repined at them through a long courſe of ages. The ſecond ſtay of the *Athenian* commonwealth was the ſenate, which *Solon* made to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. Theſe had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be propoſed to the general aſſembly till digeſted by them, ſo that as far as he was able, he provided againſt a thirſt of arbitrary power in the rich, and a deſire of licentious freedom in the commons; the *Areopagus* being a check upon the former, as the ſenate was a curb on the latter [i].

Raiſes the reputation of the Areopagites.

The ſenate.

[i] POLLUX lib. viii. cap. 10 PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. POTTER's Archeologia. MEURSIUS. SOLON. &c.

(I) *Solon* himſelf was ſo well ſatisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in theſe words, which ſhew at once what regard he had for their ancient conſtitution, and for the people in general:

The commons I ſufficient weight allowed;
Honour from none I took, on none beſtowed;
In power or wealth, thoſe who the reſt outſhin'd,
Within juſt bounds I by my laws confined;
Thus I preſerv'd, what did to each belong;
That neither high, nor low, might ſuffer wrong.

THE general frame of the republic thus ſettled, he gave the *Athenians* next a body of laws, of which we have ſtill ſome remaining; theſe were ſo much eſteemed that the *Romans* ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* to tranſcribe them for the uſe of their ſtate. As theſe tranſcribed laws became the baſis of the *Roman Juriſprudence*, which has ſince been received almoſt throughout *Europe* under the name of the civil law; we may with reaſon affirm, that many of *Solon*'s conſtitutions are yet in force. Such as are aſcribed to him by ancient authors we ſhall give a conciſe account of in this place.

His laws.

WE will begin with one of the moſt extraordinary ſtatutes enacted by this lawgiver, and which has given politicians the moſt trouble to underſtand; we are obliged to *A. Gellius* for preſerving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus: "If through diſcord and diſſenſion any ſedition or inſurrec-
"tion rend the people into two parties, ſo that with exaſpe-
Relating to ſeditious. "rated minds they take arms and fight againſt each other;
"he who at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a caſe ſhall not engage
"himſelf on one ſide or other, ſhall endeavour to retire and
"ſeparate himſelf from the evils fallen on his country, let
"ſuch a one, loſing houſes, country, and eſtate, be ſent out
"an exile [k]." *Plutarch* explains the reaſon of it [m], as does the author firſt cited, who highly commends it, and ſays, that though at firſt ſight it may ſeem dangerous to the *public* peace, yet in truth it was calculated to ſupport it; for the wiſe and juſt, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to chuſe ſome ſide, matters were eaſily accommodated; whereas if the latter only, as is generally the caſe with other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reaſons be continually kept up to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin of the ſtate [n].

His rules relating to heireſſes.

THE rules which *Solon* gave for beſtowing of heireſſes have been very harſhly cenſured; we will put them together, that the reader may ſee the general intent of the legiſlator. The next of kin to an heireſs may require her in marriage, and ſhe may likewiſe require him; if he refuſes, let him pay five hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who poſſeſſeth ſuch an inheritrix by law, as her lord and maſter, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her huſband's neareſt kindred, and let him who has married an heireſs be obliged to viſit her thrice a month at leaſt. The intent of theſe injunctions was, that neither a rich heireſs might carry the eſtate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her

[k] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12. [m] Ubi ſupra. [n] A. GELLIUS ubi ſupra.

birth;

birth; as to the law allowing a woman to have recourse to some of her husband's relations, it might possibly have been made to prevent persons, who knew themselves to be impotent, from marrying such heiresses, and depriving the next relation of his due [o].

He enacted that a bride should bring no more with her than three gowns, and some slight household goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewise brought an earthen pan, wherein barly was parched, to the house of her husband. The meaning of all this was, that *Solon* desired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of the quince implied that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet; the earthen vessel, which was called *Phrogeteon*, signified that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family [p]. *To marriages.*

He ordained that none should revile the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceased. This law procured him great applause, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed that none should revile any living person at sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at publick spectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the person reviled, and two more to the publick treasury. He likewise made a law against slander. This great man knew very well that a general law against anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himself with providing that the passions of private men should not dishonour religious ceremonies, the justice of the state, or publick diversions, and that no passion should excuse calumny [q]. *Forbids to revile the dead or the living.*

Before *Solon*'s time citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and estates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but *Solon*, having abrogated this custom, enacted that such as had no children might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to consanguinity; but then he added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a will should be in the full possession of his senses, not wrought upon by sickness, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife. Wherein he shewed his great wisdom, by making no distinc- *Allows the childless to leave their estates to whom they pleased.*

[o] Plutarch. ubi supra. D. Sicul. lib. xii, Terent. Hecyr. Act. i. scen. ii. [p] Plutarch. ubi supra. Pollux lib. i. cap. 12. 15. Isidor. Epist. lib. iii. E. 243. [q] Plutarch. ubi supra. Demosth. in orat. Leptin.

tion between actual conſtraints, and thoſe impoſed by art, both having the ſame power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewiſe ordained that adopted perſons ſhould make no will, but as ſoon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the eſtates to the relations of the perſons who adopted them [r].

Laws relating to women and their expences.

WITH reſpect to women and their expences he made the following laws; when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, nor to carry any proviſions above the value of an obolus, her pannier or baſket was not to be above a cubit in bigneſs, nor was ſhe allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with the torch-light. He forbad them likewiſe to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of ſuch as they had no relation to: he allowed not that an ox ſhould be ſacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments ſhould be buried with them, and he forbad women to approach the monument of perſons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; theſe laws were particularly tranſcribed by the *Romans* [s].

Relating to idleneſs.

THE liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at *Athens* drawing thither a great concourſe of people from other parts, *Solon* foreſaw that this would have bad conſequences, if ſome means were not deviſed to make theſe people induſtrious; he therefore eſtabliſhed by law that a ſon ſhould be releaſed from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in caſe that father had not bred him up to ſome trade. He veſted the court of *Areopagus* with a power of examining how people lived, and of puniſhing idleneſs: he allowed every man a right to proſecute another for that crime, and in caſe a perſon was convicted of it thrice, he ſuffered *Atimia*, i. e. *Infamy*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree that a law of this kind was in uſe in *Egypt*. It is probable therefore that *Solon*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them, a practice for which the *Greeks* were famous, though at the ſame time they ſtyled thoſe nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed [t].

To adultery, rapes, and proſtitution.

THE huſband who ſurpriſed his wife in adultery was allowed by *Solon* to kill the adulterer; whoever raviſhed a free

[r] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTH. ubi ſupra. [s] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. CICER. de Legib. lib. ii. [t] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. VITRUVIUS. Præfat. lib. vi. HERODOT. lib. vii. DIOD. SICUL. lib. i.

woman

woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debaſed himſelf ſo low as to become a pander, except to a common woman, ſuffered a fine of twenty drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or ſiſter to the ſcandalous trade of proſtitution, unleſs he firſt ſurpriſed her with a man: he enacted that no adultereſs ſhould be permitted to adorn herſelf, and in caſe ſhe did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain [u].

To the rewards at the Iſthmian *and* Olympic *games.*

To the victor at the *Iſthmian* games, *Solon* adjudged the reward of five-hundred drachmæ. To the victor of the *Olympic*, he ordered that one hundred ſhould be given. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon the wreſtlers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes which ought to be ſpent in providing for their families [x].

To the extirpating of wolfs.

He directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a ſhe-one, the former being the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. *Attica* was at this time extremely infeſted by theſe creatures, of which this law occaſioned a ſpeedy deſtruction.

To wells, to the planting of trees.

Water being extremely ſcarce at *Athens*, and in its neighbourhood, he ordained that where there was a public well, all who lived within a *Hippicon*, *i. e.* four furlongs of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived further off were bound to dig wells for themſelves; but if a man digged ten fathom, and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of ſix gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well, and whoever ſunk a well was to take care that it was as far diſtant from his neighbours as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to ſee that it was five foot diſtant from his neighbours, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine; a hive of bees was to be thirty feet diſtant; all theſe tended to the ſame end, *viz.* to prevent one man from treſpaſſing on the property of another [y].

To prodigal perſons.

He enacted that whoever refuſed to maintain his parents, or had waſted his paternal eſtate, ſhould be *atimos*, i. e. *infamous*. It ſeems *Solon* did not conceive that a man could be privately bad and publickly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents ſhould preſerve it to the ſtate, or be frugal of his country's revenue who had ſpent his own [z].

[u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Lysias. Orat. de cæd. Erat. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [y] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Caius de Legib. lib. iv. [z] Liban. Declamat. xviii. Dion. Halyc. lib. ii.

To such as frequented infamous women.

SUCH as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbad to make orations, believing that men without shame were not to be trusted to speak to the people: *Demosthenes* highly commended this law, and exhorted the *Athenians* to take care that it was put in execution, as the surest means to preserve the peace and honour of the republic [a].

To guardians.

HE forbad a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; some say that he forbad likewise a guardian to marry his son to the mother of his ward [b]. All these were beyond question made to hinder collusion, and to bar as far as possible the scandalous practice of cheating minors.

Concerning theft.

HE enjoined gravers to keep no impressions of the seal-rings they sold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed that he should lose both his; as to theft, *Demosthenes* gives us *Solon*'s law in these words; "If any "man steal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven "officers; if he steal any thing by night, it shall be lawful "for any to kill him, or in the pursuit to wound him, "and to carry him to the eleven officers. Whosoever is con-"victed of such offences as are liable to chains, shall not be "capable of giving bail for his theft, but his punishment shall "be death; and if any one steal out of the *Lyceum*, or the "*Academy*, or *Cynosarges*, a garment or a small vessel of "wine, or any other thing of little value, or some *vessel out* "of the gymnasia or havens, he shall be punished with death; "but if any man shall be convicted privately of theft, it shall "be lawful for him to pay a double value, and it shall be also "at the pleasure of the convictor, besides payment of money, "to put him in chains five days, and as many nights, so as "all men may see him bound [c]."

Miscellaneous laws

BY his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be punished with death, *Solon* wisely conceiving that a magistrate guilty of such an offence must be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed that in case a man surprized his wife in adultery, and lived with her afterwards, he should be deemed infamous; he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in case of disobedience to disinherit and turn them out of doors. He condemned such as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or shewed any other flagrant sign of cowardice, to be expelled the sanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worship. He appointed it for a

[a] ÆSCHIN. in Timarch. DEMOST. in Androt. [b] DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra. [c] DEMOSTH. in Timocr.

statute,

ſtatute, that a citizen of *Athens* ſhould be tried no-where but at *Athens*, and that the eldeſt citizens ſhould firſt make orations, but with the greateſt modeſty, and without any endeavours to ſtir the paſſions of the people; afterwards he ordered that all ſhould ſpeak according to their ſeniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young men, however wiſe they might be eſteemed, either to become magiſtrates, or to make orations to the people [d].

His directions concerning funerals.

It was a maxim eſtabliſhed by this wiſe legiſlator, that the common people ſhould be puniſhed ſlowly, but magiſtrates and perſons in authority ſuddenly, aſſigning for it this reaſon, that the former might be puniſhed at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expence of which were in his time exceſſive, *Demoſthenes* recites his directions in theſe words; "Let the dead "bodies be laid out within the houſe, according as the de- "ceaſed gave order, and the day following before ſun-riſe car- "ried forth; whilſt the body is carrying to the grave, let "the men go before, the women follow: It ſhall not be "lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, "and to follow the body to the grave under threeſcore years "of age, except ſuch as are within the degree of couſins [e]." *Cicero* reports that, with reſpect to ſepulchres, he enacted no man ſhould demoliſh them or bring any new thing into them, and that ſuch ſhould be puniſhed as demoliſhed any monument erected to the memory of the dead [f]. From theſe laws of his inſtituting, it appears that his philoſophy did not lead to treſpaſs on thoſe notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he ſought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the ſame time permitted all reaſonable honours to be paid to the memory of ſuch as were defunct.

And monuments.

We will conclude our account of *Solon*'s laws with two or three which had more regard to ſociety, than to the intereſt of private perſons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured another, any *Athenian* might have his action againſt him [g]; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided againſt the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquieſce, yet a perſon of equal rank with the aggreſſor, might, either out of a principle of juſtice or of rivalſhip, commence a proſecution on that account. *Solon* inſtituted feaſts in the common halls under the title of *publick*

Provides againſt the power of the great.

[d] Demosth. ubi ſupra. Æschin. in Chryſip. [e] Orat. in Macart. [f] De Legib. lib. ii. [g] Plut. ubi ſupra.

Meals,

Regulations relating to feasts, naturalizing of strangers, and to the children of such as were slain in the service.

Meals, but he forbad that the same person should be entertained often, and ordered such to be fined as did not come in their turns, ascribing the former offence to greediness, the latter to a contempt of the public [h]. He forbad any strangers to be naturalized at *Athens*, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to *Athens*, had brought their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interest in another place [i]: He provided for the children of such as were slain in the service of the state, by directing that they should be brought up and instructed at the public expence, till they were twenty years old [k]. He made but few laws relating to religion, and against parricides he made none, assigning for it this reason, *that he scarce believed that any* Athenian *would be so wicked* [l].

He corrects the irregularity of months.

He shewed the excellency of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of months; for considering that the course of the moon did not agree with the rising and setting of the sun, but that sometimes she overtook and passed him in the same day, he ordered such a day to be called the last and the first, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon and that which succeeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called *Noumenia*, i. e. the new moon, and for these alterations he is reckoned by *Plutarch* to have been the first who understood a verse in *Homer*, wherein mention is made of a day *wherein one month ended, and the next began* (H).

He

[h] Id. ibid. Panathen.

[i] Meurs. in Solon.

[k] Aristides in Rosc.

[l] Maxim. Tyr. Dis. xxxix. Cic. Orat. pro

(H) It is a point worthy of observation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation, as much from the strength of their wits as of their arms; and that though some excelled in valour, others in wisdom, yet, in all, there was a happy mixture of both. *Hercules*, so famed for his labours, instructed the *Greeks* in astronomy, which he learned from *Atlas*, and is thence said, by the poets, to have borne for a time the heavens upon his shoulders. *Numa*, as he gave laws to *Rome*, reformed the *Roman* kalendar; and in succeeding times, *Julius Cæsar*, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away those errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this science of astronomy, but as a consummate master therein. Such also was *Solon* for the times in which he lived; for though some have pretended to ascribe the honour of introducing astronomy into *Greece* to *Oe opidas* of *Chios*, or *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it; the first principles of this art came

He procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and caused them to be conserved in different tables. Such as related to private actions in parallelograms of wood with cases which reached from the ground, and turned about upon a pin like *Causes his laws to be conserved in different tables.*

came certainly into *Greece* with its first planters, and were from time to time cultivated by such as either came out of *Egypt*, or the east, and settled in *Greece*, or had at least travelled into those countries. *Thales* the *Milesian*, and *Pythagoras* the *Samian*, were the two great masters who brought the undigested notions of the heavenly system, which hitherto had amused the *Greeks*, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to *Homer*, in whose poems we meet with the first seeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find that he describes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the seasons. The returns of seed-time and harvest, the constant revolutions of labour and rest, in consequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, served well enough to mark the succession of events, and therefore it was an act of judgment in this great poet to make use of these characters in his account of a battle (21) as he elsewhere introduces *Achilles* measuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious division of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not to infer from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of *Homer*; the contrary appears from several passages in his poems, and particularly from this very line, which *Solon* is said to have been the first who penetrated its true sense:

Τῇ μὲν φθινόντος μηνὸς τῇ δ' ἱσταμένοιο,
When one month ended, and the next began (23).

Thales divided the year into twelves months, making each month consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days; but finding that this year did not answer the motion of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is easy to perceive, that this method of *Thales* must in a short time have introduced great confusion, there being a redundancy of almost ten days in a year (24) *Solon* discovered this, and not only discovered it, but discovered its cause, or at least its principal cause, which was *Thales*'s maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which *Solon* found to be false, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account sets what has been said above in a clear light, and shews with what justice *Solon* was applauded for his skill as an astronomer: let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator: He did not alter the number of months which *Thales* had fixed, but directed that each of them should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred fifty-four days; but perceiving that this would leave things

(21) *Iliad.* λ. *v.* 84. (22) *Iliad.* φ. *v.* 23. (23) *Odyss.* ξ. *v.* 161. (24) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal.*

like a wheel, from whence they were called *Axones*, placed firſt in the citadel, and then in the *Prytanæum*, that his people might ſee them when they pleaſed, and ſome remains there were of them in *Plutarch*'s time. Such as concerned public orders and ſacrifices were contained in triangular tables of ſtone called *Cyrbes* [m]; the *Athenian* magiſtrates were ſworn to obſerve both; in time, theſe monuments of his wiſdom became ſo famous, that all public arts were from them named *Axones* and *Cyrbes*, as we are informed by *Harpocration* and *Suidas* [n].

Abſents himſelf from Athens for ten years.

AFTER his laws were promulgated, ſome or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reaſons on which they were founded, and to adviſe him to alter this or that according as their humour or intereſt led them, which importunities made him ſo uneaſy, that to avoid them he reſolved to travel. For he conſidered that not to anſwer theſe people would argue pride, and that the anſwering them

[m] PLUT. ubi ſupra. POLLUX, viii. 10. [n] In vocibus Αξονες & Κυρβεις.

things ſtill in confuſion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the ſolar year, which was thus; at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty-two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a ſecond two years, he ordered that a month of twenty-three days ſhould be intercalated; now if we take all theſe ſums together, we ſhall find that the number of days in *Solon*'s cycle of four years, was one thouſand four hundred ſixty-one, the fourth part of which is three hundred ſixty-five and a quarter, the true ſolar year, as it was then accounted. *Solon* likewiſe engaged the *Athenians* to divide their months into three parts, ſtiled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of theſe conſiſted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the laſt of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In ſpeaking of the two firſt parts, they reckoned according to the uſual order of numbers, *viz.* the firſt day of the moon beginning, the ſecond day of the middling moon, but with reſpect to the laſt part of the month *they* reckoned backwards; *that is*, inſtead of ſaying the firſt day of the ending moon, they ſaid the tenth day of the ending moon, and inſtead of the ſecond the ninth day, and ſo on to the laſt. This is a circumſtance that muſt be carefully noted; for without being aware of it, it is impoſſible to underſtand many paſſages in ancient authors. As for inſtance, in *Ariſtophanes*'s comedy of the clouds, a man ſpeaking of the manner in which intereſt became due, reckons the days thus; *five, four, three, two, and the moſt abominable of all days that of the old and new moon.* Thus much as to *Solon*'s knowledge in aſtronomy, we ſhall in its proper place give a farther account of the *Attic* year (25).

(25) *Cenſorin. de die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Græc. Stanley's life of Solon, cum mult. al.*

would

would beget great inconveniences: with this view he bought a ſhip, and pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the *Athenians* to permit him to be abſent for ten years, during which ſpace he hoped his laws would become familiar to them [o].

IT will not be amiſs to interrupt the *Athenian* hiſtory here in order to inſert our promiſed account of the republic, a thing ſo neceſſary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the ſake of perſpicuity we ſhall not tie ourſelves to the form ſettled by *Solon*, but give a conciſe hiſtory of the *Athenian* government, as it ſubſiſted in ſucceeding times, that we may not be obliged at every turn to inſert notes for the explaining thoſe terms which may once for all be rendered familiar by introducing ſuch an account of the *Athenian* commonwealth in this place.

Deſcription of the city of Athens.

IN the firſt place it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the city of *Athens*. In the moſt early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of *Cecropia* from its founder *Cecrops*, whom the *Athenians* in after-times affirmed to have been the firſt builder of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence *Polis*, i. e. The city. In the reign of *Erichthonius* it loſt the name of *Cecropia*, and acquired that of *Athens*, on what account is not certain; the moſt probable is, that it was ſo named in reſpect to the goddeſs *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* call *Athene*, who was always eſteemed its protectreſs [p]. This old city was ſeated on the top of a rock in the midſt of a large and pleaſant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increaſed, became full of buildings, which induced the diſtinction of *Acro* and *Catapolis*, i. e. of the upper and lower city; *The citadel* the extent of the citadel was ſixty ſtadia, it was ſurrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as ſome ſay, with a ſtrong paliſade; in ſucceeding times it was incompaſſed with a ſtrong wall, in which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the reſt ſmall. The inſide of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himſelf from the treatiſe written expreſsly on this ſubject by a learned perſon already mentioned [q] (I). The moſt

[o] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [p] ARISTID. Panathen. STEPHAN. voce Αθηναι. See before p. 171. in the notes. [q] PLUTARCH. in PERICL. PAUSAN. Attici. HARPOCRAT. ARISTID. ubi ſupra.

(I) This learned perſon is the celebrated *John Meurſius*, to whom the learned world ſtands indebted for the moſt laboured pieces, which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a *Dutchman*, but he ſtudied the civil law at *Orleans*, where

The temple of Minerva.

most remarkable of these were the magnificent temple of *Minerva*, stiled *Parthenion*, because that goddess was a virgin; the *Persians* destroyed it, but it was rebuilt with still greater splendor by the famous *Pericles*, all of the finest marble, with such skill and strength, that in spite of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the first antiquity in the world, and stands as a witness to the truth of what ancient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of *Athens* in her flourishing state. The temple of *Neptune* and of *Minerva*, for it was divided into two parts, one sacred to the god, in which was the salt fountain said to have sprung upon the stroke of his trident, the other to the goddess protectress of *Athens*, wherein was the sacred olive which she produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of *Erichthonius*, both which edifices are still remaining. At the back of *Minerva*'s temple was the public treasury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treasurers, who having misapplied the revenues of the state, took this short method of making up accounts [r]. The lower city comprehended all the buildings surrounding the citadel, the fort *Munychia*, and the havens *Phalerum* and *Piræus*, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by *Pericles*, but that on the south

The lower city with its edifices

[r] Pausan. ubi supra. Harpocrat. &c. Sir George Wheeler's Travels.

where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his passion towards *Greek* learning. Amongst other pieces he wrote that referred to in the text under the title of *Cecropia*, or the citadel of *Athens*, and its antiquities in one book; this treatise consists of thirty-two chapters, and contains a prodigious display of its author's learning; almost every passage in the *Greek* authors relating to the subject, is there to be found in the proper words of the author, with a very exact *Latin* translation, which was added, as the author tells us, in the second edition, at the desire of several ingenious persons in *Spain* and *Italy*, who had requested it by letter. Upon which *Meursius* makes this reflection, that, as things stood, it was indeed reasonable and necessary, since there were not many who affected the *Greek* learning, and of those the greater part rather loved than understood it. The inquisitive and intelligent reader may find a multitude of curious particulars accurately digested in this laboured history; or if he is not inclined to take so much pains, he may peruse a very succinct abridgment of *Meursius*'s book in Dr. *Potter*'s excellent antiquities of *Greece*, to whom we are in a great measure beholden for this part of our history of *Athens* (26.)

(26) *Vide Gronov. Thes. Græc. Vol. IV.*

by

by *Themistocles*; but by degrees the turrets which were at first erected on these walls were turned into dwelling-houses for the accommodation of the *Athenians*, whose large city was now become too small for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not necessary to trouble the reader. Among the principal edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of *Theseus* erected by *Conon*, near its centre adjacent thereto the young people performed their exercises. It was also a sanctuary for distressed persons, slaves or free: It remains intire to this day, and is used as a church, being dedicated to St. *George*.

The Olympian temple.

The *Olympian* temple erected in honour of *Jupiter*, the honour of *Athens*, and of all *Greece*, the foundation of it was laid by *Pisistratus*, it was carried on but slowly in succeeding times, seven-hundred years elapsing before it was finished, which happened under the reign of *Adrian*, who was particularly kind to *Athens*; this was the first building in which the *Athenians* beheld pillars.

The Pantheon.

The pantheon, dedicated to all the gods; a most noble structure supported by 120 marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horses carved by *Praxiteles*; it is yet remaining, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter when we come to speak of the present state of this famous city. In several parts of it were *Staoi* or portico's, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a sect of philosophers were denominated stoics, because their master *Zeno* taught in those portico's [s].

Palaces, Gymnasia, Lyceum, &c.

THERE were at *Athens* two places called *Ceramicus* from *Ceramus* the son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*; one within the city containing a multitude of buildings of all sorts, the other in the suburbs, in which was the academy, and other edifices. The *Gymnasia* of *Athens* were many, but the most remarkable were the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. The *Lyceum* stood on the banks of *Ilissus*; some say it was built by *Pisistratus*, others by *Pericles*, others by *Lycurgus*. Here *Aristotle* taught philosophy, instructing such as came to hear him as they walked, whence his disciples are generally thought to derive the name of peripatetics [t]. The *Ceramicus* without the city was the distance of six stadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is some dispute (K). The *Cynosages* was a place in the suburbs, not far from

[s] Athenæus Diep. l. viii.

[t] SUIDAS, & al.

(K) Some affirm that it was so called from *Academus* an ancient hero, who, when *Helen* was stolen by *Theseus*, discovered the place, where she lay hid, to *Castor* and *Pollux*; for which reason the *Lacedæmonians*, when they invaded *Attica*, always spared

from the *Lyceum*; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnaſium erected there, appointed for the ſpecial uſe of ſuch as were *Athenians* only by one ſide; in after-times *Themiſtocles* derived to himſelf ill-will, by carrying many of the nobility to exerciſe with him here, becauſe being but of the half-blood he could exerciſe no where elſe; in this gymnaſium *Antiſthenes* inſtituted a ſect of philoſophers, who from the name of this diſtrict, as many think, were ſtiled *Cynics* [z].

The havens of Athens.

THE havens of *Athens* were three, firſt the *Pyræus* about 35 or 40 ſtadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls before-mentioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city. It had three docks, *Cantharos*, *Aphrodiſium*, and *Zea*; the firſt was ſo called from an ancient hero, the ſecond from the goddeſs *Venus*, who had there two temples, and the third from bread corn. There were in this port five portico's, which joining together formed one great one called from thence *Macra Stoa*, or the grand portico. There were likewiſe two great markets or *Fora*, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The ſecond port was *Munichia*, a promontory not far diſtant from *Pyræus*, a place very ſtrong by nature, and afterwards rendered far ſtronger by art. It was of this that *Epimenides* ſaid, if the *Athenians* foreſaw what miſchief it would one day produce to them, they would eat it away with their teeth. The third was *Phalerum*, diſtant from the city, according to *Thucydides*, 35 ſtadia [a], but according to *Pauſanias* only 20 [b]. This was the moſt ancient harbour of *Athens*, as *Pyræus* was the moſt capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (L).

THE

[z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Themiſt. DIOG. LAERT. in vit. Antiſthen.
[a] Bel. Pelop. lib. ii. [b] In Arcad.

ſpared this place *. *Dicæarchus* writes, that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had two *Arcadians* in their army, the one named *Echedemus*, the other *Marathus*; from the former of theſe he ſays this place took its name, and that the borough of *Marathon* was ſo called from the other †. It was a marſhy unwholeſome place, till *Cimon* was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleaſant and delightful, being adorned with ſhady walks, where *Plato* read his lectures, and from thence his ſcholars were ſtiled academics ‡.

(L) If *Athens* eclipſed other cities by her fame for arms and arts, ſhe was no leſs conſpicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic teſtimonies; the accounts given us by ancient authors, and the relations exhibited by modern travellers: we had once an intention of comparing theſe

* *Plut. in vit. Theſ.* † *Poem. apud Gronov. Theſ. Græc. Vol. IV.*
‡ *Horat. Ep. lib.* ii. *E.* iii. *Plutarch. in vit. Theſei.*

THE people of *Athens* were *freemen*, *ſojourners*, or *ſlaves*, the citizens called in *Greek Politai*, were very numerous, but what may ſeem ſtrange, were as many in the time of *Cecrops*, as in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty-thouſand [c]. It was *Solon* who decreed that none ſhould be accounted free but ſuch as were *Athenians* both by father and mother. After his time it fell into diſſuetude till revived by *Pericles*, and again at his inſtance repealed. After the expulſion of the thirty tyrants *Solon*'s law was reſtored. A perſon born of a ſtranger was ſtiled *Nothos*, a baſtard, whereas the ſon of a free woman was called *Cneſios*, i. e. legitimate. There was in the *Cynoſarges* a court of judicature, to which cauſes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmoſt care was taken to prevent any from being inrolled *Athenian* citizens, who had not a clear title

People of Athens, freemen, ſojourners, or ſlaves.

[c] PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis. ATHENÆUS. Deipnoſ. lib. vi.

theſe, but conſidering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the courſe of the hiſtory, we have choſen to refer the deſcription of *Athens* as it now ſtands, till we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of the *Morea*. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that *Ariſtides*, an author who wrote expreſly on this ſubject, affirms, that *Athens* in her glory was a day's journey in compaſs; thoſe who have thought this account too general, inform us, that it was one hundred ſeventy-eight ſtadia in circumference, that is, ſomething more than twenty-two *Roman* miles. After it fell from its ancient ſplendor, it endured great variety of fortune. *Sylla* deſtroyed it without mercy, made its ſtreets ſtream with blood, and laid its moſt ſuperb buildings in aſhes. It provoked *Julius Cæſar* by an obſtinate reſiſtance, but when it ſubmitted at laſt, he contented himſelf with ſaying, *That he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead*, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They ſided with *Brutus* againſt the *Triumvirate*, and with *Anthony*, who called himſelf a *Lover of Athens*, againſt *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, or at leaſt his ſon *Germanicus*, favoured them; but it was to *Adrian*, who had been archon of their city, that the *Athenians* owed the revival of their ancient luſtre. The ſucceeding emperors took a pleaſure in adorning it; but the *Goths*, in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, deſtroyed it, as they did the other cities of *Greece*. *Theodoſius* the ſecond, out of reſpect to his empreſs, cauſed it to be re-edified. This may ſerve to make the deſcription in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that muſt be referred to the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, of which it will be the proper ſubject; the curious reader may however, if he pleaſes, conſult the very learned *Meurſius* in his elaborate work, referred to at the bottom of the page (27).

(27) *Meurſ. de Fort. Athen. apud Gronov. Theſaur. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.*

The citizens divided into four tribes,

thereto [d]. The citizens, for at preſent we will not meddle with the ſtrangers and ſlaves, were divided by *Cecrops* into four tribes, the firſt called *Cecropes* from *Cecrops*, the ſecond *Autochthon* from a king of that name, the third *Actai* from *Acteus* another king of *Athens*, or rather from *Acte*, which ſignifies a ſhore, the fourth *Puralia*; theſe names were altered by *Cranaus*, and again by *Erictthonius*. In the reign of *Erictheus* they were again changed; the ſoldiers were called *Oplitai*, the craftſmen *Ergatai*, the farmers *Georgoi*, the graziers and ſhepherds *Aigicorai*; in this ſtate they were when *Solon* ſettled the commonwealth, and appointed the ſenate to be compoſed of four-hundred, one hundred out of each tribe [e]. *Clyſthenes* encreaſed the number of the tribes to ten, and made the ſenate conſiſt of five-hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe. In ſucceeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was ſubdivided into its *Demoi* or wards, and with reſpect to theſe it was that *Solon* inſtituted the public feaſts before-mentioned, at which ſometimes the whole tribe aſſembled, ſometimes ſeveral wards, and ſometimes only the inhabitants of one ward.

Which are increaſed to ten.

Sojourners.

THE ſecond ſort of inhabitants we mentioned were called *Metoicoi*, i. e. ſojourners; there were perſons who lived always at *Athens*, yet were not admitted free denizens; as for ſuch as did not conſtantly reſide in *Athens*, they were ſtiled *Xenoi*, i. e. ſtrangers. The ſojourners were obliged to chuſe out of the citizens *Protectors* who were ſtiled *Patrons*; they paid ſervices to the ſtate, and beſides theſe an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and ſix for every woman; but ſuch as had ſons, and paid for them, were exempted. If people fell to poverty, and were not able to pay this tribute, they were ſeized by the tax-maſters, and actually ſold for ſlaves, which as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, was the fate of *Xenocrates* the philoſopher [f]. The ſojourners in *Attica* were under the ſame law as thoſe in *Athens*. As to ſervants, they were freemen, who through indigency were driven to receive wages, and while they were in this ſtate had no vote in the aſſembly. As to ſlaves, they were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and as ſuch were uſed as they thought fit: They were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which is indeed amazing, *Solon* prohibited them to love boys, as if that had been honourable: They were likewiſe debarred from anointing or perfuming themſelves, and from worſhipping certain deities: They were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in moſt other reſpects were uſed like dogs. They ſtigmatized them at their plea-

Servants and ſlaves.

[d] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. POLLUX lib. iii. [e] PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. POLLUX lib. viii. c. 9. [f] In vit. XENOCR.

ſure,

ſure, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead and elſewhere: However, *Theſeus*'s temple was allowed them as a ſanctuary, where, if they were exceedingly ill uſed, they might fly, and thereby oblige their owners to let them be transferred to another maſter: In this and many other reſpects the *Athenian* ſlaves were in a much better condition than thoſe throughout the reſt of *Greece*; they were permitted to get eſtates for themſelves, giving a ſmall premium to their maſters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ranſom: They likewiſe obtained the ſame favour from the kindneſs of their maſters, or for having rendered military ſervices to the ſtate. When they were made free, they were obliged to chuſe patrons, and had likewiſe the privilege of chuſing a curator, who, in caſe their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them [g]. Having thus ſpoken of the people in general, let us return to the conſideration of the *Athenian* citizens in their political capacity (L).

THE

[g] PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. ARISTOPH. in Avibus, &c. POLLUX lib. vii PLAUTUS, &c.

(L) In *Cecrops*'s time, the citizens were, as we have ſaid above, twenty thouſand; under the adminiſtration of *Pericles*, when the *Athenian* power was at its greateſt height, they were not ſo many (28). When *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* preſided over them, there was an exact account taken of the ſeveral ſorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by *Athenæus*, from whence it appeared, that there were twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſojourners or foreigners, and four-hundred thouſand ſlaves (29). The knowledge of this is a material thing, for, without it, it would be a difficult matter to account for the ſmallneſs of the *Athenian* armies. At the time of *Cecrops*'s poll, the whole number of his ſubjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when *Athens* roſe in power and glory, ſhe ſet a high value upon this dignity. *Menon*, who ſent them a ſupply of two hundred horſe, was refuſed the freedom of *Athens* when he deſired it (30). *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia*, who had done them great ſervices, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city, with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus ſtiff in reſpect to perſons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of diſtinguiſhed merit. *Hippocrates* the phyſician was readily admitted a citizen of *Athens*, and the ſame favour was granted to all the inhabitants of *Platæa*, for their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance in the *Perſian* war. It was only the general aſſembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unleſs ſtratified in a ſecond aſſembly, wherein ſix thouſand citizens were preſent. And

(28) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.* (29) *Deipnoſ. lib. vi.* (30) *Potter's Arch. Vol. I. p. 44.*

The general assembly of the people, and their meetings.

THE general assembly of the people which *Solon*, as we have shewn before, made the dernier resort, was called *Ecclesia*, and consisted of all the freemen of *Athens*, excepting such as were *atimoi* or infamous. The meetings of these assemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were such as were appointed by law, the extraordinary such as necessity required. Of the first there were four in five and thirty days, for reasons which will be hereafter given. In the first assembly they approved or rejected magistrates, heard proposals for the public good, and certain causes. In the second they received petitions, and heard every man's judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign embassadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs relating to the gods and their worship. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when occasion required, whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. The first were held either in the market-place in the *Pynx* a place near the citadel, and in the theatre of *Bacchus*; as to the latter, the magistrates who appointed the extraordinary meeting appointed also the place where it should be held. If any sudden

as this honour was generally sued for by persons of eminent distinction, the people gave their votes privately, by putting little stones into vessels that no sort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all these ceremonies, it appeared that the person on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away in the court of *Areopagus*; nor are instances of this sort wanting in the *Athenian* story (31). As to the foreigners or sojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifested an extraordinary love towards the state by any shining action, they had a sort of half freedom bestowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before, and in respect to pecuniary matters were on the same foot with free denizens; this they stiled *Atcleia* (32). Such *Athenians*, as thro' poverty became servants, were stiled *Pelatæ*; except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their masters when they thought fit, and in case they found themselves in a condition to live in a state of independency, they were restored to their votes, and their servitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (33). As to slaves, they, on their coming to a new place, had a handsome entertainment given them, and sweet-meats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their service; which, if they fell into good hands, was sometimes easy enough; but for this they were obliged not to the gentleness of their laws, but of their masters.

(31) *Demost. Orat. in Neæram.*
(33) *Pollux, lib.* iii. *c.* i. 8.

(32) *Suidas. Harpocration. Hesychius.*

tempest

tempeſt roſe, or an earthquake happened, or any ſign notoriouſly inauſpicious appeared, the aſſembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people from apprehending unhappy conſequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and ſerene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary courſe of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the aſſembly was held, which was done by ſprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a ſolemn prayer for the proſperity of the republic, and that heaven would beſtow a happy iſſue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration againſt any who ſhould in that aſſembly propound what might be diſadvantageous to the ſtate. Theſe ceremonies being over, they proceeded to buſineſs.

Magiſtrates regulating theſe aſſemblies.

THERE were ſeveral magiſtrates who had the overſeeing and regulating theſe aſſemblies; theſe were firſt the *Epiſtate*, or preſident of the aſſembly, who was choſen by lot out of the *Proedri*; his office was to give the ſignal for the people's voting. Next to him were the *Prytanes*, i. e. a committee of the ſenate, who of courſe were preſent on this occaſion; by their order a *Programma*, or ſcheme of the buſineſs to be propoſed at the aſſembly, was previouſly ſet up in ſome public place, that every man might know what buſineſs to apply his thoughts to. The *Proedri* were nine in number appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the *Prytanes* did not belong; they had the right of propoſing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the aſſembly; there ſat with them aſſeſſors, who were to take care that nothing they propoſed was detrimental to the commonwealth.

Method of tranſacting buſineſs.

The firſt ſtep to buſineſs was the cryer's reading the decree of the ſenate whereon the aſſembly was to deliberate; when he had finiſhed this, he made proclamation in theſe words; *Who of the men above fifty will make an oration?* When the old men had done ſpeaking, the cryer made proclamation again that any *Athenian* might then offer his ſentiments whom the law allowed ſo to do, that is, all ſuch as were above thirty years old, and were not infamous. If ſuch a one roſe up to ſpeak, the *Prytanes* interpoſed, and bid him be ſilent, and if he did not obey them, the *Lictors* pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the preſident permitted the people to vote, which they did by caſting firſt beans, but in after-times pebbles, into certain veſſels; theſe were counted, and then it was declared that the decree of the ſenate was either rejected or approved, after which the *Prytanes* diſmiſſed the aſſembly[h].

[h] Vide SIGON. & UBBO. EMMIUS, Rep. Athen.

The senate. HAVING spoken of the people, their privileges and assemblies, let us now proceed to the senate, which, as we have already shewn, was instituted by *Solon* to prevent the dangerous consequences of leaving the supreme power in the people; At the time of his institution, it was to consist of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe; it was encreased to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten; and when they came to twelve, it was also swelled to six hundred.

How elected. They were elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the close of the year, the president of each tribe gave in a list of such persons belonging thereto, as were fit for and desired to appear for this dignity; these names were engraven on tablets of brass, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones put into a vessel, and then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and such as were drawn by the white beans were received into the senate [i]. After the senate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preside in the senate; these were the *Prytanes* before-mentioned, and they were elected thus: The names of the ten tribes were thrown into one vessel, and nine black beans and a white one into another vessel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean answered, presided first, and the rest according to the order in which they were drawn (M).

Officers presiding in it, and how chosen.

Their number. THE *Prytanes*, while the senate consisted of five hundred, were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confusion therefore, ten of these presided a week, during which space they were called *Proedri*, and out of these an *epistate* or president was chosen, whose office lasted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once: The reason of this was, that he had in his custody the public seal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer [k]. The reader must distinguish between the *Epistates* and *Proedri* last-mentioned,

[i] STEPH. BYZANT. de Urb. HARPOCRAT.

[k] POLLUX l. viii. c. 9.

[l] POLLUX ubi supra.

(M) The time in which they presided was thirty-five days, and was called *Prytania*, the *Attic* year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors say, that the first four *Prytania* contained thirty-six days, in order to make the lunar year complete, which, according to their computation, consisted of 354 days; but others affirm, that these four days did not belong to any of the *Prytania*, but were spent in the election of magistrates, and that during this space the *Athenians* were without magistrates.

tioned, and thoſe ſpoken of in the former paragraph, becauſe, though their titles were the ſame, their office were perfectly diſtinct. The ſenate aſſembled by direction of the *Prytanes* once every day, excepting feſtivals, and ſometimes oftner, in the ſenate-houſe, which was thence called *Prytaneum*.

WHEN a member of the ſenate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraven on tablets, that the members when they came next might be prepared to ſpeak to it. At the ſubſequent aſſembly the *epiſtates* opened the matter, after which every ſenator that pleaſed delivered his ſentiments; then any of the *Prytanes* drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote, and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became *Pſephiſma*, and was afterwards propounded to the people; if they approved it, it became a law, otherwiſe it was of no force longer than the ſenate, who decreed it, ſubſiſted. The power of the ſenate was very great, for they took the account of magiſtrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the proviſions made for poor citizens out of the public treaſure; they had the ſuperintendancy of public priſons, and a power of puniſhing ſuch as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewiſe of the fleet; and beſides all theſe they had many other branches of authority, which it is not neceſſary for us to mention. Before they took their ſeats they were conſtrained to undergo a very ſtrict examination, wherein the whole courſe of their lives was enquired into; and if the leaſt ſlur on their reputation appeared, they were ſet aſide. When this examination was over, they took an oath, whereby they bound themſelves to promote in all their councils the public good, to adviſe nothing contrary to the laws and to execute their functions exactly. The higheſt fine the ſenate could impoſe was five hundred drachms: If they thought the offender deſerved a heavier mulct, they then tranſmitted the cauſe to the *Theſmothetæ*, who puniſhed them as they thought fit. The ſenators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the leſs to do, they always puniſhed ſuch of their number as they found had offended, by expulſion, and in this they were mighty exact. Yet an expelled ſenator was notwithſtanding eligible to any other office, the moſt trivial omiſſion being ſufficient to occaſion a dimiſſion from the ſenatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes choſe their ſenators they alſo choſe a certain number of ſubſidiaries, out of which, when a ſenator was expelled, another was ſubſtituted in his place[m]. Each ſenator was allow-

The power of the ſenate.

The members ſtrictly examined before their admiſſion.

Senators how puniſhed.

[m] ÆSCHIN. in Timarch. ARISTOPH. Avibus. POLLUX, ubi ſupra. DEMOST. Timocrat.

ed a drachm every day, for it was a conſtant rule with the *Athenians*, that the public ought to pay for every man's time, and therefore ſuch of the poor *Athenians* as thought fit to demand it, had three *Oboli* for going to the aſſembly. If during their adminiſtration any ſhips of war were built, the ſenators had crowns decreed them; but if not, they were forbid to ſue for them. The ſenate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the *Athenian* ſtate, we will now ſpeak of the other.

The court of Areopagus.

THE court of *Areopagus* was ſo called, becauſe it aſſembled on a hill not far from the citadel called *Arious Pagos*, i. e. *Mars*'s *hill*. Some ſay that *Mars* was the firſt criminal tried in this court (N). It is very difficult to aſcertain the number of which this court conſiſted, becauſe authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though ſome ſay only ſuch of the *Theſmothetæ*, as had given an account of their adminiſtrations before the *Logiſtæ*, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this ſenate; this was *Solon*'s inſtitution, and was ſtrictly obſerved for a long courſe of years, whence it became the moſt ſacred and venerable tribunal in *Greece*. A ſenator in this court was an officer for life, unleſs he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was ſitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was ſeen to be ſitting in a tavern or publick houſe, it was ſufficient to bar his admiſſion. *Demoſthenes* affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been queſtioned. They had cognizance of all capital cauſes, and with them the intent to murder was puniſhed as ſeverely as if it took effect; 'till *Pericles* leſſened their power they were a check upon the people; they could, if they thought fit, cancel the ſentence of an aſſembly where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewiſe reſcued innocent perſons in danger from the raſh ſentences of the people; they had the cuſtody of

Number of the Areopagi.

They had cognizance of all capital cauſes.

° Ariſtocrat.

(N) It is not agreed who inſtituted this court; ſome aſcribe it to *Cecrops*, others to *Cranaus*, and many to *Solon*; among whom, though *Plutarch* and *Cicero* are reckoned, yet it is certain, that they were miſtaken; for *Ariſtotle* affirms directly the contrary; nay, *Plutarch* himſelf cites a law of *Solon*'s, wherein the ſentences of the *Areopagi* are mentioned as things of an old date *. The ſource of this error ſeems to be *Solon*'s reſtoring the power of this court, and making it ſuperior to the *Ephetæ*, whom *Draco* had made ſuperior to it.

* *Meurs. in Areop.*

the

the laws, the direction of the public fund, the direction of youth, for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety; they had the power of punishing of idleness, and in consequence of this, they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he spent, and how he came by it, so that it was impracticable for a man to live dissolutely in *Athens* on ill-got wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion such a person would have been convened before the *Areopagi*. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of mysteries, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, the erection of temples and altars, the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly to this court. *Plato* therefore having learned in *Egypt*, that there was but one God, was forced to conceal his knowledge for fear of being questioned by the *Areopagites* [p]; and St. *Paul* was on this account arraigned before them as a setter forth of strange gods, when he preached *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, i. e. the resurrection [q].

Judges in matters of religion.

As to state affairs, the court of *Areopagus* rarely meddled in them unless in times of publick calamity, when the citizens fled to them as to their last refuge. They met three times every month, *viz.* on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof; if any sudden occasion required their assembling, they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is observable that this court always sate in the open air; secondly, that they decided all causes in the dark, that seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant their passions might be uninfluenced. Causes of murder were introduced by the *Basileus*, or second archon, who in right of his office had a seat amongst them; but before he took it, he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which as the mark of his dignity he wore at all other times. As to the form of trials before the *Areopagus*, we shall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occasion to insert it in a note (O).

When and where they met.

[p] Justin. Martyr. [q] Acts xviii. 18, 19.

(O) All the great men of *Athens* paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal, till *Pericles* rose, who, because he could not become a member thereof, having never been archon, took such a pique to them, that he left no means unessayed to diminish their authority, and sink their credit; which, by the help of *Ephialtes*, he in a great measure effected, causing most of the business, which had been before them, to be transferred to other courts, to which some authors, not without reason, have ascribed the sudden degeneracy of the *Athenians*, and, in consequence thereof, the ruin of this state (2).

(2) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Meursius Areop.*

The archons.

We come now, having ſpoke of the *Athenian* people, the ſenate and court of *Areopagus*, to the magiſtrates. The chief of theſe were the *Archons* or *Archontes*; they were, as we obſerved, nine in number, and were choſen by lot; but after they were choſen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the ſenate-houſe, called *Anacriſis*, the other in the *Forum*, called *Docimaſia*; in theſe they were aſked who were their anceſtors, whether by three deſcents they were *Athenian* citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to *Apollo Patrius*, or *Jupiter Hercæus*, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had ſerved the appointed times in the wars, had the eſtate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; theſe queſtions ſome think were put to every other magiſtrate: Theſe demands being ſatisfactorily anſwered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in theſe words; *I will be punctual in the obſervance of the laws, and if I am deficient in this reſpect, I will for every ſuch default conſecrate a ſtatue of gold as big as my ſelf to the Delphian Apollo*[l]. Theſe ceremonies being ended, the archons entered on their charge, ſome parts of which they executed ſeparately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of puniſhing with death ſuch malefactors as deſerved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of enquiring into the conduct of other magiſtrates. As the reward of their labour in the ſervice of the public, they were free from all taxes whatſoever, and if any was ſo bold as to ſtrike or affront them, he was puniſhed with infamy[m]. The firſt of them was ſometimes ſtiled *Eponymos* becauſe the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all cauſes between men and their wives, all matters relating to poſthumous children, dowries, legacies, and teſtaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans, to decide ſuch diſputes as aroſe among neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feaſts, and the regulation of ſtage plays were alſo within his province, and he had a particular court of judicature, wherein he heard cauſes: If even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he ſuffered death[n]. The ſecond archon, who was ſtiled *Baſileus* or king, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controverſies among prieſts, took information on impiety, blaſphemy, and ſuch like crimes; he preſided in all the great feaſts, and aſſiſted in all the public ſacrifices for the proſperity of the

Strictly examined before their election.

Their power.

The firſt archon.

Hiſcharge.

The ſecond archon.

[l] Pollux, lib. viii. c. ix.
[m] Demost. in Midian.
[n] Pollux, ubi ſupra.

republic.

republic. It was required that his wife ſhould be a citizen of *Athens*, and a virgin, and ſhe too was ſtiled by the *Athenians*, *Baſiliſſa*. Accuſations of murder were firſt lodged in this court, and then he introduced them into the court of *Areopagus* [o]. The *Polemarchos*, a third archon, had all ſojourners and ſtrangers within his juriſdiction; he was bound alſo to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Mars*, and another to *Diana*, and to take care that the children of ſuch as loſt their lives in the ſtate ſhould duly receive the maintenance ſettled on them by law. As it often happened that theſe three mrgiſtrates, by reaſon of their youth, were not ſo well ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their reſpective offices; they choſe each of them two grave and diſtinct perſons, who underwent the like examinations with themſelves, to ſit with them as aſſeſſors, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their poſts [p]. *The third archon.*

THE other ſix archons were ſtiled *Theſmothetæ*; they had one common tribunal where they heard cauſes of various kinds; they ratified all publick contracts and leagues, ſettled the court days in the ſeveral judicatures of *Athens*, took care that no laws ſhould be paſſed contrary to the intereſt of the public, and proſecuted ſuch as endeavoured to perſuade the people to give their conſent to any ſuch laws; they were likewiſe obliged every year to examine the whole *Corpus Juris* in order to diſcover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of ſtatutes about the ſame thing, or whether there were any ſo doubtful as to render it impoſſible to know their true ſenſe, which if there were, then the *Theſmothetæ* drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the ſtate of the caſe; this was hung up in a publick place, and the next aſſembly of the people voted which of the laws ſhould be preſerved, and which repealed or altered [q]. *The other ſix archons*

INFERIOR to the archons there were many publick magiſtrates; 'twill be neceſſary to mention ſome of them, becauſe they will frequently occur in the courſe of this hiſtory. In the firſt place they had *Nomophylaces*, who were alſo ſtiled *the eleven*, becauſe they were ſo many in number, one choſen out of each tribe, and a clerk or ſecretary who made up *the eleventh*. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to ſeize robbers and other capital offenders, and if they confeſſed, to put them to death [r]. Dr. *Potter* thinks they reſembled our ſheriffs. *Other publick magiſtrates.* *The Nomophylaces.*

[o] DEMOST. in Neær. & in Lacrit. [p] POLLUX, ubi ſupra.
[q] ÆSCHIN. in Cteſiph. [r] CICERO de Legib. lib. iii.

The

The Phylarchi, *the* Philobasileus, *the* Demarchi, *&c.*

The *Phylarchi* were the presidents of the *Athenian* tribes; but in time this became a military title. The *Philobasileus* was an officer in each tribe, who did the same things within his jurisdiction as the *Basileus* did with respect to the state. The *Demarchi* were the principal magistrates in wards; the *Lexarchi* were six in number, and were bound to take care that the people came duly to the assemblies; in their custody was the publick register of the citizens names; they had under them *Toxotæ*, who were lictors or bailiffs; they were sometimes a thousand in number; these men were necessary, but like most of their sort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of *Aristophanes*; they were generally *Scythians*, raw-boned, brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded [s]. The *Nomothetæ* were a thousand in number, their business was to watch over and

Orators.

inspect into the laws. There were two sorts of orators in the service of the state, some were appointed to defend an old law, when a motion was made to repeal it; these had their fee from the state, but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these, there were ten settled orators called *Rhetores*, elected by lots; their business was to plead public causes in the senate-house; for this they had their stated fees, and with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus: "Let no one be a publick orator who hath "struck his parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them "out of his doors, who hath refused to serve in the army, who "hath thrown away his shield, who hath been addicted to "lewd women, notoriously effeminate, or has run out his "patrimony. If any man who has been guilty of these "crimes dare to deliver an oration, let him be brought to "trial upon the spot [t]. Let an orator have children lawfully "begotten, and an estate within *Attica* [u]; if in his ora-"tion he talks impertinently, makes idle repetitions, affects "an unbecoming raillery, digresses from the point in question, "or, after the assembly is over, abuses the president, let the "*Proedri* fine him fifty drachmæ; and if that is not thought "enough, let him be brought before the next assembly and "fined again [x]".

Rhetores, their qualifications.

Courts of justice.

We shall conclude this draught of the *Athenian* government with an account of their courts of justice, which, exclusive of the *Areopagus*, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbred with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence stiled, *Alpha*, *Beta*,

[s] Aristophan. ejusque Schol. Acharn. & Thesmoph. [t] Æschin. in Timarch. [u] Dinarch. in Demosthen.
[x] Æschin. ubi supra.

Gamma,

Gamma, &c. When an *Athenian* was at leiſure to hear cauſes he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he preſented to the *Theſmothetæ*, who returned it again to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the crier of the court who preſented him a ſcepter, and gave him admiſſion. When the cauſes were over, every judge went and delivered his ſcepter to the *Prytanes*, and received a ſtated fee for every cauſe that was tried. But as this was intended only to compenſate their loſs of time, ſo that there might be no appearance of covetouſneſs, a man was forbid to ſit in two courts on the ſame day [y]. The firſt criminal court after the *Areopagus*, was that of the *Ephetæ*, of the inſtitution of which the reader has already had an account; it conſiſted of fifty-one members, all upwards of fifty-one years old; *Draco* gave it a very extenſive juriſdiction, but *Solon* took away from them the power of judging in any other cauſes than thoſe of manſlaughter, accidental killing and lying in wait to deſtroy; the *Baſileus* entered all cauſes in this court [z]. The ſecond criminal court was called *Delphinium*, becauſe it was held in the temple of *Apollo Delphinius*, it had cognizance of ſuch murders as were confeſſed by the criminal, but at the ſame time juſtified under ſome pretence or other [a]. The *Prytaneum*, was the third criminal court; it held plea of ſuch caſes where death enſued from inanimate things; cauſes were heard here with the ſame ſolemnity as in other courts, and on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was, that had occaſioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of *Athens*. This judicature was as ancient as the reign of *Erichtheus*, and the firſt thing tried therein was an ax, wherewith *Jupiter*'s prieſts killed an ox which had eat ſome of the conſecrated cakes, and who, as ſoon as he had committed the fact, ſecured himſelf by flight [b]. The laſt criminal court was ſtiled *Phreatum*, it ſat in a place not far from the ſea-ſhore, and ſuch perſons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country and fled to *Attica*; the proceedings of this court were ſo ſevere, that they did not permit the criminal to come on ſhore, but obliged him to plead his cauſe in his veſſel, and if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and ſeas [c].

Criminal courts.

OF the judicatures for hearing civil cauſes, the firſt was the *Parabaſton*, ſo called, as ſome think, becauſe in it no

Courts for civil cauſes.

[y] ATHEN. Deipnoſ. lib. vi.
[a] POLLUX ubi ſupra.
[z] POLLUX lib. viii. c. 10.
[b] ÆLIAN Hiſt. var. lib. viii. c. 3.
[c] SIGONIUS de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. POLLUX ubi ſup. c. 3.

matter could be heard, if the cauſe of action was above one drachm [d]. The *Cainon* or new court was the ſecond tribunal [e]. The third was ſtiled the court of *Lycus*, becauſe it aſſembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whoſe ſtatue, repreſented with the face of a wolf, was ſet up in all courts of juſtice [f]. The *Trigonon* was ſo called, becauſe it was triangular in its form [g]. The court *Metidius* derived its appellation from the architect who buiit it [h]. The ſixth and laſt court was called *Heliæa*, it was by far the greateſt, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges ſitting in the open air expoſed to the ſun. All the *Athenians*, as we obſerved before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to ſit in theſe courts as judges. But before they took their ſeats were ſworn by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres* and *Jupiter* the king, that they would decide all things righteouſly and according to law, where there was any law to guide them, and by the rules of natural equity, where there was none (P). The *Helæaſtic* court conſiſted at leaſt of fifty, but its uſual number was five hundred judges; when cauſes of very great conſequence were

[d] PAUSAN. Atticis. [e] ARISTOPH. Veſp. [f] POLLUX, SUIDAS, ARISTOPH. ubi ſupr. [g] SIGON. ubi ſupr. ARIST. ubi ſupra. [h] POLLUX, HARPOCR.

(P) The oath taken by the judges, who ſate in the court laſt mentioned, is reported by *Demoſthenes* in theſe words; "I "will give ſentence according "to the laws and the decrees of "the people of *Athens*, and the "counſel of five hundred; I will "not conſent to place the ſu- "preme power in the hands of "a ſingle perſon, or a few; nor "permit any man to diſſolve "the commonwealth, or ſo much "as to give his vote, or make "an oration in defence of ſuch "a revolution. I will not en- "deavour to diſcharge private "debts, nor to make a diviſion "of lands or houſes: I will not "reſtore perſons ſent into ba- "niſhment, nor pardon thoſe "that are condemned to die, "nor expel any man out of the "city contrary to the laws and "decrees of the people and "council of five hundred, nor "permit any other perſon to do "it: I will not elect any perſon "into any public employ: and "particularly I will not create "any man *archon*, *hieromnemon*, "embaſſador, public herald or "ſynedros, nor conſent that he "ſhall be admitted into any of "thoſe offices which are elected "by lots, upon the ſame day "with the archons, who has "undergone any former office, "and not given in his accounts; "nor that any perſon ſhall bear "two offices, or be twice elect- "ed into the ſame office *in* "one year: I will not receive "gifts myſelf, nor ſhall any o- "ther for me; nor will I per- "mit any other perſon to do the "like by any means, whether "direct or indirect, to pervert "juſtice in the court of *Heliæa*: "I am not under thirty years of "age: I will hear both the "plaintiff and defendant without partiality,

were to be tried, a thouſand ſate therein, and now and then the judges were encreaſed to fifteen hundred, and even to two thouſand; there were many inferior courts in *Athens* for the deciſion of trivial cauſes, but of theſe there is no neceſſity of ſpeaking, ſince we deſign no more than a ſuccinct view of the *Athenian* republic, as it was ſettled by and in conſequence of *Solon*'s laws.

Solon *travels into* Egypt.

We left that great lawgiver at his departure from *Athens* to viſit foreign climates for the ſake of acquiring wiſdom. He went firſt to *Egypt*, where he converſed withe *Pſenophis* the *Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the moſt learned prieſt of that age and country; from theſe he drew the knowledge of of a multitude of things unheard of by the *Greeks*, and particularly the ſituation and condition of the atlantic iſle, of which he wrote an account in verſe, which *Plato* continued.

And to the iſland of Cyprus.

From *Egypt* he went to *Cyprus*, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings thereof; this prince reigned in a little city called *Apeia*, i. e. high, built by *Demophoon* the ſon of *Theſeus*, on an eminence near the river *Clarius*, but in a ſoil craggy and barren. *Solon* obſerving that there was a very pleaſant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. *Solon* himſelf aſſiſted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his ſcheme ſucceeded ſo well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to ſettle themſelves therein, whence the king, whoſe capital it was, changed its name out of gratitude, and called it *Solos* (P).

While his affairs, he had neither wife nor children; *Thales* for the preſent made him no anſwer. A few days after, he introduced a ſtranger properly inſtructed, who ſaid that he came ten days ago from *Athens*. *Solon* immediately asked him what news he brought from thence: "I know "of nothing extraordinary (re-"plied he) except that the whole "city celebrated the funerals of "a young man, the ſon of a "citizen moſt eminent for his "virtues, who, it ſeems, went "abroad upon his travels." *Miſerable man*, cried *Solon*: *but did not you hear his name? I did*,

"partiality, and give ſentence "in all the cauſes brought be-"fore me: I ſwear by *Jupiter*, "*Neptune*, and *Ceres*; if I vio-"late this oath, or any part of "it, may I periſh with my "whole family; but if I reli-"giouſly obſerve it, may we "live, and proſper *.

(P) He is thought to have viſited about this time *Thales* the *Mileſian*, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance. *Plutarch* hath recorded a very ſingular paſſage, which happened at this time; *Solon* enquiring of *Thales*, why, conſidering the happy ſituation of

* *Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert. in vit. Solonis.*

Great disturbances at Athens.

WHILE *Solon* was abroad, *Athens* fell all into confusion again. The three factions beforementioned began to be more troublesome than ever; *Lycurgus* put himself at the head of the country people; *Megacles* the son of *Alcmeon* was the chief of those who lived upon the coast, and *Pisistratus* placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of *Solon* were indeed observed, because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneasy till it was effected, though how to change for the better, none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim *Solon* returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to shew him the deepest reverence and respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and to compose the disorders of the state. But this however he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak, and act for the publick benefit as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and spoke to them in the mildest and most pathetic terms, beseeching them not

returned the stranger; *but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wisdom and his justice. Was it* Solon? (said our philosopher). *It was*, answered the stranger. Upon this our legislator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himself. But *Thales* interposing with a smile, addressed him thus: "These, O "*Solon*, are the things which "make me afraid of marriage "and children, since these are "capable of affecting even so "wise a man as you; be not "however concerned, for this "is all a fiction." Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, *Solon* being desired by a person not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep.* At *Delphi* he had an interview with the rest of the sophists, and the year following at *Corinth*, by *Periander*'s invitation; some think that at this time also he went to *Crete*, and visited *Epimenides*, he likewise conferred with *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, as has been before related in the history of that prince †. *Plutarch* says, that *Æsop* the fabulist, was at the court of *Cræsus* at the same time with *Solon*, and that he was extremely concerned when he saw how much the king slighted so great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving *Solon* the following short piece of advice, *Let your visits to kings be as seldom or as pleasant as you can.* To which our *Athenian* answered, *No, rather let them be as seldom or as profitable as you can* (30). The love of liberty was so strong in *Solon*, that he could not gainsay so much as in a compliment.

† *Vol. II. p.* 335. (30) *Plutarch ubi supra.*

to

to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private intereſt [l].

Piſiſtratus, among all the principal perſons of *Athens*, ſeemed to be the moſt affected with *Solon*'s diſcourſes. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great ſimilitude in their diſpoſitions. *Piſiſtratus* was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was bleſſed with a fair eſtate, ſo he was generous without profuſion, and beneficent without oſtentation. He had always two or three ſlaves near him with bags of ſilver coin; when he ſaw any man look ſickly, or heard that any were dead inſolvent, he comforted the one with a proper ſum, and buried the others at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy he enquired the cauſe, and if it was poverty, he furniſhed them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or ſeemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman: he could not ſo much as ſuffer his ſervants to ſhut his garden, or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleaſed. His looks were eaſy and ſedate, his language ſmooth and modeſt; he ſeemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the conſtitution. *Solon* penetrated all theſe appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to ſhew him the iniquity of his diſſimulation, and would often tell him, *Sir, were not for your ambition you would be the beſt citizen in* Athens; and when he found this made no impreſſion upon him, *Solon* ſaid the ſame thing to others, that men might beware of his deſigns, and not ſuffer his virtues to be fatal to his country [m]. Piſiſtratus. *His character.*

About this time *Theſpis*, who is generally eſteemed the inventor of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at *Athens*, with which the people were mightily charmed. *Solon*, who piqued himſelf upon learning, even in his old age, went to ſee this new divertiſement, and after the performance was over, addreſſed himſelf to *Theſpis* in theſe words: "*I wonder you* "*are not aſhamed of telling lies before ſo great an* audience." *Theſpis* replied, *That there could be no harm in giving a ſpecious form to falſhood, ſo that it were in jeſt*; *Ah*, cried *Solon*, ſtriking the ground violently with his ſtaff, *if once we are pleaſed with your falſhoods in jeſt, we ſhall ſoon have them creep into our more ſerious affairs* [n].

The miſchief which *Solon* apprehended his kinſman *Piſiſtratus* would bring upon the ſtate was not long before it came to paſs; that great politician perceiving how much the people Piſiſtratus *aſſumes the ſovereignty*

[l] Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra. Herodot. Lib. i. [m] Dacier. Not. in vit. Solon. Plut. ubi ſupra. Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii. [n] Plut. ubi ſupra.

Years after the flood 1787. Before Christ 561.

were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to use or to keep. With this view having wounded himself, (and as *Herodotus* says) the mules that drew his chariot [o], he lashed into the market-place, as if pursued by his enemies, and shewing his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they testifying loudly their concern, *Solon*, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and said, *Son of* Hippocrates, *you do not act* Homer's Ulysses *well, since you deceive your fellow citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country.* A general assembly was presently convened, wherein *Ariston* moved that *Pisistratus* might have a guard of fifty persons armed with clubs. *Solon* opposed it; he told the citizens that if misfortunes befel them, they must not charge the gods with them, but themselves, for that evils were not accidental, but punishments; that crafty persons knew how to dress lies in the vestments of truth, and that before they made innovations they should well consider the consequences. After him *Pisistratus* spoke, and the people receiving all he said with loud applause, *Solon* contented himself with saying,

He craftily obtains a guard.

You doat upon his words and soothing speech.

The meaner sort of people adhering unanimously to the proposition of *Ariston*, and the richest *Athenians* remaining silent, when they saw how things would go, *Solon* took his leave, saying, that he was *wiser* than some, and *stouter* than others; wiser than those who did not penetrate *Pisistratus*'s design, and stouter than those who did not oppose it. When he was gone the assembly proceeded to vote *Pisistratus* a guard, but what number is not easily settled; it should seem from *Plutarch*'s account that he had but fifty [p]. *Herodotus* does not mention any number at all [q]. *Polyænus* makes them three hundred [r]; but *Solon* himself, in his letter to *Epimenides*, says expressly there were four hundred [s]; however it was, he made use of his guard to seize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to *Herodotus* [t] and *Plutarch* [u], assumed the sovereignty. But *Polyænus* hath given us a very singular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the *Athenians* to defend themselves, even against the small number of men under his command. He summoned an assembly to be held at the *Anacium*, and directed that the people should come thither armed. When they were ac-

And with it seizes the citadel.

[o] Herodot. lib. i. [p] Ubi supra. [q] Lib. i.
[r] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. [s] Vide Epist. Solon. ad Epimen. post. [t] Ubi supra. [u] Ubi supra.

cordingly

cordingly come together, *Piſiſtratus* harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not well hear what he ſaid, he pretended that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and adviſed them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and *Piſiſtratus* then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which while they liſtened with deep attention, *Piſiſtratus*'s guard conveyed away their arms; ſo that when he had done ſpeaking, the *Athenians* ſaw themſelves naked, and all power of reſiſtance taken from them [x]. All hiſtorians agree, that amidſt the confuſion which followed this tranſaction, there was an aſſembly held, wherein *Solon* made a ſpeech, inveighing againſt the meanneſs of his countrymen's ſpirit, and inviting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he ſet down his own arms, and contented himſelf with ſaying, *To the utmoſt of my power I have ſtriven for my country and my laws. Plutarch* ſays that he refuſed to leave his country; and that on *Piſiſtratus*'s ſending to know who it was that inſpired him with boldneſs enough to treat him in ſuch a manner, he anſwered, *My old age* [y]. But other authors ſay, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominion of *Athens* (Q).

He finds means to diſarm the people.

Piſiſtratus

[x] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. ſect. ii. [y] Ubi ſupra.

(Q) About this time it is moſt likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in *Crete* (3).

Solon to *Epimenides*.

"Neither are my laws likely "to benefit the *Athenians* long, "nor have you done the city "much good by your luſtration. "For ſacred rites, and wiſe law-"givers cannot alone benefit ci-"ties, ſince it is of great con-"ſequence of what diſpoſition "thoſe are, who influence the "common people; ſacred and "civil laws, if ſuch men execute "them well, are profitable; but "if not, are of little uſe. My "laws are now in a very indif-"ferent condition, thoſe in whom "the government was lodged, "making no oppoſition to *Pi-*"*ſiſtratus*'s deſigns, abandoned "the ſtate; this, when I fore-"told, I could not be believed, "the *Athenians* crediting rather "his flatteries than my truth. "Perceiving this, I laid down "my arms before the magazine, "and ſaid, that I was wiſer than "thoſe who did not ſee *Piſiſtra-*"*tus* aimed at tyranny, and "ſtouter than thoſe who were "afraid to reſiſt him. For this "they looked upon *Solon* as a "madman; however I heſitat-"ed, not to make this proteſ-"tation before I departed: Be-"hold, O my country, *Solon* "ready to vindicate thee in "word and deed; they again "cried out that I was mad. "Thus,

(3) *Diogen. Laert. in vita Solon.*

Piſiſtratus, in poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſupreme power in *Athens*, did not overturn the laws eſtabliſhed by *Solon*; on the contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and loſt nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable [a]. With reſpect even to *Solon* himſelf, he preſerved for him the higheſt veneration, and was ſo much diſturbed at his leaving his country, that he wrote to him, engaging him to return [b]. His letter, and *Solon*'s anſwer, the reader will find in the notes (R).

Solon

[a] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. ARIST. Polit. lib. v. c. 12. [b] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſupra.

" Thus, finding myſelf alone in " oppoſing *Piſiſtratus*, I left " them; let them ſtill, if they " pleaſe, guard with their arms " this their tyrant, for you muſt " know, my friend, that the " man very artfully poſſeſſed " himſelf of the ſovereignty; " he complied at the firſt with " the ſame democracy, after- " wards wounding himſelf, he " came into the *Eliœa*, exclaim- " ing, that he was thus wound- " ed by his enemies, deſiring " that they would grant him a " guard of four hundred men, " which they, regardleſs of all I " could ſay, complied with; af- " ter this he diſſolved the po- " pular government. In vain I " laboured to beſtow freedom " on the meaner ſort of people, " ſince now the people of all " ſorts are become *Piſiſtratus*'s " ſervants".

(R) *Piſiſtratus* to *Solon*.

" I am not the only perſon " among the *Greeks* who have " acted in this manner, nor am " I without right to the king- " dom I poſſeſs, being the de- " ſcendant of *Codrus*. That " which the *Athenians* ſwore to " preſerve to *Codrus* and his " heirs, and yet took away, I " have recovered. I offend nei- " ther againſt God nor man: I " take care to ſee thoſe laws " you framed for the *Athenians* " ſtrictly put in execution, and " ſuffer none to do wrong. I " claim no other privileges, tho' " a tyrant, than the honour and " dignity, and accept no more " than what was thought due to " the ancient kings. The *Athe-* " *nians* indeed pay the tenths of " their eſtates, not to me, but " for the defraying the expences " of the public ſacrifices, the o- " ther charges of the common- " wealth, and that we may have " wherewithal to carry on a war " if we ſhould be engaged in " one. I do not at all blame " you for diſcovering my inten- " tion; you did it out of regard " to your country, rather than " out of hatred to me; you " were ignorant of the form of " government I meant to eſta- " bliſh; had you known it, " you would perhaps have borne " it, and not have gone into ba- " niſhment; however return, " and believe me, without an " oath, *Solon* ſhall never ſuffer " hurt from *Piſiſtratus*; my very " enemies have nothing to charge " me with of that kind. If you " will be of the number of my " friends, you ſhall be the firſt, " for I never obſerved any thing " of fraud or falſehood in you; " if

Solon returned no more to *Athens*, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the time of his deceaſe, was not agreed even in the days of *Plutarch* [c], who ſays that *Heraclides Ponticus* affirmed, that *Solon* lived a long time after *Piſiſtratus* aſſumed the ſovereignty, whereas *Phanias* the *Epheſian* reported that he did not live after it quite two years. *Ælian* agrees pretty well with this computation [d], for he ſays he died a little after, being decrepid with age. *Diogenes Laertius* informs us that he reached the age of four-ſcore [e]; but *Lucian* however will have it that he lived a hundred and upwards [f]. Where he died is another diſputable point: Some ſay it was in *Cyprus* [g], others not [h]. *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he directed that his bones ſhould be burnt, and their aſhes carried to *Salamis*, and ſcattered over the iſland [i]. *Plutarch* treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the ſame time that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly *Ariſtotle* [k]. The *Athenians*, after the death of *Solon*, paid him the higheſt honours, and erected for him in the forum and at *Salamis*, a ſtatue in braſs, with his hand in his gown, the poſture in which he was wont to ſpeak; which he certainly deſerved, for the mighty ſervices rendered by him to his country (S) [l]. But to return to *Piſiſtratus*:

Solon *dies.*

AT

[c] In vita Solonis, prope fin. [d] Hiſt. var. lib. viii. c. 16.
[e] Ubi ſupra. [f] In Longævis. [g] DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi ſupra. VALER. MAX. lib. v. c. 3. [h] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [i] Ubi ſupra. [k] Ubi ſupra. [l] ÆSCH. in Timarch.

" if you are reſolved to continue " otherwiſe, live at *Athens* as " you will, only for our ſake, do " not deprive yourſelf of your " country."

Solon to *Piſiſtratus.*

" I believe I ſhall not ſuffer " any harm by you, for before " you were a tyrant, I was your " friend, and at preſent am no " more your enemy than any o- " ther *Athenian* who diſlikes " tyranny. Whether it be bet- " ter they be governed by a " ſingle perſon, or by a demo- " cracy, let both parties deter- " mine. I pronounce you the " beſt of tyrants; but to return " to *Athens*, I think not fitting, " leaſt I incur cenſure, who " ſettled an equality in the *A- " thenian* commonwealth, and " would not accept of the ty- " ranny; by returning, I ſhould " comply with thy actions."

(S) We have already ſaid ſo much of the genius of *Solon*, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we ſhall therefore take notice only of ſome remarkable paſſages, which are related concerning his death, give a ſuccinct account of his writings, and of the praiſes beſtowed upon him by the moſt eminent among the ancient *Romans* as well as *Greeks*. The very laſt day of his life ſome

Megacles *retires from* Athens.

At the very beginning of his administration, *Megacles* and his family retired out of the territories of *Athens*, but they did this with a view only to preserve themselves from being cut off to render his principality the surer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correspondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his associates entred into a treaty with *Lycurgus* and his party, and having brought them into a scheme for overturning

friends of his sitting in the chamber, fell into a discourse, to which he listened with great attention, being asked the reason, he answered, *I do this, that when I have learned whatsoever it is you dispute about, I may die* (31). A little before his last agonies, hearing his brother singing an ode of *Sappho*, he was so well pleased with it, that he called the young man, and bad him teach it him; and the reason of this being also demanded, *It is*, returned he, *that I may learn while I am departing out of this life* (32). As to his writings, we stand indebted to *Laertius* for the following account; his laws, orations to the people, poems, the *Atlantic* history, which was his last work, and left unfinished, again attempted by his kinsman *Plato*, and by him also left unfinished. Occasional epistles, amongst these there is the following one, preserved by *Laertius*, addressed to the tyrant of *Corinth*, who was esteemed one of the seven sages of *Greece*; it is very short, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.

Solon and *Periander*.

"You send me word, there "are many who plot against "you; if you should put them "all to death, it would advan-"tage you nothing; some one "there may be of those whom "you suspect not, who plots a-"gainst you, either fearing him-"self, or disdaining you, or de-"sirous to ingratiate himself with "the city, though you have "done him no injury. It is "best, if you would be free "from jealousy, to acquit your-"self of the cause; but if you "will continue in tyranny, take "care to provide a greater "strength of strangers than is in "your own city; so shall you "need to fear no man, nor put "any to death (33)."

Plato in various places commends the wisdom, learning, and genius of *Solon* (34); so also does *Aristides* (35); *Dion Chrysostom* speaks of him with the greatest respect (36), as an orator and legislator, as a warrior and a patriot; *Demosthenes* has in few words celebrated his praises (37); *Cicero* affirms, that before the times of *Solon* and *Pisistratus* eloquence was unknown (38); *Seneca* mentions *Solon* with great respect (39), and *Valerius Maximus*, as he records many things relating to himself, so he fails not greatly to commend *him*. In fine, ancient and modern writers agree, that, without flattery, *Solon* might be stiled brave, wise, and honest; how shall we commend him more?

(31) *Valer. Maxim. lib.* viii. *c.* 7. (32) *Stob. Serm.* xxix. (33) *Diogen. Laert. Vit. Solon.* (34) *In Amator. de Repub. &c.* (35) *Orat. Parallel.* (36) *Orat.* xxi. (37) *In Amator.* (38) *De Orat.* (39) *Epist.* xc.

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ing *Pisistratus*, they prosecuted this with such effect, that he found himself obliged to retire, and seek, as they had done, shelter in a foreign clime; and the *Athenians*, notwithstanding all the instances of love they had shewn him, were so far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publickly sold. However, though this resolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no body but *Callias* who would venture to buy any of them, from an apprehension, no doubt, that one time or other he would be restored [m].

Pisistratus obliged to abandon Athens.

As *Megacles* and his party had negotiated with *Lycurgus* the ruin of *Pisistratus*, so some time afterwards, finding that *Lycurgus* and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with *Pisistratus*, and to offer him, in case he would marry the daughter of *Megacles*, to reinstate him in his principality, to which *Pisistratus* readily assented. It is easy to conceive that this affair required rather fraud than force for its being conducted with success. *Pisistratus* and *Megacles* resolved to rest all upon an expedient which *Herodotus* stiles a ridiculous project; but ridiculous as it appeared, it succeeded. They found out a woman whose name was *Phya*, the daughter of *Socrates*, a man of mean family and fortune: This woman was, it seems, of prodigious stature, and otherwise very handsome; her they dressed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed all things so as to make her appear with all possible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before with orders to speak to the people in these terms, "Give a kind reception, "O *Athenians*, to *Pisistratus*, who is so much honoured by "*Minerva* above all other men, that she herself condescends "to bring him back to the citadel." When the heralds had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Pisistratus*; and in the city, the multitude believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received *Pisistratus*. When he had recovered the sovereignty, he married, as he had promised, the daughter of *Megacles*; and out of gratitude to *Phya*, gave her in marriage to his son *Hipparchus* [n].

Is restored by Megales, *whose daughter he marries.*

It was not long *Pisistratus* enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been so odly restored. We have already observed that he kept his word to *Megacles* in marrying his daughter, and it seems *Pisistratus* conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But considering that he had

[m] Plut. ubi supra. Herodot. lib. i. [n] Herodot. ubi supra. Polyaen. Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 2.

children

children by a former wife, and that *Megacles*'s family were held by the *Athenians* to be *execrable*, he never converſed with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time ſhe concealed; but at length, mentioning of it to her mother, the family ſo highly reſented his proceeding, that *Megacles* inſtantly began to negotiate with the malecontents, which *Piſiſtratus* perceiving, and ſeeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he once more quitted *Attica* voluntarily, and retired to *Eretria*. There, as ſoon as he found himſelf in ſafety, he conſulted with his ſons what courſe was fitteſt to be taken in the preſent ſituation of their affairs. *Hippias* propoſed the reducing *Athens* by force, which was agreed to, and immediately *Piſiſtratus* applied to ſeveral of the *Grecian* cities to furniſh him with men and money for the carrying this deſign of his into execution. Several yielded him their aſſiſtance as they deſired, but the *Thebans* exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of *Argives* were quickly levied by the help of theſe ſubſidies, and all things were much forwarded by the kindneſs of *Lygdamias*, a *Naxian*, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a conſiderable number of men, and advanced alſo a large ſum of money. In the eleventh year of their baniſhment, ſays *Herodotus*, *Piſiſtratus* with his family, and the army he had drawn together, marched from *Eretria* and entered *Attica*. The firſt place they poſſeſſed themſelves of was *Marathon*, and when they were incamped there they were joined by multitudes of *Athenians*, who loved the government of *Piſiſtratus* better than a democracy. It ſeems the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous ſteps, though they knew that *Piſiſtratus* was raiſing men, and borrowing money: But when they heard he was marching directly towards *Athens*, they aſſembled all their forces to defend themſelves, and to repel the invader. In the mean time, *Piſiſtratus* advancing with his army from *Marathon*, arrived at the temple of the *Pallenian Minerva*; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, *Amphilytus*, a prophet of *Acarnania*, by divine impulſe, went to him, and pronounced this oracle in *Hexameter* verſe:

Piſiſtratus *quits* Attica *a new.*

But returns at the head of an army.

Takes Marathon.

The net is ſpread, and dexterouſly thrown,
By the clear moon-light ſhall the tunnies come.

When the prophet had delivered theſe words, *Piſiſtratus* comprehending the oracle, and ſaying he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time, the *Athenians* having drawn their forces out of the city, and taken their dinner, betook themſelves afterwards to dice or ſleep: So that the army of *Piſiſtratus* falling upon them by ſurprize, ſoon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape, *Piſiſtratus* contrived an artful ſtratagem in order

order to diſperſe them ſo intirely that they might not rally again. He commanded his ſons to ride before with ſpeed, and in his name to inform all thoſe that they ſhould overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation [o]. Thus *Piſiſtratus* became a third time poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of *Athens*, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method directly contrary to that which *Theſeus* had made uſe of for aggrandizing his kingdom; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of *Attica* retire from the country, and live together in the city, *Piſiſtratus* obliged them to addict themſelves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places, and cabal againſt him. By this means he greatly mended the ſtate of the *Athenian* territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over *Attica*, which before was not only almoſt void of corn, but alſo bare of trees [p]. He likewiſe commanded that in the city men ſhould wear a certain kind of ſheep-ſkin veſt, reaching only to the knees, which in ſucceeding times became proverbially the habit of ſlavery [q]. The *Athenians* being ſo nice in reſpect to liberty, that if things right in themſelves were commanded by perſons void of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greateſt miſery. On this account it was that *Piſiſtratus*'s laws againſt idleneſs were held tyrannical, though they were enacted merely in ſupport of thoſe of *Solon*.

Surpriſes and defeats the Athenians, *and the third time poſſeſſes himſelf of the ſovereignty*

By what methods he ſecured to himſelf the poſſeſſion of it.

He received as prince of *Athens* the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the ancient revenues were, *viz.* to the ſervice of the ſtate, ſeemed to the *Athenians* an intolerable grievance. It happened once that *Piſiſtratus*, being in the country, perceived an old man buſy in creeping over the rocks, and picking ſomething: *Piſiſtratus* aſked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour? *Troubles and a few plants of wild ſage*, replied the old man, *and of theſe* Piſiſtratus *muſt have the tenth.* To which *Piſiſtratus* made him no reply, but on his return to the city diſcharged him from paying this duty [r]. He endeavoured by all means poſſible to eradicate the fierceneſs of the *Athenians*, but to little purpoſe; for as he was ſo averſe to ſeverity, ſo it was a difficult thing for them to learn ſubmiſſion. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feaſt, in their return met his wife, and inſulted her groſsly: The next day, however, when their ſpirits were cooler, they went

He receives the tenths of every man's revenues.

[o] Herod. lib. i. c. 61. [p] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Differt. xiii. [q] Suidas in voce Κατοπυγοι. [r] Zenobius Cent. iv. Prov. 76.

went in the moſt humble manner to aſk him pardon. *Piſiſtratus* heard their apology very graciouſly, and when they had done, *I would adviſe you, gentlemen*, ſaid he, *to behave for the future more modeſtly; but as for my wife, ſhe was not abroad yeſterday*[s]. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*: And when the *Athenians*, to ſhew their averſion to him, went and eaſed themſelves there, he firſt endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from ſo ſcandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that ſuch as for the future were guilty of that offence ſhould ſuffer death[t]. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, mentioned before in our deſcription of the city of *Athens*. He was the firſt who built a library for publick uſe, and directed that *Homer*'s poems ſhould be digeſted into regular order, as we have them at preſent. In all other reſpects he was a great encourager of learning, and converſed familiarly with *Crotoniates* the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the *Argonauts*[u]. As to his military virtues, we have already ſhewn what a ſhare he had in the reduction of *Salamis*. He is alſo reported by *Herodotus* to have conquered the iſland of *Naxus*, which he put into the hands of *Lygdamis*. He alſo conquered the city of *Sigeium*, and purified the iſland of *Delos*; ſo that on the whole it ſeems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince[x]. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his ſtation, but when he heard he was accuſed in the court of *Areopagus* of a murder, he came like a private man, and ſubmitted himſelf to judgment[y]. At another time having ſome way offended certain *Athenians* of principal dignity, and they retiring to the caſtle of *Phylæ*, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag on his back: When they aſked him what he meant, *Either*, ſaid, he, *to engage you to go back with me to* Athens, *or to ſtay with you myſelf, and therefore you ſee I am come provided*[z].

His edifices.

Builds a public library.

His military virtues.

Maintains the laws.

FROM the time of his firſt poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty to his death, there intervened thirty-three years, of which he reigned but ſeventeen, as we learn from *Ariſtotle*, and conſequently his firſt and ſecond exile included ſixteen years; as to the latter, *Herodotus* tells us expreſsly that it laſted eleven years; conſequently his firſt exile was five years

[s] PLUTARCH. Apothegm. [t] AND. SCHOT. Append. Vatic. Prov. Cent. i. p. 82. [u] SUIDAS. VITRUVIUS. Præt. lib. vii. A. GELLIUS Noct. Attic. lib. vi. c. 17. [x] HERODOT. libi i. [y] ARIST. Polit. l. v. c. 12. [z] PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. Polit. l. v. c. 12. HERODOT. l. i.

only. He left behind him, amongſt other children, two ſons, both men of great capacity, *viz.* *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, but which of theſe was the eldeſt is a point never to be determined: *Thucydides* more than once affirms that it was *Hippias*, and charges ſuch as believe the contrary with being in a groſs error [b]. *Polyænus* ſays the ſame thing [c]; yet *Plato* is as poſitive that *Hipparchus* was the eldeſt [d]. *Ælian* follows him, and *Heraclides Ponticus* ſeems to be of the ſame opinion. *Thucydides* ſupports his account of the matter by ſome arguments, which in the opinion of the learned *Meurſius* are not very concluſive. Without troubling the reader farther with ſo perplexed a buſineſs, we will proceed to the relation of facts better aſſerted (T).

His two ſons Hippias *and* Hipparchus.

THE

[b] Bell. Pelop. lib. i. & lib. vi. [c] Stratagem. lib. v. c. 14.
[d] In Hipparch.

(T) It would have interrupted the current of our ſtory too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of *Piſiſtratus*, and yet it is neceſſary, in order to have a perfect comprehenſion of the affairs of the *Athenians* during this ſpace of time, that all the circumſtances mentioned in ancient authors relating to the *Piſiſtratidæ*, ſhould be ſomewhere preſerved and explained. As to the deſcent of *Piſiſtratus* himſelf, we ſee from his own letter to *Solon* that he was of the houſe of *Codrus* the laſt king of *Athens*. Ancient authors aſſure us that he was of the ſame family with *Neſtor* (40), ſo that in point of nobility of birth, few princes have had greater cauſe to value themſelves than *Piſiſtratus*. His father's name was *Hippocrates*, as we are more than once told by *Herodotus*; and as the ancients were very circumſpect of noting whatever had relation to the birth of their children, ſo as to the nativity of *Piſiſtratus* ſomething very extraordinary is recorded. *Hippocrates* being at the celebration of the *Olympic* games, cauſed a victim which he had ſlain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the aſſiſtance of fire. *Chilon*, the *Lacedæmonian* being preſent when this prodigy happened, immediately addreſſed himſelf to the *Athenian*, adviſing him not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in caſe he was married to ſuch a one to divorce her, or, if he had a ſon to abdicate him; but *Hippocratis* did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of *Piſiſtratus*, he educated the child with great care; nor is it unlikely that *Hippocrates* apprehended why the *Lacedæmonian* gave him this advice, ſince he called his ſon after the name of the ſon of *Neſtor*, that he might continually remember his lineage, and be from thence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following paſſage,

(40) *Herodot. lib.* v. *c.* 63. *Euſtath. ad Iliad.* γ. *Dieg. Laertius in vit. Chilonis.* (41) *Herodot. lib.* i.

Hipparchus *and* Hippias.

THE brothers *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* ſhared, as moſt think, the ſupreme authority between them, ſome ſay that the former only had the title, and others, that *Piſiſtratus* bequeathed

paſſage, which ſhews that ſhe lived to be pretty far in years. When her ſon was poſſeſſed of the principality of *Athens*, ſhe fell in love with a young man, with whom ſhe converſed ſecretly, and with great caution; however *Piſiſtratus* had intelligence thereof, he therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they roſe from table, *What think you, my friend*, ſaid Piſiſtratus, *of your treatment to day? That it was excellent, Sir*, anſwered he, *Why then*, replied Piſiſtratus, *you may be aſſured that you ſhall meet with the like fare every day, as long as you pleaſe my mother* (42). As to his affability and generoſity we have ſpoken ſufficiently already; but it may not be amiſs to note that the wiſeſt both of the *Greeks* and *Romans* have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of *Piſiſtratus*, which they agree was the chief inſtrument he uſed in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great appears from another teſtimony ſtill ſtronger than the former, *viz.* from the mighty apprehenſions the *Athenians* were in, that *Pericles* would attempt to make himſelf a prince, becauſe in his countenance and manner of ſpeaking he was ſaid to reſemble *Piſiſtratus* (44). *Cicero* writing to *Atticus* concerning *Cæſar*'s conqueſt of the commonwealth, tells him, that it was yet uncertain whether would prove a *Phalaris* or a *Piſiſtratus* (45), whereby he plainly means to delineate the worſt of tyrannies and the beſt. It may therefore be affirmed of *Piſiſtratus*, that of all the ſovereigns who illegally acquired their principalities, he governed with the greateſt juſtice, ſince both *Solon* and *Cicero* teſtify as much, and ſince it was thought the higheſt compliment that could be paid *Cæſar*, that he governed like another *Piſiſtratus*. We have ſeen many inſtances of his humanity; there is yet another which ought not to be ſuppreſſed. *Thraſibulus* or *Thraſimedes*, was in love with *Piſiſtratus*'s daughter, and it ſeems was not hated by her. When therefore ſhe was going in a publick proceſſion to ſacrifice, the young man imprudently kiſſed her, with which *Piſiſtratus*'s family was ſo much diſguſted, that they entreated him to puniſh ſeverely this inſolent offender; to which *Piſiſtratus* mildly anſwered, *If we are ſevere to thoſe who love us, what ſhall we do to thoſe who hate us? Thraſimedes*, either encouraged by this or diſtracted by his paſſion, drew in ſome young men of his acquaintance to aſſiſt him in carrying off the lady; this they performed as ſhe came to the ſhore to offer ſacrifice to the ſea, and having conveyed her into a bark, made all the ſail they could for *Ægina*. *Hippias* being at that time employed in ſcowring the ſeas of pyrates, without knowing any thing of what happened, boarded this bark, and recovered his ſiſter. When the delinquents

(42) *Plutarch. Apophtheg. lib.* iii. *c* 34. *Iſocrat. in Pantathæn.*
(43) *Dion. Chryſ. Orat.* xxii. *Cicer. de Orat.*
(44) *Plutarch. in vita Periclis.*
(45) *Lib.* vii. *Epiſt.* 20.

queathed his authority, not only to these two, but also to his third son *Thessalus* [g]. Clear it is that *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*

Year of the flood 1820. Before Christ 528.

[g] ATHENÆUS Deipnos. lib. xiii. THUCYD. ubi supra. HERAC. PONT. Fragm.

quents were brought before *Pisistratus*, and threatned with death, they could by no means be induced to acknowledge their offence. *Pisistratus*, when he had a while considered them, told *Thrasimedes*, that he bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, that no broils might be created among the *Athenians* on account of his family; and by this means bound the relations and friends of that young man for ever to his interest (46). Amongst the worthy acts of this great man, his collecting the works of *Homer* is generally looked upon as one of the chief. We think it therefore necessary to inform our reader how this was performed; the rather, because it is contained in an extract from a *Greek* book, the whole of which is hitherto unpublished; and this very extract not easily met with. Our author says, that *Pisistratus*, considering the various ways by which *Homer*'s poems had been corrupted, and fearing lest in the end they should be totally lost, he caused public notice to be given throughout *Greece*, that all who were possessed of any genuine works of *Homer* should bring them to him, promising to give them so much a line, which he punctually performed, even where several persons brought the same verses; because to the first the money was due, and the latter he said deserved it for their good will; he caused the whole to be revised by the most experienced critics, amongst whom *Zenodotus* and *Aristarchus* were the chief (47). He is said to have had three wives, two before he arrived at the sovereignty, and the third the daughter of *Megacles*, whom, as we have shewn, he married merely to keep his word. By the first he had *Hipparchus*, whom *Justin* calls *Diocles*, and *Hippias*, but her name is not known; the second was called *Timonassa*, an *Argive* by birth, by whom he had *Jophon* and *Thessalus*; when he was about to marry this woman, his sons came to him and asked him, If any misbehaviour of theirs had induced him to think of another marriage? *No*, answered he, *I approve your conduct so much that I would have more children like you* (48). Yet he refused to have children by his last wife, because her family, though noble, was stained with an indelible mark of infamy among the *Athenians*. The name of his daughter is not known. Besides these children by his wives, he had a bastard son by an *Argive* woman whose name was *Hegistratus*, to whom he left the principality of *Sigeum*, whither his son *Hippias* retired when expelled by the *Athenians* (49). As to the dates when the several memorable transactions above recited happened, authors are not thoroughly agreed about them; we shall therefore postpone what we have to say to them, till we come to the death of *Hippias*, and then consider the whole matter together.

(46) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib. v. c. 4. Thrac. de Arte Gram. apud Meurs. in Præfat. Gronov. Thes. Grec. Vol. IV.*

(47) *Diomed. in Comment. Dionys.*

(48) *Plutarch. de vit. Caton.*

(49) *Herodot. Thucyd. &c. ubi supra.*

lived

lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a person of great sweetness of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and also himself a very learned man. He directed that the rhapsodists, a sort of bards by profession, should at the great feast stiled *Panathenæa* sing all the poems of *Homer*, that the *Athenians* might be generally instructed both in the sciences, and in the moral conduct of life. He treated *Simonides* the poet with great kindness, and kept him always near his person, and sent a galley on purpose to bring the celebrated *Anacreon* to *Athens* [h]. *Onomacritus* was another of his favourites, but he having been catched in the fact of interpolating the oracles of *Musæus*, *Hipparchus* not only dismissed him the court, but banished him from *Athens* [i]. So assiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he caused in city and country, but especially in the latter, statues of *Mercury* to be set up, and certain wise counsels in *Elegaic* verse to be inscribed on both sides of them. Sometimes there was only a short saying, such as, *This is the precept of* Hipparchus, *be thou strictly just*, or *deceive not thy friend.* On account therefore of these shining virtues, he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the *Pisistratidæ* seemed to be thoroughly and quietly established [k]. But when it was least expected, a conspiracy was formed for taking off both the brothers, which succeeded in respect to *Hipparchus*, and narrowly missed with regard to *Hippias*. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumstances; as to the most material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are these: There were two young men in *Athens*, *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton*; the former was exquisitely beautiful in his person, and on that account, according to the infamous custom of the *Greeks*, violently beloved of the other; this *Harmodius* was also beloved by *Hipparchus*, who, if we may believe *Thucydides*, forced him. *Aristogiton* grievously resented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their resentment: *Hipparchus* finding that *Harmodius* endeavoured to avoid him, publickly affronted him by not permitting his sister to carry the offering of *Minerva*, as if she was a person unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to shew any public signs of resentment, consulted privately with their friends, among whom it was resolved at the approaching festival of the *Panathenæa*, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to restore *Athens* to liberty; the conspirators believing that the people would be unanimous

Hipparchus's *excellent character.*

A conspiracy formed against both.

Harmodius *and* Aristogiton.

[h] Plato ubi supra. [i] Herodot. lib. vii. [k] Plato ubi supra.

support of a design so manifestly calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this design in execution, they perceived at a distance one of their own number talking very familiarly with *Hippias*; this amazed them, they were afraid that he had discovered to him the conspirators; taking courage therefore from the supposed desperate state of their affairs, they instantly fell on *Hipparchus*, and with a multitude of wounds dispatched him. The people however did not second them in this great exploit, but suffered *Hermodius* to be killed upon the spot by *Hipparchus*'s guard, and having seized *Aristogiton* themselves delivered him up (U) [n].

Hipparchus *killed.*

And likewise Harmodius.

Hippias behaved on this occasion with great prudence; he dissembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better preserve himself and family; he approached the great croud of people with his guards, and having picked out such as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged him to believe conspirators, he dismissed the rest [p]. As for the *Athenians* in general, though they seemed to have a high esteem for the *Pisistratidæ*, and had been governed by them with great gentleness for the space of a long series of years, and had not made any general insurrection, in order to favour the attempt of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, yet they carried their respect for them after their deaths to a height scarce to be accounted for; they caused their praises to be sung at the *Panathenæa*, they forbid any citizen to call his slave by either of their names [r]; they erected brazen statues for them in the forum, which statues, as *Pliny* informs us, were the works of *Praxiteles* [s]; these statues *Xerxes* afterwards carried into *Greece* from whence they were sent back to *Athens*, either by *Alexander* [t], *Antipchus*,

Harmodius *and* Aristogiton *greatly honoured by the* Athenians.

[n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Plato ubi supra. Ælian. var. Hist. lib. xi. 8. [p] Thucyd. lib. vi. [q] Dion. Chrys. Orat. xi. Philost. in vit. Apoll. lib. vii. c. 2. [r] Liban. Declam. xxix. [s] H. N. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. [t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. iii.

(U) *Herodotus* relates a very odd story in relation to this transaction; *Hipparchus*, he tells us, the night preceding the day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handsome youth standing by him, who repeated distinctly these obscure lines;

Tlon unmov'd, sustain the greatest ill;
Er punishment attends injustice still.

At break of day he acquainted such as had skill in dreams with what he had seen: what their interpretation was, *Herodotus* does not inform us; he adds, that at length *Hipparchus* despising this omen, went to celebrate the feast, and was there slain in the manner we have related (49).

(49) *Herodotus, lib.* v. *c.* 56.

tiochus [a], or *Seleucus* [x]; for authors do not agree which. They likewise granted several immunities and honorary privileges to the descendants of these patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable, as we shall see elsewhere [y] (X).

THE supreme power being now in the hands of *Hippias*, he began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a severity unknown to his family before, and which was the worse borne, because himself had been so mild a prince. The first effects of this change of his temper fell upon those concerned in the late conspiracy; he ordered *Aristogiton* to be put to the torture in order to extort from him the names of those who were privy to this transaction. This man, as soon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named some of *Hippias*'s best friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the same fate, and when *Hippias* asked him if there were not still some others, he replied smiling, *I know of none now, but yourself that deserves to suffer death* [z]. But it was not *Aristogiton* only who triumphed over the cruelty of *Hippias*; a woman he kept whose name was *Leæna*, behaved with no less intrepidity than he. *Hippias* having directed her to be tortured in

Aristogiton impeaches all Hippias's friends.

[a] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [x] VAL. MAX. lib. ii. c. 10.
[y] DEMOST. Orat. in Leptin. [z] POLYÆN. Strateg. lib i. c. 22.

(X) The history of *Hipparchus*'s murder is variously reported. *Thucydides* says expressly, that *Harmodius*, who was in the flower of his age, was beloved by *Aristogiton*, a citizen of the middle rank, and ascribes the murder of *Hipparchus* to his rival's hatred (50). *Aristotle* calls *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* lovers (51); and so does *Maximus Tyrius* (52). *Justin* differs from every body, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After *Pisistratus*'s death, *Diocles*, one of his sons, says he, having ravished a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (53). He had this probably from *Trogus Pompeius*, whose work he abridged; but where *Trogus* had it, is not known. *Aristogiton* is by some authors said to have been an humble dependant on *Harmodius*, and his mistress *Leæna*, no better than a singing woman, who used to attend at feasts (54). On the whole therefore, whatever honours the *Athenians* thought fit to decree these men, their conspiracy seems rather the effects of passion, than any desire to do their country good; or at best the latter was pretended to cover the former; but it suited the *Athenians*, who were violent enemies to the government of a single person, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors therein the title of heroes.

(50) *Thucyd. lib.* vi. (51) *Rhetor. lib.* ii. (52)
(53) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 9. (54)

order

order to extort diſcoveries, ſhe bore it patiently as long as ſhe was able; but when ſhe found ſhe could endure it no longer, ſhe bit off her tongue and ſpit it out, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man ſhe loved. The *Athenians* conceiving it indecent to ſet up the ſtatue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themſelves with erecting that of a lioneſs without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraven theſe words, *Her tongue herſelf bit off*[a]. This conſpiracy being, as *Hippias* conceived, thoroughly quaſhed, he took all the meaſures which human policy could ſuggeſt to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he encreaſed his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the *Athenians* to bring in their ſilver coin at a certain price and coined new. Theſe violent methods ſoon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preſerved it ſo long. *Hippias* held the ſovereignty only three years after the demiſe of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled[b] (Y).

The intrepidity of Leæna.

WE

[a] PLUT. de Garr.

[b] HERODOT. lib. v. c. 45.

(Y) It may ſeem a little ſtrange that in ſpeaking of the government of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, we have aſſerted that they did not greatly violate the laws or conſtitution of their country. In order to explain this, we muſt deſcend a little into the particulars of *Piſiſtratus*'s policy. He pretended, as we ſee in his letter to *Solon*, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magiſtrates of the commonwealth, but ſuffered them to continue veſted with the ſame power they had before, taking care however, that the archon ſhould be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on; ſo that he at once preſerved that ſuperiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which was ſo pleaſing to them. That all the family of *Piſiſtratus* had, in their turns, a ſhare in the adminiſtration, might be made appear from various teſtimonies; at preſent we will inſiſt only on one. *Piſiſtratus*, the ſon of *Hippias*, and grandſon of the great *Piſiſtratus*, as we learn from *Thucydides*, placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; the inſcription on the former the *Athenians* demoliſhed, but that on the latter they ſuffered to remain, which run thus: *This monument, during the time of his magiſtracy*, Piſiſtratus, *the ſon of* Hippias, *placed in the temple of the* Pythian Apollo. It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, becauſe the year in which he was archon could not be ſettled, however the authority before produced may be aſſuredly relied on. The exceſſes committed by *Hippias* after the death

The Pisistratidæ *expelled* Athens, *and the democracy restored.*

We have already observed that *Megacles*, who was of the family of *Alcmæon*, left his country, when *Pisistratus* was a second time restored, but he and those who were with him carried away a great sum of money. The *Alcmæonidæ* (for so the family of *Megacles* from their great ancestor *Alcmæon* were stiled) settled at *Lipsydrum* in *Pæonia*, and there gave refuge to all who fled from *Athens*, which were not a few; for *Pisistratus*, as some say, or, as others report, *Hippias*, banished all that depended on that family, and suffered not so much as the dead to rest in their graves, on the old superstitious account, it may be, of their being thought *execrable* [c]. This family residing, as we have said, at *Lipsydrum*, busied themselves in contriving means for expelling the *Pisistratidæ*, and at last devised a method which proved not unsuccessful. They agreed with the *Amphictyons*, or states general of *Greece*, to rebuild the temple of *Delphi*; as they were possessed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontispiece with *Parian* marble instead of common stone, to the use of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public service of *Greece*, they served themselves too a little, for they corrupted the *Pythia*, i. e. she who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the *Lacedæmonians* who came to consult the oracle, either on behalf of *the state*, or on their private account, to deliver *Athens*. This had the effect they expected; for the *Lacedæmonians* finding this admonition incessantly inculcated, sent *Anchimolius*, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into *Attica*, to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithstanding the *Pisistratidæ* were at that time their good friends and allies [d]. *Hippias*, however, receiving advice of these proceedings, sent to the *Thessalians*, who were his confederates, to demand their assistance, who readily sent him a thousand horse under the command of *Cineas*, one of their princes. A short time after, *Anchimolius* with his fleet arrived on the *Athenian* coast, and immediately after the army landed and encamped. The

[c] Suidas. [d] Herodot. ubi supra.

death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildness of the administration preceding it; for few things that he did, would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with observing, that *Augustus Cæsar* affected, like *Pisistratus*, to leave the popular magistrates and the senate in the nominal possession of their authority, though at the same time he held the supreme power himself (55).

(55) *Thucyd. lib.*

Piss-

Piſiſtratidæ did not, however, abandon *Athens*, but *Hippias* having cleared the adjacent country in ſuch a manner that the *Theſſalian* horſe might act with eaſe, attacked the *Lacedæmonians* ſuddenly, routed them with a great ſlaughter ſlew their general *Anchimolius*, and obliged the ſhattered remains of his army to betake themſelves to their ſhips. The body of the *Spartan* general was honourably interred near the temple of *Hercules* in the *Cynoſarges*. The *Lacedæmonians*, incenſed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to ſend another army into *Attica*, which accordingly they did under their king *Cleomenes*, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the *Athenian* territories defeated the *Theſſalian* horſe, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own country, he made uſe of this opportunity to beſiege *Hippias*, who had retired within the *Pelaſgic* wall: This ſiege, however, could not have produced any great matter, *Hippias* and his forces being well provided with all things within, *Cleomenes* and his army deſtitute of all things without; but an accident changed the ſcene, and conſtrained *Hippias* to abandon *Athens*. The *Piſiſtratidæ* were ſo careful of their children, that to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted to ſend them out of *Attica*; which meaſure of theirs, though intended for the preſervation of their offſpring, proved the ruin of themſelves, their children falling into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Piſiſtratidæ* retaining ſtill the ſame affection for their children, agreed by treaty to retire in five days out of *Attica*, in order to redeem them [e]. This accordingly they did, nor were they in any danger of wanting a place of refuge; the princes of *Theſſaly* invited them into their country, the king of *Macedon* offered them a city and a territory, if they would retire into his dominions [f]. But *Hippias* and his family choſe rather to go to the city of *Sigeum*, which *Piſiſtratus* had conquered and left behind him to his poſterity, *Herodotus* ſays to *Hegiſtratus* his natural ſon. From this time forwards the *Athenians* purſued this family with implacable hatred, retaining ſuch a ſenſe of their uſurpation, that leſt other eminent perſons ſhould imitate them, and through their intereſt in the people aſſume the ſovereignty; they were moſt ready to baniſh even the moſt worthy of their citizens, that at all events they might be ſafe, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſhew in the ſucceeding pages of this hiſtory.

Hippias defeats the Lacedæmonians.

Hippias conſtrained to abandon Athens.

THE *Athenians* did not enjoy an uninterrupted quiet as they expected, after the expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidæ*. The people

The people at Athens divided into two factions.

[e] ARISTOPH. Lyſiſtr. PAUSAN. in LACON. ubi ſupra.

[f] HERODOT.

were quickly divided into two factions; at the head of the one was *Clyſthenes*, the moſt eminent of the *Alcmæonidæ*; and at the head of the other, *Iſagoras* the ſon of *Tirſander*, a man of great quality, and in high eſteem with the nobility of *Athens*. *Clyſthenes*, who was a perſon of great parts, as we may gueſs from his having a principal hand in corrupting the *Pithia*, which was the prime cauſe of *Hippias*'s expulſion, applied himſelf chiefly to the people, and in order thoroughly to engage them in his intereſt, ſought by all methods poſſible to encreaſe their power. With this view he altered many things in *Solon*'s ſcheme of government; for whereas till this time the *Athenian* tribes had been but four in number, he augmented them to ten, and encreaſed the ſenate from four hundred to five. *Iſagoras* penetrating his deſign, and readily conceiving that by this courſe he would get the better of him and his faction, immediately reſolved to ſeek aid from the *Lacedæmonians*. This ſeemed to him the more eaſy, becauſe in their laſt expedition he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *Cleomenes* their king. He likewiſe deviſed a very proper expedient for the expulſion of his rival *viz.* the ſo often mentioned ſtory of the putting to death *Cylon*'s aſſociates, after their taking ſanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*; but as we have heretofore obſerved, the *Alcmæonidæ* were of the ſame family with *Megacles*, who was principally concerned in that tranſaction. The *Lacedæmonians* readily came into *Iſagoras*'s propoſition, and *Cleomenes* ſuddenly diſpatched a herald to *Athens*, with a declaration of war, in caſe the *Alcmæonidæ* were not immediately baniſhed. The *Athenians* either dreading the *Lacedæmonian* power, or being tired already of *Clyſthenes*, made no great difficulty of the thing; but to avoid a war, baniſhed their benefactors. The worſt of it was, that this did not anſwer their end, for *Cleomenes*, at the head of a *Spartan* army, ſoon after entered *Attica*. On his arrival at *Athens* he drove ſeven hundred families into baniſhment, excluſive of thoſe whom the *Athenians* had before baniſhed with *Clyſthenes*; after this he would have diſſolved the ſenate, and have veſted the government in three hundred of the principal perſons of *Iſagoras*'s faction. This was puſhing the matter too far. The *Athenians* perceiving that either they muſt ſubmit to ſlavery, or reſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, they therefore immediately took up arms, and conſtrained *Cleomenes* and his troops to retire, together with *Iſagoras* and his friends, into the citadel, where they beſieged them for two days. On the third, the king of *Lacedæmon* being now convinced that force would do nothing with the *Athenians*, ſurrendered upon theſe terms, that all who were in the citadel ſhould have leave to retire out of *Attica* unmoleſted. The *Athenians*, however, fell upon

Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon, ſides with one of the parties.

Cleomenes enters Attica.

Is beſieged in the citadel of Athens, and forced to retire.

on

on ſuch as were ſeparated from the army, and put them to death without mercy: Amongſt theſe was *Timeſitheus*, the brother of *Cleomenes*; ſo that the *Athenians* no longer kept any meaſures with the *Lacedæmonians*, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things ſought to ſubvert that democracy of which they were ſo fond, and to conſtitute an ariſtocracy, which in truth was ever the aim of the *Spartans*, who, where-ever they had authority, ſet up that form of rule. One reaſon of which, among others, was this, that they could better depend on the friendſhips of ſuch ſtates than ſuch as were governed by the people, who very ſeldom know their true intereſt, and are frequently prevailed on to change their counſels. But to return to the current of our hiſtory.

Cleomenes *attempts to make* Iſagoras *tyrant of* Athens.

Cleomenes and his *Spartans* had no ſooner quitted the *Athenian* territories, than the people of that country recalled *Clyſthenes*, and all the families they had ſent into exile, that they might be the better able to ſupport a war which they foreſaw they ſhould be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded: *Cleomenes* raiſed forces throughout all *Peloponneſus*, though without declaring poſitively his intention, which was to make *Iſagoras*, who was ſtill with him, tyrant of *Athens*. When all things were ready, the *Lacedæmonian* king engaged the *Bœotians* on one ſide, and the *Chalcidians* on the other, to attack the *Athenians*, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of *Eleuſis*. The *Athenians*, knowing that it was impoſſible for them to ſet on foot armies ſufficient to look all their enemies in the face, reſolved to leave their territories to the mercy of the *Bœotians* and *Chalcidians*, and with all the forces they could draw together to march againſt *Cleomenes*. This reſolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution; but before the armies were ready to engage, the *Corinthians*, who were among the forces of *Cleomenes*, began to doubt the juſtice of their cauſe; and thinking it ſafeſt not to act where they were doubtful, marched back to their own country. *Demaratus* the ſon of *Ariſton*, the other king of *Sparta*, and collegue of *Cleomenes*, was alſo againſt this expedition; and his oppoſition was the more remarkable, becauſe till then he had never differed with his collegue. The confederates obſerving that neither the *Lacedæmonian* princes could agree amongſt themſelves, or prevail upon the *Corinthians* to remain with the army, began to diſtaſte this buſineſs, and dropping off by degrees, put the *Athenians* out of fear.

But is abandoned by his confederates.

When the *Spartans* and their allies were withdrawn, the people of *Athens* determined to revenge themſelves upon the *Chalcidians*, againſt whom the army marched immediately; but finding the *Bœotians* had aſſembled a conſiderable

The Athenians *gain two complete victories over the* Chalcidians *and* Bœotians.

body of forces between them and the *Euripus*, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with such success, that the *Bœotians* were intirely routed, a great number of them slain, and seven hundred taken prisoners. This victory opened a free passage into *Eubœa*, whither the *Athenians* passed over the same day, and falling upon the *Chalcidians*, obtained a glorious victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, whom with the *Bœotians* they carried back with them to *Athens*, leaving in *Eubœa* four thousand men. All the prisoners taken in this battle the *Athenians* put in irons, though they afterwards set them at liberty on receiving two *Minæ* for each man by way of ransom. The fetters, however, they hung up in the citadel; and having consecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ransom, they purchased therewith a chariot with four horses a-breast, which they set up in the portico of the citadel, with this inscription:

Warm with just rage, when the *Athenian* youth
O'ercame *Bœotian* and *Chalcidian* bands,
Their foes, in fetters bound, to *Pallas* then,
These, as the tenth of all their spoils, they plac'd (Z).

The war with the Æginatians.

The *Bœotians*, stung with the indignities offered to their countrymen when made prisoners by the *Athenians*, resolved to revenge themselves; and, as the custom of those times was, before they began the war, they sent to consult the oracle at *Delphos*. Having received its answer, and spent a considerable

(Z) This happy success of the *Athenian* arms falling out in a short time of the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*, *Herodotus* makes the following observation thereupon: "Thus the affairs of the "*Athenians* flourished; yet they "are not the only example of "this kind. For all places a-"bound in instances of the pro-"sperity that attends an equal "distribution of power. Under "their tyrants indeed, they were "not inferior in war to any of "their neighbours: but they "had no sooner freed themselves "from that servitude, than they "far surpassed all the rest, and "became the principal nation "of *Greece*; which manifestly "shews, that as long as they "were oppressed they acted re-"missly, and would not exert "their courage to the utmost, "because they knew their vic-"tories could only redound to "the advantage of their masters; "whereas, after they had reco-"vered their liberty, every man "contended who should do best, "because they fought for them-"selves. And such was the state "of the *Athenian* affairs *." That *Herodotus* had reason to introduce this reflection here, appears from the subsequent conduct of the people of *Athens*, who, no longer passive under any affronts, took up arms frequently against this insulting neighbour, and forced them to be both quiet and submissive.

* *Herodot. lib. v. c. 78.*

time

time in consulting on its meaning, they at last resolved to engage the inhabitants of *Ægina* to invade *Attica* at the same time, which it was easy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that coast. This nation having an hereditary hatred to the *Athenians*, and being elate on account of their great wealth, readily embraced the proposal; and, while the people of *Athens* bent all their attention towards the *Bœotian* war, landed a considerable army on the opposite side, and wasted all the sea-coasts. The *Athenians* immediately took fire at this, but sending to and fro to *Delphi* before they equipped a fleet against *Ægina*, they had suddenly a new affair upon their hands.

Year of the flood 1847. Before Christ 501.

Cleomenes, when he returned to *Sparta* after his unsuccessful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he said he had found in the citadel of *Athens*, while he was besieged therein: The purport of these oracles was, that *Athens* would in time rival *Sparta*. On the back of this came out the discovery of *Clysthenes*'s confederacy with the priestess of *Apollo*, whereby the *Lacedæmonians* had been engaged to drive the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*, or, in other words, to sacrifice their fast friends to such as by their interests were bound to be their enemies. The *Spartans* repenting sorely of the folly they had committed, sent for *Hippias* from *Sigeum*, in order to restore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their summons, and tho' it cost him a long voyage by sea, came in person to *Lacedæmon*, where the kings of *Sparta*, and the deputies of the states in alliance with them, were in deep consultation. *Sosicles* the *Corinthian* made a long harangue against the proposition for restoring *Hippias*, which had such an influence on the deputies from the rest of the confederates, that the *Lacedæmonians* found it impossible to engage them in this design, and were therefore constrained to abandon it themselves, so that *Hippias* was obliged to return to *Sigeum*, without relinquishing however his hopes of one day reducing *Athens*.

The Spartans *propose to restore* Hippias.

The proposal rejected by the other states.

Aristagoras the *Milesian* having set on foot a revolt in *Ionia*, and having failed in his attempt to engage the *Lacedæmonians* to abet it, came to *Athens*, and, as *Herodotus* observes, found it easier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to persuade the *Lacedæmonian* king. In consequence of his fine speeches, they decreed that twenty ships should be sent to the assistance of the *Ionians*, under the command of *Melanthius*, an *Athenian* nobleman, universally esteemed; by the assistance of which fleet the *Ionians* did many great exploits, and amongst the rest sacked *Sardis*, of which when the *Persian* king had advice, he declared himself the sworn enemy of *Athens*, and solemnly besought God that he might one day have it his power to be revenged of them [f].

The Ionian *war.*

[f] Herodot. l. v. c. 101.

This

This was the source of those wars which followed afterwards between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, and which were so fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the *Ionians* were unsuccessful, and the *Persians* reduced them again under their yoke.

War between the Athenians *and the people of* Ægina.

Year of the flood 1856. Before Christ 492.

When the *Ionian* war was ended, the *Persian* king sent to demand *Earth* and *Water*, as tokens of submission from the *Greeks*, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at sea, most of the islanders yielded, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of *Ægina*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads that this nation had submitted themselves to the great king, that they might be at liberty to act against the *Athenians* under colour of their being subject to the *Persian* crown. On this account *they*, that is, the *Athenians*, sent ambassadors to *Sparta* to accuse the inhabitants of *Ægina* of treachery towards the *Greeks*. The *Spartans* upon this complaint sent their king *Cleomenes* to *Ægina*, who on his arrival attempted to seize the persons principally concerned in making their submission to the *Persians*. But when he attempted this, *Crius* the son of *Polycritus* interposed, and told him he should not carry away any of his countrymen, because he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commission from the *Lacedæmonians*. This exceedingly irritated *Cleomenes*, who notwithstanding was constrained to return without effecting what he designed, his collegue *Demaratus* having accused him at home. But having after he came back procured his collegue to be deposed, and his own kinsman *Leutychides* to be crowned in his stead, he brought the last mentioned prince with him into the island of *Ægina*, and having seized ten of the principal persons of that island, and amongst them *Crius* before mentioned, he brought them away prisoners, and delivered them up to the *Athenians*. Not long after, having in his phrenzy kill'd himself, all his tyrannical acts were disapproved by the *Spartans*, who, on the inhabitants of *Ægina*'s accusing *Leutychides* for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who however desired nothing more of him, than that he would go with them to *Athens* in order to sollicit the release of *Crius* and his associates. When they arrived there, the *Spartan* king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to shew that the hostages were only deposited by him and his collegue in *Athens* that they might be safe, and that now when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the *Athenians* did not or would not understand, so that the war between them and the people of *Ægina*, was still carried on with various success. The latter being informed that the *Athenian* galley, which

which went annually to *Delphi*, lay at anchor at *Sunium*, they resolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many persons of distinction aboard it. The *Athenians*, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one *Nicodromus*, a person of great interest in *Ægina*; he had been formerly banished his country by those who then governed it, and in order to be revenged on them, resolved to betray it to the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* for this purpose fitted out a considerable fleet, but not thinking it sufficient for their purpose, *Ægina* being then mistress of those seas, they had recourse to the *Corinthians* for their assistance: This state being the fast friend and ally of *Athens*, did not give her a denial, but alledged a law of theirs, whereby they were forbidden to lend their ships: But with much ado an expedient was found whereby the *Athenians* obtained what they wanted, and yet the *Corinthians* did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ships in consideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The length of this treaty frustrated the *Athenian* hopes, for *Nicodromus* depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed, seized on the old town, and declared for the *Athenians*; but he and his party not being able alone to resist the whole force of the island, they were obliged to secure themselves by flight, which they did the very day before the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* fleet appeared before *Ægina*. This defection of *Nicodromus* however proved very beneficial to the *Athenians*, for they having assigned to him and his associates land on the shore opposite to *Ægina*, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the issue was of this war, *Herodotus* does not inform us: It is generally conceived that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the *Athenians*, and for *Greece* in general, for it exercised that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the use and consequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little understood. When the first news came that the *Persian* had in view the conquest of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina*, as well as the rest of the *Grecian* states, compromised their differences, that they might be the better able to resist the power of the great king, who threatened at least the liberties of the *Greeks* in general in revenge for the *Athenians* assisting the *Ionians*, when they sought to recover their freedom [g].

Nicodromus of Ægina resolves to betray his country to the Athenians.

But fails thro' the slowness of the Athenians.

We have already taken notice of the displeasure which *Darius* had taken against the *Athenians* on account of the sacking of *Sardis*; but we hitherto forbore to mention the intrigues of *Hippias*, in order to obtain by force the principality

Hippias endeavours to be restored to the principality of Athens.

[g] Herodot. l. vi. 83. & seq.

lity of *Athens*, from whence, as we have before related, through the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from *Lacedæmon* to *Asia*, went to *Artaphernes*, governor of the adjacent provinces for the *Persian* king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promising that himself would be obedient to *Darius*, and greatly further all his designs in case he could be restored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at *Athens*. The *Athenians* were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propositions he had made to *Artaphernes*; they therefore sent ambassadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any heed to *Hippias*'s proposals, but to suffer the people of *Athens* to remain free and quiet as they were. But *Artaphernes* conceiving that it would be more for his master's interest to have a prince governing *Athens*, than to leave it under a democratic form of rule, answered the *Athenians* haughtily, That if they would have peace with the great king, they must receive *Hippias*, and obey him: But this was so distasteful to that generous people, that they immediately resolved to give the enemies of *Darius* all the assistance they could, and to endeavour, if it were possible, to cut him out so much work near home, that he might have no opportunity to attempt any thing either against them or *Greece*. At last, however, *Darius* commissioned *Mardonius* to revenge him of the insults which he conceived had been put upon him by the *Greeks*. But *Mardonius* and his troops, through a storm at sea, and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, *Datis* and *Artaphernes* the son of *Artaphernes* were commissioned to do what he was to have done [a].

With that view recurs to the Persians.

The Persian *war.* Year of the flood 1858. Before Christ 490.

THE misfortune which the *Persians* had had in suffering shipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of *Athos*, made such an impression on the commanders last-mentioned, that they resolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of *Cilicia*, and passing over from thence through the *Cyclades* to *Eubœa*, in order to destroy *Eretria*; and from thence to proceed to *Athens*, they having it in charge from *Darius* to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his disposal. The *Eretrians*, as soon as they had advice of the arrival of the *Persian* fleet among the *Cyclades*, sent to demand assistance from the *Athenians*. That state, with a magnanimity scarce to be paralleled, ordered the four thousand men whom they had left in the *Chalcidian* territory to advance to the aid of the *Eretrians*, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were neither steady nor honest; one party

The Eretrians *divided among themselves.*

[a] Id. ibid. c. 94.

was

was for receiving the *Athenian* ſuccours into the city, and holding out to the laſt extremity ; a ſecond was for abandoning the city, and retiring to the mountains of *Eubœa* ; a third party ſought to betray their country to the *Perſians* for the ſake of private advantage. *Æſchines* the ſon of *Nothon*, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the ſituation things were in, generouſly informed the commanders of the *Athenian* troops, and adviſed them to return home : In conſequence of which advice they immediately retired to *Oropus*, and thereby eſcaped that total deſtruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of *Eretria*. For that city being betrayed to the *Perſians* by ſome of its inhabitants, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants ſold for ſlaves, according to the command of *Darius* [1]. *Their city betrayed to the* Perſians.

THE *Athenians*, who as we have often remarked before, were generally divided among themſelves, and perſecuting one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with great zeal and earneſtneſs, when they heard that the *Perſians* were ſo near them. They raiſed with the utmoſt expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not draw together above nine thouſand men. Theſe with a thouſand *Platæans* who afterwards joined them were commanded by ten general officers who had equal power. Among theſe were *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, and *Themiſtocles*, all men of diſtinguiſhed valour, and great abilities. But it being generally conceived that it would be impoſſible for them, with their ſmall forces to give any interruption to the *Perſians*, they ſent *Phidippides* to *Sparta* to intreat the immediate aſſiſtance of that ſtate. This man, as *Herodotus* informs us, affirmed afterwards to the *Athenians*, that paſſing by mount *Parthenius*, he heard himſelf loudly called by his name, upon which, turning about he beheld the god *Pan*, who after aſking him why the *Athenians* held him in no greater eſteem, aſſured him that he had deſerved very well of their ſtate and would continue to do ſo ; of which when the people of *Athens* had information, they cauſed a temple to be erected to his honour near the citadel, and honoured him thenceforward with annual ſacrifices, and a lamp continually burning. *Phidippides*, after this ſtrange adventure, arrived on the ſecond day at *Sparta*, where he communicated his buſineſs to the ſenate in the following terms : *Men of* Lacedæmon, *the* Athenians *deſire you to aſſiſt them, and not to ſuffer the moſt ancient of all the* Grecian *cities to be enſlaved by the* Barbarians. Eretria *is already deſtroyed, and* Greece *conſequently weakened by the loſs of ſo conſiderable a place.* The *Lacedæmonians* readily agreed to what he propoſed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the ſame time *The* Athenians *raiſe what forces they can.*

[1] Idem ibid. c. 100.

declared

declared that they would not depart in leſs than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition but at the full of the moon, of which it was then but the ninth day. The *Perſians* in the mean time being informed by *Hippias*, that the plains of *Marathon* would be the moſt advantageous place for them to act in, becauſe it would afford them room to act with their horſe; they following his advice, after the deſtruction of *Eretria*, made all the haſte they poſſibly could thither, of which when the *Athenians* had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to march to *Marathon* alſo. An act of amazing confidence, conſidering the mighty diſproportion between the *Perſian* and *Athenian* army[k].

The battle of Marathon. Year after the flood 1858. Before Chriſt 490.

THE *Athenians* being encamped at the temple of *Hercules*, were there joined by a thouſand men, the whole ſtrength of the little city of *Platæa*, which ſhe now hazarded in the cauſe of *Athens* out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council of war being held there, the generals were very much divided in their opinions; ſome were for fighting, others not; *Milti-*

[k] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 105. & ſeq.

(R) The city of *Platæa* was in old times free. *Herodotus* has given us a very full account of the reaſons which reduced its inhabitants to raiſe their utmoſt force in the cauſe of *Athens*. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words: "The *Platæans* were already "under the protection of *Athens*, "and the *Athenians* had gone "through many dangers in their "defence. For when the *Pla-*"*tæans* ſaw themſelves oppreſ-"ſed by the *Thebans*, they firſt "offered their ſubmiſſion to *Cle-*"*omenes* the ſon of *Anaxandri-*"*des*, and to the *Lacedæmoni-*"*ans*. But they rejected the "offer in theſe terms: *We are* "*placed*, ſaid they, *at ſuch a* "*diſtance from you, that in time* "*of neceſſity our ſuccours will* "*prove ineffectual. For your* "*country may be frequently ra-*"*vaged, before we can be in-*"*formed of your danger. We* "*adviſe you therefore to put your-*"*ſelves under the protection of* "*the* Athenians, *who are your* "*neighbours, and ſufficiently a-*"*ble to defend you.* This coun-"ſel the *Lacedæmonians* gave, "not out of any good will to "the *Platæans*, but becauſe "they were deſirous to ſee the "*Athenians* weakened by a war "againſt the *Bœotians*. How-"ever, the *Platæans* approv-"ing their advice, went to *A-*"*thens*, and arriving there, "when the *Athenians* were met "to ſacrifice to the twelve gods, "they ſat down by the altar in "the poſture of ſuppliants, and "made their ſubmiſſion to that "place. Which when the *The-*"*bans* heard, they ſent an army "againſt *Platæa*, and at the "ſame time the *Athenians* "marched to aſſiſt the *Platæ-*"*ans*. But as they were ready "to engage in battle, the *Co-*"*rinthians* apprehending the "conſequences, interpoſed their "good offices to reconcile the "contending parties, and with "the conſent of both ſides, de-"termined the diſpute on this "agreement: *That the* The-

"bans

Miltiades observing this, and considering the great importance of the matter in debate, addressed himself to *Callimachus* of *Aphidna*, who was *Polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals, in these words; "You alone, "O *Callimachus*, must now determine, either to see the "*Athenians* reduced to the condition of slaves, or by pre- "serving the liberty of your country, have an eternal monu- "ment of your fame, surpassing the glory of *Harmodius* and "*Aristogiton*. For the *Athenians* were never in so great dan- "ger from the time they were first a people. If they fall under "the power of the *Medes*, one may easily imagine what usage "they must expect from *Hippias*: But if they conquer, *A-* "*thens* will be the principal city of *Greece*. To let you "know then by what means these things may be effected, and "from what cause the fate of *Athens* is now in your hands, I "shall acquaint you, that we are at this instant divided in "opinion touching a battle; some of us proposing to fight, "and others advising the contrary. If we decline a battle, I "foresee some great dissension will shake the fidelity of "the army, and induce them to a compliance with the "*Medes*. But if we fight before the corruption slides into the "hearts of the *Athenians*, we may hope from the equity of the "gods to obtain the victory. All these things are in your "power, and entirely depend upon the resolution you shall "take. For if you would support my opinion with the ac- "cession of your vote, you will see your country free, and "*Athens* the most illustrious city of *Greece*: But if you join "with those who would dissuade us from a battle, you can ex- "pect no other consequences, than such as are most contrary "to these hopes." *Callimachus*, whose voice was decisive according to the *Athenian* laws, joined directly with *Miltiades*, and declared for giving battle immediately [1]. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns, but *Aristides* giving up his day to *Miltiades*, the rest did so too. That excellent person accepted this compliment for the good of his country,

Miltiades's speech.

Confederates agree to give battle.

[1] Idem ibid. c. 109.

"bans *should permit all those* "Bœotians, *who would no lon-* "*ger be accounted members of* "Bœotia, *to do as they thought* "*most convenient for themselves.* "After this reconciliation the "*Corinthians* returned home; "and as the *Athenians* were re- "tiring likewise, the *Bœotians* "fell upon them in their march, "but were repulsed with loss. "Upon which success the *A-* "*thenians* enlarged the fron- "tiers of the *Platæans*; and "instead of that appointed by "the *Corinthians*, fixed the li- "mits of the *Thebans* at *Asopus* "and *Hysia*. In this manner "the *Platæans* came under the "protection of the *Athenians*, "and joined their forces at *Ma-* "*rathon* (55).

(55) *Herodot. lib.* vi. *c.* 108.

but he would not fight till his own proper day of command came about, for fear that through any latent ſparks of jealouſy and envy, any of the generals ſhould be led not to do their duty. But when the day beforementioned came, he, without waiting for any farther ſuccours, diſpoſed the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his ſtrength in the wings. *Callimachus*, as *Polemarch*, commanded on the right, the *Platæans* were poſted on the left, and the ſacrifices being offered, they began inſtantly to advance with inexpreſſible ardor towards their enemies. The *Perſian* army was ranged in battalia near a mile off, and when they beheld the *Athenians* running towards them, they imputed it to folly and ignorance of military diſcipline, and were convinced of this, when they obſerved that they had neither horſe nor pikemen. However, they ſoon found their error when the charge began: For the *Athenians* and *Platæans* fought with ſuch obſtinate valour on the right and left, that the *Barbarians* were forced to fly on both ſides. The *Perſians* and *Sacæ* however perceiving that the *Athenian* center was weak, charged with ſuch force that they broke through it: This thoſe on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to ſuccour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the *Perſian* army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own center, they encloſed the hitherto victorious *Perſians*, and cut them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army fled, as faſt as they could, to their fleet, whither the *Athenians* purſued them. When therefore the *Perſians* in haſte hurried on board the booty they had acquired in *Eretria*, and ſought to eſcape by ſea that ill fate which attended them on ſhore; the *Athenians*, in order to hinder this, began to ſet the ſhips on fire, and to board ſuch as lay neareſt the ſhore; in which bold attempt, though they had ſome ſucceſs, yet the *Perſians* at laſt got under ſail, and bore away for *Athens* [i]. It was reported in thoſe times, that the *Alcmeonidæ* encouraged the *Perſians* to make a ſecond attempt, by holding up, as they approached the ſhore, a ſhield for a ſignal; however it was, the *Perſian* fleet endeavoured to double the cape of *Sunium* with a view to ſurprize the city of *Athens* before the army could return. But *Miltiades* ſeeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving *Ariſtides* with a thouſand men to guard the priſoners and the ſpoil, marched at the head of the other nine thouſand with ſuch diligence, that they arrived at the temple of *Hercules* in *Cynoſarges*, which was but a ſmall diſtance from the city, before the *Barbarians* were in a condition to attack it. Which when the

The two armies engage.

The Perſians *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra. c. 101, 102, 112, 117. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt. Corn. Nep. in vit. Miltiad. Valer. Max. &c.

Perſian

Persian admiral had notice of, he sailed from the port of *Phalerum* for *Asia*, and so put an end to a very unfortunate expedition [k].

THE battle of *Marathon* makes deservedly a great figure in history; *Cornelius Nepos* assigns a just reason, because never before had so small a body of forces overcome so vast a host [l]. *Herodotus* tells us, that six thousand three hundred of the *Persians* were slain there, and of the *Athenians* one hundred ninety two [m], which is infinitely more probable than what *Justin* relates of the *Persians* losing two thousand men in the battle and by shipwreck [n]. The same author says that the *Athenians* took many of the ships, and destroyed many more; *Herodotus* says there were only seven ships taken. Certain it is that the *Athenians* behaved with amazing intrepidity, and that several amongst them distinguished themselves in a most extrordinary manner. *Callimachus* the *Polemarch*, after having done all that a brave and wise officer could do, lost his life in the field; *Stasileus* the son of *Thrasylus*, one of the ten commanders, was also killed; *Cynegyrus* the son of *Euphorion* laid hold of the prow of one of the *Persian* ships with both his hands, and having them struck off by an ax, died of his wounds; this is *Herodotus*'s account. *Justin* carries matters much farther; he says that *Cynegyrus* having done wonders in the fight, pursued the *Persians* to the shore, and laid hold of a ship ready to sail with his right hand, when that was cut off he seized it with his left, of which being likewise deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his spirit being such, that untamed by long fatigue, and the loss of both his hands, he with the rage of a wild beast, fought at last with his teeth (S). As to the numbers of the *Persians* it is very differently reported as we have observed elsewhere †; *Justin* says

Battle of Marathon why so remarkable.

[k] PLUTARCH. in vit. Arist. [l] Ubi supra. [m] Ubi supra. [n] Lib. ii. c. 9. † See Vol. V. p. 221 in the notes.

(S) *Herodotus*, who speaks so modestly of *Cynegyrus*'s bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one *Epizelus*, the son of *Cephagoras*; he says, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a sudden lost his sight, without receiving any blow, and continued blind all the rest of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if *Herodotus* had not affirmed, that he heard this man declare, that he thought he saw a man of uncommon height standing by him in complete armour, holding a shield, which was covered by his beard; and that this phantom afterwards passing by him, killed the person who was posted next to him. Whatever we may think of the *Athenian* story, this must be admitted an indubitable proof, that *Herodotus*'s account of this battle deserves credit to all probable circumstances, since what he relates he had from the mouths of those who were eye-witnesses.

that they were six hundred thousand, *Cornelius Nepos* makes them ten times the number of the *Athenians*, that is one hundred thousand, which is probably not far from the truth [o].

AMONGST the many eminent persons who were present in this famous engagement, was *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who hoped through the power of the *Persians* to be restored to the principality of *Athens*. It was he, who conducted the *Barbarians* into the plains of *Marathon*, as we have said above (T). As to what became of him in the battle, both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are silent thereupon. *Justin* [q] and some other later authors say that he was killed there; if he was, the *Athenians* lost in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving mischiefs against them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and acting (V).

Aristides

[o] In vita Miltiad. [q] Ubi supra.

(T) *Herodotus* tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded that he should be restored, and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was busy giving direction as to the disposal of the booty taken at *Eretria*, and putting the *Persian* troops in order on the shore, he was seized with such a fit of coughing and sneezing, that most of his teeth grew loose, and one of them fell out of his head upon the strand, for which, when those about him had long sought in vain, *Hippias* fetching a deep sigh, said, *This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be subdued by us, and I shall have no other part here than that where my tooth lies.* This was his second, and, as it happened, the more just construction of his dream *.

(V) We have more than once in the text promised to speak of the family of *Hippias*; he married *Myrrhine* the daughter of *Callias*, by whom he had five children (56); he had also another wife, of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one *Charinus* (57). Amongst these children was *Pisistratus* junior, whom we have before mentioned; he had also a daughter whose name was *Archidice*, who married the son of the tyrant, or prince of *Lampsacus*. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inscription to the following effect: *This earth covers* Archidice, *the daughter of* Hippias, *a man in his time famous throughout* Greece, *who, though her father, husband, and brothers were princes, suffered not her mind to be elated therewith* (58). *Hippias* visited her before he went to the *Persian* court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehension, that the expedition in which he was about to embark, might some way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recorded was, certainly, according to the usual rules of interpretation fortunate, and so it was accounted to *Julius Cæsar* (59); but it may be, that this interpretation was with a restriction, that the person dreaming was to have been on good

* *Herodot. lib.* vi. *c.* 107. (56) *Thucid. lib.* vii. (57) *Clidem. ap. Athen. lib.* xiii. (58) *Thucyd. ubi supra.* (59) *Suetonius in vit. J. Cæs. c.* vii.

Ariſtides, who remained on the field of battle while *Miltiades* marched back to *Athens*, diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity; for though there was much gold and ſilver in the *Perſian* camp, and though the tents and ſhips they had taken were full of riches of all ſorts, yet he neither took any thing himſelf, nor omitted to the utmoſt of his power, the neceſſary precautions to prevent other people's meddling therewith. Yet ſome there were who in ſpight of his orders and his care found means to enrich themſelves by private plunder, particularly *Callias* the torch-bearer, *Ariſtides*'s couſin german (W). For this man having long hair, and a

Ariſtides's integrity.

good terms with his country; whereas *Hippias* at the time of this dream was in the *Perſian* hoſt warring againſt his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deſerves any farther account, *viz.* that among the *Perſians* it was held ominous, and a ſign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, *Cicero* ſpeaks of it in theſe terms, *Neſarius Hippias Piſiſtrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna cecidit arma contra Patriam ferens* (61). *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it likewiſe (62); yet *Suidas* tells us quite another ſtory; he ſays, that the *Barbarians* being routed, *Hippias* retired to *Lemnos*, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes, brought on a miſerable and painful death. which he reckons a puniſhment for his having conducted the *Perſian* forces into the plains of *Marathon*.

(W) Torch-bearers, ſtiled in *Greek Daduchi*, were perſons dedicated to the ſervice of the gods, and admitted even into the moſt ſacred myſteries. On this account, *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of it as a great happineſs to a woman, that ſhe had ſeen her brother, her huſband, and her ſon, ſucceſſively enjoy this office (63). We have obſerved in the text from *Plutarch*, that *Callias* was miſtaken for a king, becauſe of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in uſe among the eaſtern nations; the reaſon of this was, that amongſt the ancients it was an opinion almoſt univerſally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and prieſt; on this account the *Romans* preſerved the title of *Rex* among their ſacred officers when they expelled the *Tarquins*; and the *Athenians*, as we have heard, ſtiled their ſecond archon who preſided in the public ſacrifices *Baſileus*; ſo that in affairs relating to the gods, both the *Athenians* and the *Romans*, tho' they hated monarchy, made uſe of kings. The ſame notion prevailed through the eaſt; for we find *Jeroboam* ſtanding by the altar at *Bethel*, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64). And *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, when he had been victorious over the *Philiſtines*, *Arabians*, and *Ammonites*, was lifted up in his heart, and deſired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being prieſt of the moſt High God (65).

(60) *Achem. Oenocrit.* cxxviii. (61) *Ad Attic. lib.* ix. *c.* 10. (62) *Adv. Gentes.* (63) *In Atticis.* (64) 1 *Kings* xiii. v. 1. (65) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16.

fillet about his head, one of the *Perſians* took him for a king, and falling down at his feet, diſcovered to him a vaſt quantity of gold hid in a well; *Callias* not only ſeized it, and applied it to his private uſe, but moſt inhumanly put to death the poor man who ſhewed it him, to prevent his diſcovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemiſhed his own reputation, but tranſmitted infamy to his poſterity, who notwithſtanding their eminency in the ſtate, were ſtiled by the comic poets *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the Well*[r], an example which merits conſideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in hiſtory.

Honours paid by the Athenians *to thoſe who were killed.*

The *Athenians* in token of their reſpect towards thoſe brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them publick monuments in the field of battle, with inſcriptions containing their names, and the names of their tribes and families. At ſome diſtance they erected other monuments for the *Platæans*, *Bœotians*, and ſlaves, who were ſlain here. They likewiſe cauſed this battle to be painted in the *Pœcilian* portico, where the *Platæan* auxiliaries were repreſented, as well as the *Athenian* ſoldiers, and at the head of theſe their ten captains, *Miltiades* holding the firſt place[s], which was all the reward they beſtowed upon them.

All the Platæans *made free of* Athens.

It cannot ſeem ſtrange that the *Athenians* were highly elate on this victory. In the firſt tranſports of their joy, they granted all the *Platæans* the freedom of their city; as for *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, and *Themiſtocles*, who had exceedingly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, they were for the preſent treated with all the marks of gratitude and reſpect they could have wiſhed, though in their turns we ſhall ſee them all ſlighted, proſecuted, and condemned. While *Miltiades* was thus high in the people's favour, he propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, that he ſhould be intruſted with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips well manned and provided, promiſing them that he would put them in poſſeſſion of great riches, and make the expedition in other reſpects turn to vaſt account. The *Athenians* readily embraced this project, and fitted out ſuch a fleet as he deſired, of which *Miltiades* taking the command, ſailed to *Paros*.

Miltiades *his unſucceſsful expedition againſt the iſland of* Paros.

The reaſon he pretended for invading this iſland was, that the inhabitants thereof had aſſiſted the *Perſians* with ſhips in the expedition of *Marathon*; but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one *Lyſagoras* a *Parian* had done him ill offices with *Hydarnes* the *Perſian*. As ſoon as he arrived on the iſland, he ſent heralds to the capital thereof, requiring a hundred talents to be paid him, threatning in caſe of refuſal to beſiege the city, and in caſe he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his ſoldiers

[r] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [s] Corn. Nep. in vita Miltiad.

The

The *Parians* however were not to be terrified, they refuſed ſo much as to deliberate on his propoſition, but on the contrary, provided themſelves the beſt they could for an obſtinate defence. *Miltiades* cauſed the place to be inveſted, and carried on the ſiege with great vigour, till one *Timo* a *Parian* woman, who was a prieſteſs, pretended to inform him how he ſhould take the city. In conſequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of *Ceres* the lawgiver, and not being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being ſeized with a ſudden horror, and reſolving to go back, he re-aſcended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot ſlipping he fell, and either broke his thigh or diſlocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, after having lain twenty-ſix days before the town, and to return wounded as he was, without effecting any thing, to *Athens* [u].

Is accuſed to the general aſſembly.

An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and *Xanthippus* the father of the famous *Pericles* accuſed him to the general aſſembly for deceiving the *Athenians*, as *Herodotus* ſays; of treaſon, as *Cornelius Nepos* informs us; or rather of peculation, as *Juſtin* from *Trogus Pompeius* acquaints us, for that is much the moſt probable opinion, and for this he demanded that they ſhould paſs upon him ſentence of death. The unhappy *Miltiades* was in no condition to defend himſelf, nature had already paſſed that judgment which his enemies ſought; his wound perhaps through lowneſs of ſpirits had induced a mortification, ſo that he could not be moved out of his bed; his brother *Tiſagoras* ſpoke for him; he repreſented to the *Athenians* that this *Miltiades*, who had failed in his laſt expedition, had ſaved *Athens* at *Marathon*, and had conquered for them the iſland of *Lemnos*; he therefore entreated them to remember his paſt ſervices, as well as his preſent error, and to pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating, whether they would pity him or no. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deſerved capital puniſhment, but at the ſame time fined him fifty talents, which was the whole expence of the *Parian* expedition; and becauſe he was unable to pay this great ſum they put him into goal, ſays *Cornelius Nepos*, where he died; but *Herodotus* ſays, that his ſon *Cimon* paid the fine, which is true, but not till after his father died in priſon, himſelf being alſo ſent thither on the ſame account, and remaining confined, till *Callias* furniſhed him with the money to pay his fine in lieu of his wife *Elpinice*, who was alſo his ſiſter

Is fined, and dies in goal.

[u] Herodot. l. vi. c. 133.

by the one side[x]. Such was the gratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Miltiades* and his family (U).

THE

[x] HERODOT. ubi supra. c. 134. JUSTIN. ubi supra. CORNELIUS NEPOS in vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

(U) The history of the family of *Miltiades*, and their becoming princes, is related by *Herodotus*; he says, that the *Thracian Dolonces* inhabiting a part of *Chersonesus*, and having suffered much in a war against the *Absynthians*, sent to inquire of the oracle at *Delphi* whom they they should elect king: to which they received for answer, that they should invite him to lead a colony into their country, who should first invite them into his house, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the *Delonces* passing by the sacred way, through the territories of the *Phocæans* and *Bœotians*, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. In that time *Pisistratus* had indeed the supreme power; but *Miltiades* the son of *Cypselus*, was not without authority in *Athens*, being of an illustrious family, anciently descended from *Æacus* and *Ægina*, and afterwards established among the *Athenians*, by *Philæus* the Son of *Ajax*, the first of that blood that settled there. This *Miltiades* sitting before his gates, and seeing the *Dolonces* passing by cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, called out to them, and upon their coming to him, desired they would be his guests, and accept the entertainment of his house. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hospitably entertained, acquainted him with the oracle, and requested him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. *Miltiades* hearkened to their proposition, and complied with more readiness, because he grew impatient of the government of *Pisistratus*, and desired an opportunity to withdraw. In these sentiments he went to *Delphi* to consult the oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the *Dolonces*, and received an encouraging answer from the *Pythian*. Upon which *Miltiades* the son of *Cypselus*, who had formerly been victorious in the *Olympian* chariot-race, taking with him all such *Athenians* as were willing to join in his expedition, set sail with the *Dolonces*, and arriving in their country, was invested with the sovereign power. The first thing he did was to build a wall upon the isthmus of *Chersonesus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pontya*, in order to prevent the *Absynthians* from infesting the country for the future with their incursions. This isthmus is thirty six stades in breadth; and the whole length of *Chersonesus*, beginning in that place, is four hundred and twenty stades. When *Miltiades* had built this wall on the neck of *Chersonesus*, and by that means excluded the *Absynthians*, he, in the next place, made war upon the *Lampsacinians*, and falling into an ambuscade, was taken alive by the enemy. *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, being informed of this event, threatened the people of *Lampsacus* with his displeasure, in case they did not release *Miltiades*; which they taking into consideration, and being afraid

to

THE people of *Athens* being now releaſed from all apprehenſions of foreign war, fell as uſual into diſſentions among themſelves; they were divided on the old ſubject, whether all things

Conteſts between Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

to diſoblige ſo great a monarch, reſtored *Miltiades* to freedom. Thus having eſcaped by the means of *Cræſus*, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to *Steſagoras* the ſon of *Cimon*, his brother by the ſame mother. The *Cherſoneſians* honour him with ſacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accuſtomed manner, having inſtituted gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes on that occaſion, in which no *Lampſacinian* is permitted to contend for the prize. During the war, which ſtill continued againſt the people of *Lampſacus*, *Steſagoras* likewiſe died without children, being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who pretending to be a deſerter, was indeed a moſt cruel enemy. After whoſe death the *Piſiſtratidæ* ſent *Miltiades* the ſon of *Cimon*, and brother of *Steſagoras*, to *Cherſoneſus* with one ſhip, to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in *Athens*, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father *Cimon*, who was aſſaſſinated by their order. Arriving in *Cherſoneſus*, he kept himſelf retired under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Steſagoras*; which the *Cherſoneſians* hearing, the principal perſons of every city aſſembled together, and coming to his houſe with intention to condole with him, were all ſeized and impriſoned. By this means *Miltiades* made himſelf maſter of *Cherſoneſus*, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married *Hegeſypla* daughter to *Olorus* king of *Thrace*. But he had not long been in poſſeſſion, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced. For in the third year of his government, he fled out of the country, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had aſſembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of *Cherſoneſus*. Nevertheleſs upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was again reſtored by the *Dolones*; and in the third year after this, hearing that the *Phœnicians* were at *Tenedos*, he put all his riches on board five ſhips, and ſailed for *Athens* *. The reader may poſſibly think this note very long, but there was a neceſſity for it, ſince ſo eminent an author as *Cornelius Nepos* hath rendered the hiſtory of this great man unintelligible, by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiſcuouſly the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting *Lemnos* into the hands of the *Athenians*, it happened thus: The inhabitants of that iſland having had long differences with the *Athenians*, and being admoniſhed by the *Delphian* oracle to compromiſe them, they ſent to *Athens* to know upon what terms it might be done; the *Athenians* offered them no other than the abſolute ſurrender of their country; to which the *Lemnian* deputies anſwered, that they would obey when a ſhip from the *Athenian* dominions ſhould come with a north wind in one day into a haven of *Lemnos*,

* *Herodot. l.* vi. *c.* 34—38.

things ſhould be in the power of the people, or whether the ſtate ſhould be governed only by the beſt. *Ariſtides*, whom we have already often mentioned, was at the head of one party, and *Themiſtocles* was chief of the other. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the character of each of theſe great men, that the nature of their diſputes and the conſequences of them with reſpect to the ſtate may be the better known. *Ariſtides* was the ſon of *Lyſimachus* of the tribe of *Antiochis*, and ward of *Alopece*. *Themiſtocles* was the ſon of *Neocles* of the tribe of *Leontes*, by his mother's ſide a ſtranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family; *Plutarch* tells us that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, not only in ſerious matters, but even in their ſports and plays; nor could it be well otherwiſe, for *Ariſtides* is ſaid by him to have been firm and ſteddy in his behaviour, immovable in every thing that appeared juſt, and incapable of uſing the leaſt falſhood, flattery, or deceit, even in jeſt; whereas *Themiſtocles* was of an impetuous nature, full of ſpirit, ſubtle, daring, complaiſant, and in fine, one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he ſpent even his times of recreation in ſtudy, and was wont to divert himſelf with compoſing orations, in which he either excuſed or accuſed ſome of his companions, whence his ſchoolmaſter pronounced thus of him; *Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary perſon, but will at ſome time or other become either a mighty bleſſing, or an outrageous curſe to thy country.* As they grew up they differed ſtill the more in their ſentiments and conduct; *Ariſtides* ſtudied the laws of *Lycurgus*, and by the reaſoning of that great man, became a favourer of ariſtocracy. *Themiſtocles*, rather out of ſpleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cauſe of the people; and thus childiſh quarrels ripening into a ſtrong averſion in the breaſts of two private men, created great diſorders in a potent ſtate, and ſhook the very conſtitution of *Athens*.

Their characters.

[z] PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Ariſtid. & Them.

[*] *nos*, which becauſe *Attica* was ſituated to the ſouth of *Lemnos* they conceived impoſſible; but *Miltiades* being poſſeſſed of the *Cherſoneſus*, and ſailing from a port in the *Helleſpont*, arrived in one day at *Lemnos*, driven thither by a ſtrong north wind; upon which he immediately demanded that the iſland ſhould be given up to him, which, partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the *Athenian* territories [*]. As to the impriſonment of his ſon as well as himſelf, and the manner in which his fine was at laſt diſcharged, *Cornelius Nepos* expreſsly aſſerts it as delivered in our text; whereas the account given of it by *Plutarch* is neither clear nor conſiſtent.

[*] *Herodot. l.* vi. *c.* 137. *& ſeq.*

How

How much ſoever the diſſenſions between *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* might in fact injure the *Athenian* ſtate, and how ready ſoever they might be to oppoſe each other, even in points where they were conſcious that what they oppoſed was right, yet it muſt be owned that they ſincerely loved their country, and were aſhamed and ſorry for the very things they did. *Ariſtides* was the honeſter man of the two, and therefore the moſt frank (X). We have before ſhewn how not only men of rank in *Athens*, but all *Athenian* citizens had ſeats in courts of judicature. As theſe rivals differed in every thing, ſo they were oppoſite in their notions of what a man's duty was in ſuch a ſtation. *Ariſtides* conceived that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and paſſion; whereas it was a common ſaying with *Themiſtocles*, *God forbid that I ſhould ever ſit on a tribunal where my friends ſhould not have more favour than ſtrangers.* *Ariſtides*'s conduct was certainly the more laudible, and he piqued himſelf ſo much upon acting ſtrictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the ſirname of *juſt*, and was looked upon as the moſt worthy and virtuous of the *Athenians*. *Themiſtocles* inſtead of repining rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an eaſy thing to deſtroy a rival arrived at ſo high a reputation [b].

They both loved their country.

But oppoſite in their notions.

THE *oſtraciſm* was already introduced into the *Athenian* ſtate, though it is not certain by whom, ſome ſay by *Piſiſtratus*, or rather by his ſons; others by *Cliſthenes*; but this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute to him, or to mention the *oſtraciſm* till we came to a particular inſtance of it. By this men eminent to ſuch a degree, as to threaten the ſtate with danger, were baniſhed for ten years. *Plutarch* ſays this exile was not a puniſhment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, uſed as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people, for thoſe apprehenſions with which they were ſo often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the *oſtraciſm* was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or ſhell, on which having wrote the name of the

The oſtraciſm.

How inflicted.

[b] PLUT. in vit. Themiſt. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Ariſt.

(X) When *Themiſtocles* had one day propoſed to the aſſembly of the people ſomething much to their advantage, *Ariſtides* made a long oration againſt it, which ſo far miſled the people, that they rejected what *Themiſtocles* had propoſed. *Ariſtides* was however ſo much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the aſſembly he could not help ſaying, *The* Athenians *can never be perfectly ſafe till they have ſent* Themiſtocles *and me to goal* †.

† *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

perſon

perſon he would have baniſhed, he carried it to a certain place of the *forum*, which was incloſed with rails; then the magiſtrates began to count the number of the ſhells; for if they were leſs than ſix thouſand, the vote did not take place; but if they ſurpaſſed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whoſe name was found on the greateſt number of ſhells was of courſe exiled for ten years, with free leave however to make what uſe he thought fit of his eſtate (Y).

[c] PLUT. in vit. Ariſt.

(Y) The *oſtraciſm* makes ſo great a figure in all the *Greek* hiſtory, and occurs ſo often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit we ſhould give the reader a more particular account of it in a note, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from *oſtracon*, which ſignifies a tile, becauſe at firſt the names of perſons baniſhed in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen veſſels (66). *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, ſuch as were ejected from their country by the *oſtraciſm* were not allowed to return in five years (67); but in this he is miſtaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him, on whom this puniſhment fell, to quit the *Athenian* territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule of telling the groſs number of the ſhells, and rendering the *oſtraciſm* void, if they did not amount to ſix thouſand, was a great point in favour of eminent perſons, ſince in a city where there were not above 18 or 20,000 free citizens, it muſt have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter into ſuch a deſign. It may ſeem ſtrange that the author of ſo extraordinary a law as this ſhould not be known; and yet it is certain that about no hiſtorical point authors differ more. *Ælian* aſcribes it to *Clyſthenes* beforementioned (70); *Diodorus Siculus* ſays it took place under the *Piſiſtratidæ* (71), and many are of that opinion beſides him. For *Plutarch* reports that *Hipparchus* was baniſhed under their adminiſtration (72). *Heraclides* fixes this general aſſertion to *Hippias*, whom he expreſly declares the author of this ſevere practice (73). *Photius* in his extracts from *Ptolemy Hephæſtion* aſcribes it to *Achilles* the ſon of *Lyſon* (74); but *Suidas*, and *Euſebius* both ſet it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, *viz.* under the reign of *Theſeus*. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no diſpute, that it ended in the baniſhment of *Hyperbolus*. This practice *Ariſtotle* ſeems to aſcribe to all the democracies of his time (75), and we are aſſured by various authors, that the *Argives*, *Mileſians*, *Megarenſians*, and *Syracuſians* had the ſame law, though under different titles, amongſt them.

(66) *Suidas Heſychius.* (67) *Biblioth. lib.* xi. (68) *Pollux*, *Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt.* (69) *Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. ad. Equit.* (70) *Var. Hiſt. lib.* xiii. *c.* 14. (71) *Biblioth. lib.* xi. (72) *In vit. Niciæ.* (73) *De Reſp.* (74) *Biblioth. lib.* vi. (75) *Polit. lib.* iii. *c.* 13.

IT

It may ſeem ſtrange that *Themiſtocles* could raiſe the popular reſentment againſt a man amiable from peaceable virtues; yet he effected it by cauſing it to be whiſpered about, that *Ariſtides* having aſſumed the name of juſt, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had inſenſibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; *for what* (ſaid the agents of Themiſtocles) *conſtitutes a tyrant but giving laws?* On a ſudden, and when it was leaſt expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the *forum*, and demanded the *oſtraciſm*. One of the clowns from a borough in *Attica*, who could neither write nor read, brought his ſhell to *Ariſtides*, and ſaid, *Write me* Ariſtides *upon this*. *Ariſtides*, ſurpriſed, aſked him if he knew any ill of that *Athenian*, or if he had done him hurt. *Me hurt!* (ſaid the fellow) *no, I don't ſo much as know him, but I am weary and ſick at heart on hearing him every where called the juſt.* *Ariſtides* therefore took the ſhell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a ſtrong proof of his firmneſs of mind, but he gave yet a greater. When the magiſtrates ſignified to him that the *oſtraciſm* fell upon him, he retired modeſtly out of the *forum*, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and ſaid, *I beſeech the Gods, that the* Athenians *may never ſee that day which ſhall force them to remember* Ariſtides[f].

Themiſtocles *raiſes the popular reſentment againſt* Ariſtides.

Inſtances of Ariſtides's *firmneſs of mind.*

The war againſt the inhabitants of *Ægina* revived after the battle of *Marathon*, and was carried on by both parties with great animoſity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of *Nicodromus*'s party, and put many of them to death, with ſuch circumſtances, as not only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneaſy. The *Athenians* had revenged the death of their confederates in ſeveral expeditions, but the inhabitants of *Ægina* had in their turn done the ſubjects of *Athens* conſiderable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at ſea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ſhips better than their neighbours. *Themiſtocles* conſidering this, continually exhorted the *Athenians* to obſerve and weigh it in their minds. He alſo gave them to underſtand, that in his opinion the *Perſian* war was ſo far from being ended, that it was but begun; becauſe it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that *Xerxes*, who ſucceeded his father in his empire, would not alſo ſucceed him in his hatred to the *Grecians*, from whom the honour of his empire had ſuffered ſo much. Having often inſiſted on theſe topics, he had at laſt the boldneſs to move, that the money produced by the ſilver mines, which hitherto the *Athenians* had divided amongſt themſelves, ſhould be applied to building ſhips, with which,

*The war revived between the Ægi-*nates *and* Athenians.

The Athenians, *at the perſuaſion of* Themiſtocles, *build a fleet.*

[f] Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in vit. Ariſt. & Themiſt.

which, being thoroughly poſſeſſed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundred gallies were immediately put upon the ſtocks; and this ſudden increaſe of the *Athenian* fleet, with their addicting themſelves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preſerving not only *Athens*, but all *Greece* in the enjoyment of its liberties, as *Themiſtocles* rightly foreſaw it would [g].

The Greeks *prepare to reſiſt the* Perſians.

By this time, that is, about three years after the baniſhment of *Ariſtides*, the *Athenians* found that *Themiſtocles* had ſpoke the truth, when he affirmed that the *Perſian* war, inſtead of being ended, was but juſt begun; for *Xerxes*, after having made prodigious preparations for the total conqueſt of *Greece*, ſent meſſengers, with a *Greek* interpreter, to its ſeveral republics, to demand *Earth* and *Water*. *Themiſtocles* deſiring to make the breach ſtill wider between theſe two nations, engaged the *Athenians* to ſeize the interpreter, and put him to death, for preſuming to publiſh the decrees of the king of *Perſia* in the language of the *Greeks*. This act of ſeverity was followed by another; one *Arthmius* of *Zele*, a town in *Troas*, had ſettled at *Athens*, and had an half freedom granted him; this man having received large ſums of money from the king of *Perſia*, endeavoured to corrupt ſome of the principal perſons of the city therewith, for which *Themiſtocles* procured him to be baniſhed *Attica* by ſound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Laſtly, with the aſſiſtance of *Chileus* the *Arcadian*, he engaged the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* to lay aſide their quarrels, and provide for their mutual defence [h].

They put to death the Perſian *herald.*

Themiſtocles *choſen general againſt the* Perſians.

When it came to be debated who ſhould be appointed the general of the *Athenians*, in caſe the *Perſians* ſhould invade them, one *Epicydes*, a great orator, but a man otherwiſe little capable of the charge, influenced the people ſo much by his ſpeeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. *Themiſtocles* ſeeing the danger of his country, and knowing the man to be covetous, ſtrained his own circumſtances, and bought him off. By engaging him to deſiſt, he made way for his own election, for there was nobody then left capable of contending with him, ſo he was preſently elected [i].

Adviſes the Athenians *to embark on board their fleet, and meet the enemy.*

When the news came to *Athens* that the *Perſians* were upon the point of invading *Greece* by the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, and that to this end they were tranſporting their forces by ſea, *Themiſtocles* adviſed his countrymen to quit their

[g] Herodot. lib. vii. c. 143. Plut. in Themiſt. [h] Æschin. cont. Cteſiph. Plut. in vit. Themiſt. [i] Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt.

city,

city, embark on board their gallies, and go and meet their enemies, yet at a distance. To this they would by no means yield. He then put himself at the head of their army, and having join'd the *Lacedæmonians*, march'd towards *Tempe*. But when advice came that the streights of *Thermopylæ* were forced, and not only *Thessaly*, but *Bœotia* had yielded to the *Persians*, the army returned without affecting any thing. [k].

The Athenians consult the Delphian Apollo.

THE *Athenians* in this distress sent messengers to the *Delphian Apollo*, who on their arrival having performed the usual ceremonies, sat down in the sanctuary, and there received from *Aristonice*, who was at that time priestess, the following oracle:

The oracle's answer.

Fly to the fartheſt regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and ſhun th' impending ill.
Fly from your houſes, and deſert your walls;
For total ruin ſhall ſubvert that place.
An angry *Mars* in *Aſia* born ſhall come,
And all your ſtately piles, and temples burn.
I ſee the ſacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs cover'd with ſweat and blood.
Depart, and be prepared to bear your fate [l].

THE *Athenian* deputies were extremely amazed at this answer; they therefore humbled themselves in a most extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive branches in their hands, beseeching a better answer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The priestess feeling herself a second time inspired, delivered at length the following response:

Pallas in vain has used her utmoſt art,
To pacify the wrath of angry *Jove*,
So that my preſent anſwer muſt again
Of almoſt adamantin hardneſs be.
Yet for *Minerva*'s ſake the god will give
A ſafe protection under walls of wood
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of *Cecrops*, or *Citheron*'s ſacred hills.
Theſe, theſe alone impregnable ſhall prove,
But never ſtay to fight the dreadful troops
Of horſe and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you ſee them, ſave yourſelves by flight,
The divine *Salamis* ſhall loſe her ſons;
Tho' *Ceres* be brought home, or left abroad [m].

[k] Id. ib. [l] HERODOT. ubi ſup. c. 140. [m] HERODOT. ibid. c. 141.

THE

The people divided about the meaning of the oracle.

THE *Athenian* deputies having wrote down this answer, brought it away, and produced it to the general assembly at *Athens*, where the people were mightily divided about its true sense and meaning: Many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be understood, because, as we observed before, it was palisadoed; but others imagined that it could intend nothing but ships, and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet: But the maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the two last lines of the oracle were directly against them, and that they without question portended the destruction of the *Athenian* fleet near *Salamis*. *Themistocles*, however, declared for trusting in the fleet, and in answer to what was urged from the last lines of the oracle, alledged,

How interpreted by Themistocles.

that, if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the *Athenians*, it would not have called it the divine *Salamis*, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were stiled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the *Persians*, who were scandalously effeminate. All discreet people concurred in their sentiments that *Themistocles* had most judiciously interpreted the oracle, and that the *Athenians* could only hope for freedom by following his advice[m].

Themistocles *gains the people over to his opinion.*

THE *many*, however, had much ado to be reconciled thereto; the leaving their country and estates bore hard upon them; their forsaking their houses and employments still harder; their leaving the tombs of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods hardest of all. But *Themistocles* had a set of arguments in store for them; he made the very notions which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away; for having drawn over the priests who attended in the temple of *Minerva*, he caused them to give out that the dragon refused to eat, that the offerings set before him were found untouch'd, that at last it disappeared, so that without doubt the goddess had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the sea. By degrees the populace were so intoxicated with these pious frauds, that they made no manner of question of the *Persians* being defeated, and that *Salamis* would be the place. They therefore decreed that the city should be recommended to the protection of *Minerva*, that all such as were of age to bear arms should embark on board the fleet, and that all possible care should be taken for the preservation of children, women, and slaves. One *Cyrsilus* an orator vehemently opposed the decree; he urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpless infants: But the *Athenians* conceiving that the falling in with his proposition would betray a mean desire of preserving life, tho' at the expence of liberty, stoned him

An orator who opposed him stoned.

[m] Idem ibid. c. 143, 144.

him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, and the women, to ſhew how little they reliſhed ſuch arguments, and how far they were from deſiring that the cauſe of *Greece* ſhould ſuffer for them, ſtoned his wife. And thus *Themiſtocles* not only perſuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their ſafety, but even infuſed into them the ſame ſpirit with which he himſelf acted [n].

The Athenians quit their city.

WHEN they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourſe to the council of *Areopagus*, who, from funds to us unknown, diſtributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this ſum not being ſufficient, *Themiſtocles*, with his uſual quickneſs, deviſed an expedient for furniſhing the reſt of the money. He gave out that in the preſent hurry ſomebody had ſtolen from the ſtatue of *Minerva* her ſhield, whereon the head of *Meduſa* was engraven, and having authority granted him to ſearch for it, under colour of this he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the uſe of the public. The people in this their great diſtreſs, began to lament the loſs of *Ariſtides*, and to expreſs their apprehenſions, leſt he, to revenge himſelf of the ingratitude of his country, ſhould go over to the *Perſians*. *Themiſtocles* thereupon propoſed a decree, that all who were baniſhed might return again in order to aſſiſt the *Greeks* with their counſels and perſons; thus he, who had been baniſhed by the artifices of *Themiſtocles*, was recalled by his virtue. *Ariſtides*, on his return, behaved himſelf with more than ordinary civility to *Themiſtocles*, and did not ſuffer any averſion to that general's perſon to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs [o] (Z).

Themiſtocles's ſtratagem to get money.

Ariſtides recalled.

NOT-

[n] PLUTARCH. in vit. Ariſtid. [o] Id. ib.

(Z) At the ſame time that the *Greeks* thought of defending the paſs of *Thermopylæ* by land, they ſent a fleet to hinder the paſſage of the *Perſian* navy through the ſtreights of *Eubœa*, which fleet rendezvouſed at *Artemiſium*. We have taken no notice of this in the text, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elſewhere: but inaſmuch as the *Athenians* ſent a ſquadron of ſhips, and on board them *Themiſtocles*, to this place, we are obliged to take ſome notice of his conduct here. The *Eubœans*, not being able to prevail with *Eurybiades* to remain on their coaſt, till they could carry off their wives and children, addreſſed themſelves to *Themiſtocles*, and made him a preſent of thirty talents. He took the money; with five talents he bribed *Eurybiades*. Then *Adiamanthus* the *Corinthian*, being the only commander who inſiſted on weighing anchor, *Themiſtocles* went on board him, and told him in few words; *Adiamanthus, you ſhall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater preſent for doing your duty, than the king of the* Medes *would ſend you*

The command of the fleet given to Eurybiades, *a* Spartan.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Athenian* fleet was ſuperior to that ſent by any of the confederates, nay, to all the reſt of the fleet taken together, yet ſuch was the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, that the command thereof was committed to *Eurybiades*, a *Spartan*, a man either unſkilful, or wanting fortitude enough for ſuch an undertaking, for he, when danger approached, was for ſtanding away for the gulph of *Corinth*, in order to join the land army; which when *Themiſtocles* vehemently oppoſed, *Eurybiades* was pleaſed to ſay, *Such as riſe up before the reſt at the olympic games are laſhed.* To which the *Athenian* wiſely anſwered, *But they that are left behind are never crown'd.* *Eurybiades* at this lifting up his batoon, as if he would have ſtruck him, *Themiſtocles* cried out, *Ay, ſtrike if you will, but hear me*; upon which *Eurybiades* laid down his ſtaff, and patiently attended to his diſcourſe. One of the *Lacedæmonians*, however, who had not ſo much ſenſe as the admiral, replied to *Themiſtocles*'s oration, that it did not become ſuch as had neither houſe nor home of their own to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their habitations. *Themiſtocles* taking fire at this, ſaid,

Debate between Eurybiades *and* Themiſtocles *about engaging the enemy.*

" We have indeed, baſe fellow, left our houſes and our walls,
" not thinking it fit to become ſlaves, for the ſake of thoſe
" things that have neither life nor ſoul, and yet our city is
" the greateſt of all *Greece*, as conſiſting of two hundred
" gallies, which are here to defend you, if you pleaſe; but
" if you run away and leave us, as you did once before, the
" *Greeks* will ſoon perceive that the *Athenians* can find for
" themſelves as fair a country, and as large and free a city,

you for deſerting the allies. Which he performed by ſending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the *Eubœans* requeſted, and ſaved twenty-two talents. In the ſucceeding engagements *Themiſtocles* and all the *Athenians* behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applauſe of all *Greece*. At length, when it was thought neceſſary to retire from *Artemiſium*, *Themiſtocles* cauſed certain ſtones to be ſet up in all the ports, with inſcriptions, intreating the *Ionians* either to deſert the *Barbarians* and join the *Greeks*, who were fighting for their liberty, or at leaſt to act but faintly in the cauſe of their maſter, remembering that they were originally *Greeks* themſelves, and that this very quarrel began on account of the aſſiſtance given by the *Greeks* to them. This he did with double intent, firſt to influence the *Ionians* to act as he deſired; ſecondly, to give the *Perſian* monarch a jealouſy of them, that he might be the leſs inclined to truſt thoſe in whoſe power it was to do him moſt ſervice, ſince the *Ionians* were by far the beſt ſeamen in his fleet (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib.* viii. *c.* 22.

" as that they have left". In a word, he took ſuch pains to demonſtrate to this aſſembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madneſs to think of fighting any where but where they were, that the wiſeſt of the *Grecian* captains concurred with him (A).

THE courage of the *Athenians* on this occaſion can never be enough commended, ſince the chief cauſe of that fear which ſpread itſelf among the reſt of the *Greeks*, was the deſtruction of the city of *Athens*. We have already given ſo full an account of this matter in the *Perſian* hiſtory, that there is no neceſſity of repeating it here. We ſhall content ourſelves with noting two or three things, which will illuſtrate the hiſtory now before us. Such of the *Athenians* as had fled to the *Acropolis* or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the ſword. The *Perſians*, with whom the deſcendants of *Piſiſtratus* returned, ſhewed no mercy to ſuch as obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit themſelves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples, and ſetting fire to all the ſacred things, which gave ſuch high offence to the *Greeks*, theſe were not ſo properly

(A) The chief of his arguments were theſe; he ſhewed them that, if once they retired from *Salamis*, the fleet would never fight at all, becauſe being made up of quota's from different ſtates, the ſeveral ſquadrons would immediately ſail back to their own ports, and leave the common cauſe of *Greece* without defence; that fighting before the iſthmus, which was the ſcheme of the oppoſite party, would be attended with two dreadful conſequences; the one that *Salamis* and *Ægina*, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy; the other, that with a ſmall fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open ſea; that on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of *Salamis*, the *Perſians* would not have ſo great an advantage from the number of their ſhips, becauſe the front of the line would be on both ſides nearly equal, that fighting here would effectually ſave *Peloponneſus*; whereas retiring to the coaſt thereof would draw the *Perſians* thither, and induce all thoſe conſequences which thoſe that propoſed it ſought to ſhun. As to the wall built croſs the iſthmus, upon which ſome depended, he ſhewed, that it was a fooliſh and ridiculous defence, in caſe they yielded the ſuperiority of the ſea to the *Barbarians*, who would then make their deſcents on every ſide of it, without being obliged to force the wall at all. Theſe arguments, with the dread *Eurybiades* was in, that, in caſe he took other meaſures, the *Athenians* would deſert him, and ſail to *Italy*, as *Themiſtocles* had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this reſolution they remained for ſome time *.

* *Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

to be aſcribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to their zeal; for we have ſhewn before that the *Perſians* were *deiſts* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and looked upon temples, images and altars, as they were the marks of *polytheiſm*, to be ſo many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cauſe that they deſtroyed them without pity, as their reſentment of the injuries done them by the ſtates of *Athens* engaged them to ſhew no mercy to ſuch of its people as fell into their hands.

Debates amongſt the generals of the Greeks

WHEN *Xerxes* drew down all his land-forces to the ſea-ſide, and at the ſame time cauſed his fleet to approach that of the *Greeks*, the *Peloponneſians* who were in that navy fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to preſerve *Peloponneſus* from being ravaged. To this end a council of war was ſummoned, for their murmurs ran ſo high, that *Eurybiades* was afraid of their deſerting: In this council their opinion prevailed, for they would neither liſten to arguments, nor pay any reſpect to authority. *Themiſtocles*, therefore, ſeeing his opinion ſet aſide by the *Peloponneſians*, reſolved to take meaſures for forcing them to ſtay; for, as *Herodotus* informs us, withdrawing privately from the aſſembly, he ſent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a ſmall veſſel, properly inſtructed; the name of this man was *Sicinus*, he was tutor to *Themiſtocles*'s children, and every way capable of being made the inſtrument of great things. When he arrived in the *Perſian* fleet, he was conducted to their council of general officers, to whom he delivered the following meſſage, as from *Themiſtocles*: "The general of the *Athenians*, who is in the "intereſt of the king, and deſires your affairs may proſper, "rather than thoſe of *Greece*, has ſent me privately away "with orders to let you know, that the *Grecians* in great "conſternation have determined to betake themſelves to "flight, and that you have now an opportunity of atchieving the moſt glorious of all enterprizes, unleſs your negli- "gence opens a way to their eſcape. For being divided in "their opinions, they will not oppoſe your forces; but you "will ſee thoſe who are your friends fighting againſt thoſe "who are not of your party."

Themiſtocles's *ſtratagem to deceive the* Perſians.

Which has its deſired effect.

THIS meſſage had its deſired effect; the *Perſians* conceived, not without ſome ſhow of reaſon, that the *Athenians* finding it to no purpoſe any longer to oppoſe the great king, were reſolved by this piece of intelligence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and country to be reſtored [q]. They therefore made all the preparations neceſſary for ſhutting up the *Grecian* navy, and reckoned already that they were ſo many prizes, and that they now ſhould

[q] HERODOT. lib. viii. c. 75.

regain

regain their honour, and compensate themselves for the loss which they had sustained at *Artemisium*. *Aristides* was the first who perceived what the *Persians* aimed at; he immediately went to *Themistocles*, and when they were alone, he addressed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, who in the mean time is supported by *Herodotus*, in these terms: "If we are wise, "*Themistocles*, we shall now for ever lay aside that vain and "childish contention that has hitherto been between us, "and begin a more safe and honourable emulation, by con- "tending which of us two shall do most towards the safety "of *Greece*; you by performing the part of a wise and great "general, and I by obeying and assisting you with my per- "son and advice. I understand that you alone have deter- "mined rightly, advising to engage in the streights without "delay. Your allies are of a different opinion, but the ene- "mies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your ad- "vice; for the sea all round us is covered and shut up by "their fleet, so that they who have opposed coming to an en- "gagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves "men of courage, there being no room left for flight." To this *Themistocles* replied, "I am ashamed, *Aristides*, at your "having got the start of me in this noble emulation; I "shall use my utmost endeavours to out-do this beginning, "which is so much to your honour, and to obscure, if pos- "sible, this glorious step of yours by the lustre of my future "actions." At the same time *Themistocles* acquainted him with the stratagem made use of to compel the enemy to take the measures they did, and which in fact compelled also the *Grecians* to take those which were most adviseable for their own interest, and to which he had so often pressed them, tho' to little purpose. Thus ended the interview between these two rivals for reputation, whose new cemented friendship proved of the utmost consequence to the cause of *Athens* and of *Greece*[r].

Aristides's speech to Themistocles.

THE detail of the battle of *Salamis* is unnecessary here, since the reader has met with it before in our account of the *Persian* affairs. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that the *Athenians* reaped the highest honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occasion, though *Herodotus* is for bestowing the palm on the inhabitants of *Ægina*. We have more than once noted, that till *Themistocles* persuaded the *Athenians* to apply themselves to maritime affairs, the people of this little isle were lords of the sea. It is not therefore to be wondered that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a sea-fight, of which the *Persian*

The battle of Salamis. Year after the flood 1868. Before Christ 480.

[r] PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid.

emperor was a ſpectator in perſon, and on the event of which their own liberty and that of all their confederates depended. The *Athenians*, after the *Perſian* fleet was once broke, drove their ſcattered ſhips towards the coaſt of *Attica*. The ſquadron of *Ægina* ſtretching out to ſea, got on the other ſide of the flying *Perſians*, and ſunk many of thoſe veſſels which outſailed the *Athenians*. Thus the ſkill and conduct of theſe two nations preſerved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewiſe obliged the *Perſians* to account it a great happineſs, if after this extraordinary defeat they preſerved any part of that navy, which had ſo lately darkened the coaſts, and ſtruck a pannic through *Greece*.

Themiſtocles after the battle is for ſailing to the Helleſpont and there deſtroying Xerxes's bridge.

THE morning after the battle of *Salamis*, the *Greeks* perceiving the enemy's land-forces ſtill encamped in the ſame place, conjectured that their fleet was retired into the *Phalerum*, one of the ports of *Athens*; but they were miſtaken, for *Xerxes* had given orders that they ſhould ſail with the utmoſt diligence to the *Helleſpont*, while himſelf with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial iſthmus, in order to unite the iſland of *Salamis* to the continent of *Attica*. The *Greeks* in the mean time were for purſuing the *Perſian* fleet, in hopes of taking ſtraggling ſhips in order to increaſe their booty; but coming to *Andros* without diſcovering any of the enemy's ſhips, they there called a council of war, in which *Themiſtocles* gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould ſhape their purſuit by the way of the iſlands, and make all the ſail they could for the *Helleſpont*, in order to deſtroy the bridge which *Xerxes* had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch's communication with *Aſia*. *Plutarch* ſays that he communicated his ſentiments to *Ariſtides* *, who oppoſed it; but *Herodotus*, with greater probability, aſcribes this oppoſition to *Eurybiades* †. That *Themiſtocles* communicated his ſentiments to *Ariſtides* might be, but that he informed *Eurybiades* of them is morally certain, becauſe he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he, and not *Ariſtides*, oppoſed the carrying them into execution, becauſe he thought that ſhutting *Xerxes* into *Europe* with ſuch a mighty army, would be to compel him to repair his former omiſſions, and to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the *Greeks*.

But his advice is rejected.

He forms another ſcheme.

WHEN *Themiſtocles* perceived that this reaſoning prevailed, and that the *Grecian* chiefs were like to come into it unanimouſly, he formed another ſcheme, which *Plutarch* ſays he likewiſe communicated to *Ariſtides*, and that was this; he ſent a truſty meſſenger to *Xerxes*, to inform him that the *Greeks* intended to break down his bridge over the *Helleſpont*; wherefore he adviſed him to march back with the utmoſt

* PLUTARCH. ibid. † HERODOT. l. viii. c. 74.

ſpeed,

ſpeed, promiſing to delay, as much as he was able, the intended project of his countrymen. *Herodotus* ſays, that he actually adviſed the *Athenians* to give over the purſuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houſes, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wiſh for a quiet retreat, after having ſo long endured ſo violent a tempeſt; but at the ſame time our author intimates, that *Themiſtocles* had in view the ſafety of the *Perſians*, and not the intereſt of the *Athenians*, which he attributes to his foreſight of following misfortunes, and his willingneſs to ſecure an aſylum, when the envy of his countrymen ſhould doom him to baniſhment. Theſe ſort of cenſures are the tribute paid by the great for the luſtre of their actions. Whether *Themiſtocles* really intended his country ill or no, is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good, is univerſally allowed, and that this advice ſuited his ſcheme of making *Xerxes* of his own accord abandon the war in *Greece*, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarniſh his glory by receiving ſuch inſinuations, and we had better ſuppoſe that he did not foreſee his diſgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminiſh the reputation he acquired as a true patriot[s].

Which is by ſome miſinterpreted.

Herodotus relates another thing of *Themiſtocles*; he ſays that while the *Grecian* fleet and army were employed in beſieging *Andros*, this general ſent to *Paros* and other iſlands, and threatening the inhabitants of them that the *Greeks* would invade their country, extorted from them vaſt ſums of money, which he inſinuates he applied to his own private uſe†. *Plutarch* relates another paſſage, which muſt have happened pretty near this time, *viz.* that when the *Grecian* fleet was arrived at *Pegaſa*, a maritime town of *Magneſia*, where it wintered, *Themiſtocles* made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared that he had it in his mind to do ſomething which would prove of infinite conſequence to *Athens*; but that it was of ſuch a nature, that he could not communicate it to the aſſembly. Upon this the *Athenians* directed him to communicate it to *Ariſtides* only; and, in caſe he approved it, to put it in practice. When therefore theſe great men were alone, *Themiſtocles* diſcovered in few words that his ſcheme was to burn the reſt of the *Grecian* fleet, which would leave *Athens* miſtreſs of the ſeas. *Ariſtides* made his report to the people that what *Themiſtocles* intended was indeed the moſt advantageous thing that could poſſibly happen to them, but at the ſame time it was the moſt unjuſt; upon which they readily directed him to think no more of it, eſteeming it far better to

His deſign of making Athens *miſtreſs of the ſea.*

Rejected by the Athenians.

[s] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. c. 75. 112. PLUTARCH. in vit. Themiſt.
† HERODOT. ibid.

ſacrifice their intereſt to their fame, than for the ſake of preſent advantage, how great ſoever it were, to hazard the cenſure of ſucceeding ages, and the ſtain of infamy never to be blotted out *.

Honours paid him by the Lacedæmonians.

WHEN the fleet was returned to *Salamis*, and the booty was divided amongſt all who had ſerved on board, the *Greeks* reſolved to ſail to the iſthmus, in order to conſer there the cuſtomary honours on him, who by the free votes of their chiefs had deſerved beſt, and theſe being aſſembled in the temple of *Neptune*, and directed to write down his name who deſerved beſt, and alſo his who deſerved next, each chief put down his own in the firſt place, and the name of *Themiſtocles* in the ſecond, whereby, without deſigning it, they unanimouſly proclaimed him the moſt worthy of the *Grecks*. From thence he went to *Lacedæmon*, where he was received with the greateſt honour and reſpect; and the *Spartans*, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to *Eurybiades*, aſſigned that of prudence to *Themiſtocles*, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they preſented him alſo with the moſt magnificent chariot in *Sparta*, and when he returned to *Athens* he was eſcorted by five-hundred horſe, an honour never paid to any ſtranger but him †.

The Perſians *attempt to treat with the* Athenians.

ON *Themiſtocles*'s coming back to *Athens*, there were not wanting ſome who endeavoured to inſinuate that his receiving ſuch high honours from the *Lacedæmonians* was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated theſe clamours with contempt, and contented himſelf with exhorting the people not to entertain any doubts of their confederates, but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired, and the reſpect paid them by all the ſtates of *Greece*. About this time ſome of the families of the *Athenians* returned from *Salamis* to *Træzene*, where they had taken refuge while the *Perſians* ravaged *Attica*; the former belonged to the *Athenians*, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children committed to their charge; they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid alſo the beſt ſchool-maſters they could find for taking care of their youth; ſuch a high regard had the generoſity of the *Athenians*, *in* abandoning all for the ſake of liberty, drawn from every ſtate in *Greece*. The *Perſians* themſelves were no leſs ready in preferring them to all the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left to command the army, deſtined for carrying on the war, choſe to treat with the *Athenians*, rather than to fight with them; to this end he made uſe of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, a perſon well known, and highly reſpected at *Athens*. Him, as a tributary and ally of the *Perſian*

Propoſals of peace

* PLUTARCH, ibid. † HERODOT, l. viii. c. 23, & 124.

king,

king, he sent to make propoſals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his maſter. When he arrived, the *Athenians* entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a fore-ſight that the *Lacedæmonians* would not be long after hearing this news before they ſent embaſſadors, which accordingly came to paſs. They then appointed a day for *Alexander* to have audience of the people, on which, as *Herodotus* informs us, he ſpoke to this purpoſe: "*Athenians*, "I am ſent by *Mardonius* to tell you, that he has received "a meſſage from the king in theſe words: I forgive the "*Athenians* all the injuries they have done me, and therefore, "*Mardonius*, obſerve the following orders: Reinſtate them "in the poſſeſſion of their own territories; give them more- "over whatever other country they ſhall chuſe; let them go- "vern by their own laws, and rebuild their temples which I "have burnt, if they will come to an agreement with me. "Having received theſe orders, I am obliged to put them in "execution, unleſs you prevent me; and now I myſelf "would aſk you, what madneſs puſhes you on to make war "againſt a king you will never conquer, nor always be able "to reſiſt? You are not ignorant of the numerous forces and "great actions of *Xerxes*; you have heard of the army I have, "and if you ſhould happen to be victorious, and to defeat us, "which you can never hope ſo long as you have the uſe of "your reaſon, another much more powerful will come "againſt you; ſuffer not yourſelves then to be diſpoſ- "ſeſſed of your country, and continually alarmed for "your own lives, by meaſuring your ſtrength with the "king; but be reconciled to him, ſince you have now ſo fa- "vourable an opportunity in your hands from the preſent diſ- "poſition of *Xerxes*. Enter therefore into an alliance with "us ſincerely, and without fraud, and continue to be a free "people. Theſe, O *Athenians*, are the words which *Mar- "donius* ordered me to ſay to you: For my own part, I ſhall "not mention my conſtant affection to your ſtate, becauſe "you have had ſufficient proof of that in former time. I be- "ſeech you then, hearken to the counſel of *Mardonius*; for I "ſee you will not always be able to make war againſt *Xerxes*. "Had I not known this, I ſhould never have undertaken to "bring you ſuch a meſſage; but the king's power is incom- "parably greater than that of all other mortals, and his reach "ſo extenſive, that unleſs you immediately accept the favou- "rable conditions he offers, I dread the conſequences to you, "who, lying in the way of danger more than any other of "the confederates, and poſſeſſing a country placed as a prize "between the contending parties, muſt be always moſt ex- "poſed to ruin. Let theſe reaſons prevail with you, and con- "ſider the important advantages you will receive, if the great

made by Alexander *king of* Macedon, *in the* Perſian *king's name.*

" king forgives you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes " your friend.

The Lacedæmonian *embaſſadors exhort the* Athenians *to reject the propoſals.*

THE *Lacedæmonian* embaſſadors ſpoke in their turns, as ſoon as *Alexander* had made an end of his oration; they ſaid that they were commiſſioned to exhort the *Athenians* not to liſten to the propoſals of the *Barbarians*, beauſe it was a thing unreaſonable on many accounts; *Firſt*, becauſe the original quarrel was between the *Perſians* and the *Athenians*, into which the reſt of the *Greeks* were drawn, merely through their reſpect to them: *Secondly*, that the *Athenians* were always wont to be the foremoſt in the cauſe of liberty, which it would not become them now to deſert: *Thirdly*, that there were no grounds to believe the *Perſians* would obſerve any terms with a people they ſo much hated, when occaſion would ſerve; that the *Spartans* were exceedingly grieved for their misfortunes, and as a mark of their regard would in conjunction with their allies take care of their wives and children, till this war was at an end, and give them what other aſſiſtance was in their power. The *Athenians* having deliberated on this propoſition, anſwered firſt that of *Alexander*. They ſaid they were well acquainted with the great power of the king, but that they were alſo well aſſured of the juſtice of their own cauſe; that as long as the ſun and moon endured they would never deſert the cauſe of *Greece*, nor forget the injuries done them by the *Perſians*. To the *Lacedæmonians* they anſwered, they were ſorry they ſhould conceive ſo meanly of them, as to think they would ever compare intereſt with glory; that they would continue firm to their confederates without being a burden to them; but that it being probable *Mardonius* would be ready for action in the ſpring, they hoped the *Lacedæmonians* would think it more reaſonable to meet him with united forces in *Bœotia*, than to ſuffer him to ravage *Attica* again [t].

The Athenians *anſwer to* Alexander *and to the* Lacedæmonians.

Athens *a ſecond time deſtroyed.*

WHAT the *Athenians* foreſaw came exactly to paſs; *Mardonius*, according to the orders of his maſter, marched directly into *Attica*, and began to waſte and plunder the country, levelling even the ruins of ancient buildings, and throwing to the ground ſuch as the *Athenians* had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to *Athens*, which its inhabitants were forced a ſecond time to abandon, the *Spartans* ſending help ſo ſlowly, that the enemy arrived long before their confederates, ſo that the *Athenians* were conſtrained to retire with their families to *Salamis*, and to ſend the army which they had raiſed under the command of *Ariſtides*, to join that of the *Spartans* and other ſtates of *Greece*, which under the conduct of *Pauſanias*, tutor

[t] HERODOT. l. ix. c. 20, 22, 24. PLUTARCH. in vit. Ariſtid. & Themiſt. JUSTIN. lib. ii.

of

of king *Leonidas*, was preparing to reſiſt the *Perſians*. This army ſoon after advanced into *Bœotia*, where they fought the famous battle of *Platæa*, in which they made a far greater ſlaughter of the *Perſians* than they had ever done before. It would be foreign to our preſent purpoſe to ſay any thing more of this battle here, becauſe it was fought out of the territory of *Athens*, and the *Lacedæmonians* had the ſupreme command. It will be neceſſary however to obſerve, that *Ariſtides*, with the body of troops under his command behaved with ſuch bravery and reſolution, as procured him the praiſe of all the *Greeks* who were their cotemporaries, and hath tranſmitted their fame both for valour and prudence, even to this far diſtant age. The ſame day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought in *Greece*, the *Perſians* were alſo defeated at *Mycale* in *Ionia*. The *Grecian* fleet conſiſted of two hundred and fifty gallies under the command of *Leutychides* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*.

Year after the flood 1869. Before Chriſt 479.

IT is univerſally allowed that the *Athenians* behaved better than any of the reſt of the *Grecians* in this engagement, of whom, *Herodotus* ſays, that *Harmolycus* the ſon *Euthoinus*, a famous wreſtler, deſerved the firſt place. When they had defeated the *Perſian* navy, the *Greeks* had the boldneſs to land and to attack the forces they found on ſhore, whom having alſo routed, they plundered all the country, and carried off an immenſe booty. Having done this, they ſailed to *Samos*, where it was debated in their council, whether or no it would be fit to tranſport the *Ionians* into *Greece*, and leave *Ionia* to the *Barbarians*, ſince it would be very difficult if not impracticable for the *Athenians*, or indeed for the reſt of the confederates, to aſſiſt them at all times, and in caſe they were not protected, their preſent revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewiſe propoſed in caſe they were tranſported to *Greece*, to give them the territories of ſuch *Greek* ſtates as had in this war ſided with the *Perſians*; but after all the *Athenians* changed their minds, and ſhewed a viſible reluctance, when this deſign ſhould have been put in execution. They were apprehenſive that if the *Ionians* were tranſported into *Greece*, they would rival them in point of trade, or at leaſt throw off that obedience and reſpect, which hitherto they had paid *Athens* as their mother city and conſtant protectreſs. They were likewiſe uneaſy at the *Peloponneſians* interfering in matters relating to their colonies, and as the *Athenians* were at this time the ſtate of greateſt conſequence in *Greece*, their confederates thought it neceſſary to ſatisfy them by their particular condeſcenſion in this point, and therefore, promiſing the *Ionians* ſuch aſſiſtance as they ſhould have occaſion for from time to time, the fleet left their coaſt. The *Lacedæmonians* failed back to *Laconia*, but the

Gallant behaviour of the Athenians on this occaſion.

The Athenians oppoſe the tranſporting the Ionians into Greece, and why.

the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xanthippus*, resolved to make some farther attempts before they quitted these seas [u].

The strong fortress of Sestos besieged by the Athenians.

THIS resolution being taken, the *Athenians* crossed over to the *Chersonesus* and besieged *Sestos*. It was a strong place, and had a great garrison under the command of *Artayctes* a *Persian*, whom *Herodotus* represents as a man of very *dissolute* morals †. The siege was long and troublesome, and autumn drawing on, the *Athenians* were very desirous of returning home, but their general *Xanthippus* declared that he would not depart till he had either taken *Sestos*, or was recalled by a decree of the *Athenian* people, because *Artayctes* had been guilty of sacrilege in rifling the sepulchre of *Protesilaus*, and taking thence a vast sum of money. At last the garrison being pressed with hunger, and having no hopes of relief, resolved to shift for themselves, and accordingly made their escape in two parties, the one led by *Oibazus*, the other by *Artayctes*; *Oibazus* and his party were overtaken by the *Thracians*, who, after surrounding him and his guards, killed most of them, and took the rest of his family prisoners; after which they sacrificed him to *Plistorus* a *Thracian* god, and put the rest of their captives to the sword. The *Athenians*, as soon as they were masters of the place, sent out detachments to scour the country, and one of these coming up with *Artayctes* and his corps of troops near the river *Ægos*, engaged, routed them, and made him and his son prisoners (B). When the *Athenians* had done these things, they returned with their fleet to *Greece*,

The garrison make their escape.

But are taken and killed either by the Thracians or the Athenians.

[u] HERODOT. PLUTARCH. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. &c.
† HERODOT. l. vii. c 33. & l. ix. c. 115.

(B) When they were brought back to *Sestos*, and put under a guard, *Herodotus* relates a very extraordinary prodigy, which he attributes to the sacrilege beforementioned. He says, that one of the *Athenian* soldiers, to whose custody this *Persian* general was committed, broiling some dried fish, saw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been just taken out of the water, upon which *Artayctes* addressed himself to him in these words: "*Athenian* friend, be not afraid, "you are not at all concerned "in this prodigy. *Protesilaus*, "though dead and embalmed at "*Eleus*, admonishes me, by this "sign, that the gods have given "him power to revenge the in"jury he has received: resolv"ing therefore to make him re"paration, I will consecrate a "hundred talents to his divinity, "instead of the riches I took "out of his temples; and I will "give two hundred talents to "the *Athenians*, if they will "spare my life, and the life of "my son." But their general *Xanthippus* would not be persuaded by these promises, partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the people of *Eleus*, to avenge the injuries done to *Protesilaus* earnestly sollicited him, that *Artayctes*

Greece, carrying beſides other riches all the materials of the of the bridges, in order to be conſecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year [x].

THE victories of *Platæa* and *Mycale* ſealed the freedom of *Greece*, and particularly eaſed the *Athenians* of their apprehenſions; they therefore brought back all their families into *Attica*, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmoſt expedition, but alſo with ſome degree of magnificence [y]. The people were more elate than ever, they were conſcious of the mighty ſhare they had in driving the *Barbarians* back into *Aſia*, and were therefore reſolved to preſerve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had ſo warmly contended againſt ſtrangers. *Themiſtocles*, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in theſe expectations, and *Ariſtides* having thoroughly conſidered the

The Athenians return, and begin to rebuild their city.

The democracy eſtabliſhed.

[x] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xi. [y] DIOD. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 5.

tayctes might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the ſhore, where the bridges of *Xerxes* terminated, or, as others ſay, to an eminence ſtanding near the city of *Madytrus*, they cauſed him to be impaled on a ſtake fixed in the ground for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time ſtoned his ſon before his eyes.

The ſtory of *Artayctes*'s ſacrilege we have from *Herodotus*, who relates it thus: "The go-
"vernment of the whole pro-
"vince was in the hands of *Ar-*
"*tayctes*, a perſon of profligate
"and deteſtable manners, who
"had been placed in that ſta-
"tion by *Xerxes*, and by impo-
"ſing a fraud upon him, when
"he marched to *Athens*, he
"rifled the treaſures of *Proteſi-*
"*laus*, the ſon of *Iphicles*, which
"were at *Eleus*. For in the city
"of *Eleus* in *Cherſoneſus* the ſe-
"pulchre of *Proteſilaus* was e-
"rected in the midſt of this
"temple, and a great ſum of
"money, with gold and ſilver
"plate, veſſels of braſs, and o-
"ther offerings, were taken
"from thence by *Artayctes*, in
"virtue of a grant from the
"king, which he obtained by
"this artifice: *Sir*, ſaid he, *here*
"*is the habitation of a certain*
"Grecian, *who having entered*
"*your territories with an army,*
"*periſhed, as he well deſerved.*
"*Give me the houſe of this man,*
"*that for the future none may*
"*dare to invade any part of your*
"*dominions.* By this repreſen-
"tation he doubted not to ob-
"tain the houſe from *Xerxes*,
"becauſe he could have no ſuſ-
"picion of his project; and told
"him *Proteſilaus* had invaded
"the royal dominions, becauſe
"the *Perſians* imagine that all
"*Aſia* is the property of their
"kings. Thus after *Artayctes*
"had obtained his requeſt, he
"brought away the treaſure to
"*Seſtos*, converted the ſacred
"place into paſture and arable
"land; and when he was at
"*Elenus*, lay with divers wo-
"men in the ſanctuary (76)."

(76) *Herodot. lib.* ix. *prope fin.*

genius

genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to grant them freely what they ſo much deſired, than to hazard new diſturbances by the riſing up of different factions. He therefore propoſed that every citizen ſhould have an equal right to the government, and that the archons ſhould be choſen out of the body of the people without preference or diſtinction; with this the commons were ſatisfied, and the men of figure were alſo contented [z]. *Themiſtocles* propoſed alſo at this time that *Athens* ſhould be inſtantly fortified in the beſt manner poſſible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately ſuſtained by the ſudden invaſions of the *Perſians*. He had other views than this, but they were not then ripe for diſcovery, ſo he contented himſelf with moving that firſt which was firſt to be put in execution.

Themiſtocles proposes the fortifying of Athens.

THE *Lacedæmonians*, as ſoon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in *Greece*, and were of conſequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore ſent embaſſadors to *Athens*, who on their arrival declared to the aſſembly, that the *Spartans* having nothing in view but the general good of *Greece*, could not avoid remonſtrating againſt the proceedings of the *Athenians* in fortifying their city, ſince it was clear to them, that this meaſure muſt prove very diſadvantageous to their confederates, becauſe if the *Perſians* ſhould again make an irruption into *Attica*, with the ſame ſucceſs as before, and poſſeſs themſelves of a fortified city, they would make uſe of it as a bridle on *Greece*, and fill it with ſuch a garriſon as would render it inexpugnable. Theſe arguments ſeeming to have no great weight with thoſe to whom they were urged, the *Spartan* embaſſadors proceeded to exert an authority, which had been admitted in other *Grecian* cities, that is, they abſolutely forbid the *Athenians* to carry their walls any higher. The people infinitely offended at this, and at the ſame time doubtful how it might be remedied, liſtened readily to *Themiſtocles*'s advice, which was to the following effect: He ſaid, that conſidering their own imbecillity, and the power of *Sparta*, they were in this caſe to make uſe rather of prudence than proweſs. That to free themſelves from the *Lacedæmonian* embaſſadors, who were but a kind of ſpies, they ſhould promiſe not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embaſſy of their own they ſhould give ſatisfaction to *Lacedæmon* and the reſt of their allies. He then offered to go himſelf at the head of that embaſſy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy concluſion [a].

The Lacedæmonians *remonſtrate againſt it.*

And forbid the Athenians *to proceed in the work.*

[z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Ariſtid. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

Themiſto-

Themiſtocles, according to his own propoſal, being named with ſome other *Athenians* embaſſadors to *Sparta*, he ſet out before the reſt, having intimated to the ſenate that it would be for the intereſt of the ſtate, if they delayed as long a poſſible ſending the reſt of the embaſſadors to *Sparta*. When he arrived at *Lacedæmon*, he put off from time to time receiving audience on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his collegues. Theſe in the mean time exhorted the *Athenians* to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, ſparing neither houſes nor ſepulchres for materials, while women, children, ſtrangers, ſervants and citizens all wrought night and day, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the walls were almoſt finiſhed. The *Lacedæmonians* having received advice of this, and the collegues of *Themiſtocles* being arrived, they ſummoned them before the *Ephori*, who began immediately to exclaim againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the *Athenians* in thus violating their promiſe. *Themiſtocles* denied the charge; he ſaid his collegues aſſured him of the contrary, that it did not become a great ſtate to depend on flying rumours, but that the *Lacedæmonians* ought to ſend deputies back with the *Athenian* embaſſadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himſelf remained as a hoſtage to be anſwerable for the event. This being agreed to, *Themiſtocles* engaged his aſſociates to adviſe the *Athenians* to commit the *Spartan* embaſſadors to ſafe cuſtody, till he ſhould be releaſed. He then publickly avowed the whole tranſaction at *Lacedæmon*, took the ſcheme upon himſelf, and ſaid, *That all things are lawful for our country*. The *Spartans* ſeeing no remedy, concealed their reſentment, and ſent him home in ſafety [b].

The Lacedæmonians *deceived by* Themiſtocles.

THE next year, which was the laſt of the ſeventy-fifth olympiad, *Adimanthus* being archon, *Themiſtocles* opened himſelf further to his citizens, as to the ſchemes he had formed for raiſing their power, and encreaſing their wealth. He obſerved that the port *Phalerum* was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore adviſed them to make the *Pyræum* the port of *Athens*, from whence he ſaid that he was ſenſible that great advantages would accrue to the ſtate, but that it was not proper for him to diſcloſe them to the aſſembly, or to lay down publicly the methods by which his deſign might be carried into execution. He entreated them therefore to chuſe two perſons of rank and capacity to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The aſſembly thereupon made choice of *Ariſtides* and *Xanthippus*, to whom *Themiſtocles* freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the *Pyræum* the moſt capacious

The Pyræum *by the advice of* Themiſtocles *made the port of* Athens.

[b] PLUT. in vit. Themiſt. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Themiſt. DIOD. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

haven

haven in *Greece*, and to unite the city thereto by long walls, for he did not conceive it fit that the port ſhould be made part of the city, becauſe knowing that ſailors are generally diſſolute, he was afraid that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He obſerved that the *Ionians* were originally from the ſame ſtock with themſelves, and that of conſequence, if *Athens* were miſtreſs of the ſea, they *would* attach themſelves to her rather than to *Lacedæmon*, which he ſaid would be the caſe of the iſlanders alſo, who having no idea of a land-force would ſue for protection to that ſtate whoſe naval power was greateſt; he concluded with ſhewing the eaſineſs with which his ſcheme might be put *in practice, if its* ends were kept ſecret, and the danger there would *be of its* coming to nothing, if the *Spartans* had once an idea *of what* was intended. *Ariſtides* and *Xanthippus* went then out to *the people*, and told them, that *Themiſtocles*'s project was of the *utmoſt* advantage to the ſtate, and yet might be performed with *the* greateſt caſe. This inſtead of ſatisfying the aſſembly, inſpired them with new ſuſpicions, they therefore directed *Themiſtocles* to apply himſelf to the ſenate, and if they approved his deſign they empowered them to furniſh him with what he wanted; accordingly *Themiſtocles* addreſſed himſelf to that venerable body, and they went unanimouſly into all his meaſures. In the firſt place embaſſadors were diſpatched to *Sparta*, to inſinuate there how fit it would be for the *Greeks* to have ſome great port, where a fleet might always continue in ſafety *in order to* watch the deſigns of the *Perſians*; having thus prepared the *Lacedæmonians* not to take offence at their firſt preparations for enlarging and eſtabliſhing the harbour of *Pyræum*, *Themiſtocles* took ſuch care, that every thing was finiſhed, and the place in a poſture of defence, before it was well known at *Sparta* what the *Athenians* were about [c].

The ſovereignty of the ſea transferred to Athens.

THE *Greeks* continuing the war all this time againſt the *Perſians*, *Ariſtides* and *Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades* were ſent commanders of the *Athenian* forces, *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian* having the command in chief. *Pauſanias* elate with the ſucceſs he had had at *Platæa*, and full alſo of new deſigns, having engaged in a treaſonable correſpondence with the *Perſian* king, treated all the captains under his command with ſuch haughtineſs and ſtate, that they were not able to bear it; for he never ſpoke to them but in very harſh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themſelves or their ſoldiers, till the *Spartans* were all ſerved. As for the private men, under colour of preſerving diſcipline, he treated them as if they had been all ſlaves, making them

Pauſanias *treats with great haughtineſs the officers of the fleet.*

[c] PLUTARCH. in vit. Themiſt. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

for

for the ſmalleſt offences ſtand with an anchor bound down on their ſhoulders, ſo that it almoſt ſunk them into the earth. On the other hand the juſtice of *Ariſtides*, the candour and generoſity of *Cimon* attracted the hearts both of captains and ſoldiers, they ſaw that the *Athenians* were far more powerful at ſea than the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the authority of the latter was founded only on their pride; they therefore applied themſelves firſt to *Ariſtides*, to deſire that he would interpoſe with *Pauſanias* in order to hinder him from behaving ſo roughly; but when *Pauſanias* turned from him diſdainfully, and ſaid he was not at leiſure to hear him, they unanimouſly beſought the *Athenian* commanders to take them under their protection, promiſing for the future to acknowledge *Athens* as the firſt city of *Greece*. *Ariſtides* upon this propoſition told them that he ſaw clearly, not only the fitneſs, but the neceſſity of what they propoſed; but as he would never hazard either the ſafety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not ſucceed, ſo he would never comply with their requeſt, till by ſome public act they put their ſincerity out of queſtion, and fixed the concurrence of all the troops beyond a poſſibility of retracting. Upon this *Uliades* the *Samian*, and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, having agreed together, ran foul of *Pauſanias*'s galley as ſhe rode at the head of the fleet before *Byzantium*, and upon his threatning to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only ſlighted his menaces, but alſo told him in anſwer, that the beſt thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at *Platæa*, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action reſtrained the *Greeks* from reſenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the *Lacedæmonians* loſt that pre-eminence which they hitherto had maintained, and the ſupreme command was transferred to the *Athenians* [d].

Ariſtides and Cimon won the hearts of all.

They all concur in acknowledging Athens the firſt city of Greece.

THE conduct of *Ariſtides* derived greater honour and advantage to his country; the ſtates of *Greece* ſaw very clearly that it was neceſſary for them to be always on their guard againſt the *Perſians*, and they had already learned that war was not to be made without money; they therefore inferred that a ſtanding fund would be convenient for the maintenance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the ſettling the proportions of this fund according to the abilities of the ſeveral ſtates, ſeemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all *Greece* caſt their eyes on *Ariſtides*, they demanded him of the *Athenians* as the only perſon that could be entruſted with ſuch a plenitude of power. He executed

Ariſtides taxes all Greece by common conſent.

[d] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 6. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Ariſtid.

his

Greeks *all satisfied with his conduct.*

his commiſſion in ſuch a manner, that his taxation was unanimouſly ſtiled, *The happy lot of Greece*, all its ſtates being perfectly well ſatisfied with the ſums he allotted them to pay. The groſs account of his tax was four hundred and ſixty talents.

He obliges the Greeks *to ſwear to the articles of common alliance.*

When he had finiſhed this buſineſs, he obliged *all the* people of *Greece* to ſwear to the obſervation of all *the articles* of their grand alliance, himſelf taking the oath in the name of the *Athenians*, throwing at the ſame time pieces of red-hot iron into the ſea, when he pronounced curſes againſt all ſuch as ſhould violate any article of the alliance they ſwore to. Afterwards indeed, when neceſſity compelled the *Athenians* to act a little againſt the letter of that treaty, *Ariſtides* adviſed them to transfer the curſes on him, adding, that he would willingly bear the puniſhments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the ſtate. *Themiſtocles* ſaw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and in order to leſſen his reputation, he was pleaſed to ſay in a public aſſembly, that the praiſes beſtowed on *Ariſtides* were not praiſes worthy of a man, but of a money-cheſt, which ſafely keeps what is depoſited therein. But this did not avenge him of an obſervation which *Ariſtides* had made on a former ſpeech of his, wherein he declared that he thought it the greateſt excellency in a general to penetrate the deſigns of his enemy; to which *Ariſtides* replied, that it was indeed a moſt neceſſary qualification but that there was another equally illuſtrious, which was *to have clean hands, and not be a ſlave to money*. Thus when the *Athenians* were free from foreign wars, and from any contention with their confederates, they were continually employed in domeſtic quarrels; the diſſenſions of eminent men never failing to raiſe diſturbances among their fellow citizens. An obſervation which we ſhall content ourſelves with making here once for all, though the verification thereof will occur to our readers in almoſt every page of the *Athenian* hiſtory [c].

Themiſtocles *jealous of his glory.*

Themiſtocles *baniſhed* Athens, *and driven out of* Greece.

The *Lacedæmonians*, though at firſt they made a ſemblance of ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the *Greeks*, who transferred the preheminence with reſpect to maritime affairs from *Sparta* to *Athens*, yet in a ſhort time they began to look on this as a mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it, becauſe it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware that they enjoyed not half an empire, yet their anger being moderated by the wiſdom of ſome of their citizens, they laid aſide all thoughts of war, and the *Athenians* who had proviſionally built ſome ſtout gallies, reaped

[c] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid.

thereby

thereby ſome advantage from their threatnings. There ſeems juſt reaſon to believe that the *Lacedæmonians* acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after they accuſed *Themiſtocles* to his countrymen of having conſpired with their king *Pauſanias* to betray the cauſe of *Greece*. When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed appear that *Pauſanias* had diſcovered his intrigues to *Themiſtocles*, but it appeared likewiſe that *Themiſtocles* did all in his power to divert him from them, ſo that he was acquitted of this accuſation with honour. But the minds of the people being once ſtirred againſt him, as well to gratify their own private reſentment, as to make their court to the *Spartans*, there were enow found to caluminate *Themiſtocles*.

Why hated by the Lacedæmonians.

We have already ſhewn ſome of the reaſons which induced the people of *Lacedæmon* to hate this great man; there remains yet one more which deſerves the reader's notice, becauſe of all others it exaſperated them moſt. A little after the battle of *Platæa*, it was propoſed in the council of the *Amphictyons*, that all ſuch cities as had not fought againſt the *Perſians* ſhould loſe their right of ſending deputies to that aſſembly. This *Themiſtocles* oppoſed, for he foreſaw that if the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, and many others, ſhould loſe their right of ſending repreſentatives to this aſſembly, the *Lacedæmonians* would rule all; wherefore he repreſented to the members there preſent, that there were but one and thirty cities, and moſt of them very ſmall ones, which had concurred in the war againſt the *Perſians*, and that if the deputies of thoſe only had ſeſſion in their council, it would undoubtedly come to paſs that this auguſt ſenate would be entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to *Greece*. Theſe ſuggeſtions of his having deſtroyed the *Lacedæmonian* ſcheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of *Themiſtocles*, and ſought to bring him into odium with the *Athenians*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian*, who was a famous poet in thoſe times, wrote libels againſt *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, and *Cimon* promoted exceedingly that ſpirit of jealouſy which began to ſpring up againſt him. *Themiſtocles* himſelf gave them a handle, by erecting near his own houſe a temple, which he dedicated to *Diana, the giver of the beſt council*; intimating that himſelf had given the beſt council both for the ſafety of *Athens* and *Greece*. The end of theſe diſputes was, that the *Athenians* by the oſtraciſm baniſhed *Themiſtocles*.

[f] Corn. Nepos in vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. Plutarch, in vit. Themiſt.

He takes shelter with the king of the Molossians.

THE *Lacedæmonians*, not satisfied with this, accused him afresh of having been concerned in *Pausanias*'s conspiracy, which obliged that great man to fly from one place to another, and at last to take shelter in the court of *Admetus*, king of the *Molossians*; but the *Spartans* sending embassadors thither to threaten that king with the *Greeks* making war upon him by a confederacy, he furnished *Themistocles* with money to make his escape into *Asia*, where learning not only the *Persian* manners, but the language also, he raised himself to greater favour with *Artaxerxes* than any of the native *Persians*, so that in time he bestowed on him a *Persian* wife, a large estate, and great privileges, which descended to his posterity, insomuch that *Plutarch* affirms that he knew one of them whose name was also *Themistocles*, who lived at *Magnesia* in full possession of them above five-hundred years, after the ingratitude of the *Athenians* sent this excellent person to receive his bread from strangers, and to make known to *Persia* those virtues of which *Greece* was no longer worthy [f] (C).

Is well received in Persia.

THE

[f] CORN. NEPOS in vit. Themist. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. PLUT. in vit. Themist.

(C) As far as the affairs of *Themistocles* were mingled with those of the state of *Athens*, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now when they are no longer connected, we think it necessary to throw together some memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear, that *Themistocles*, when banished, had any design either to revenge himself on *Athens*, or to take refuge in the court of the king of *Persia*. The *Greeks* themselves forced him upon this, or rather the *Lacedæmonians*; for, as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their procurement, after he was banished, he was never suffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into *Persia*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was very dangerous; the great king having promised by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. *Nicogenes* the *Eolian* found means to convey him to court in safety, for having put him into a close litter, he caused the servants who attended him to give out, that they carried a young *Grecian* lady out of *Ionia* to a nobleman attending on the king's person. Thus he arrived safely at the court of *Artaxerxes*, where he addressed himself to *Artabanus*, and informed him that he was a *Grecian*, who desired to be admitted to an audience of the king, which *Artabanus* having promised, demanded whom they should say he was; for you seem, said he, to be no ordinary person. *Themistocles* answered, No man must be informed of this before the king himself. When admitted to the royal presence, and commanded to declare who he was, he spoke thus: "I am "*Themistocles* the *Athenian*, ba- "nished and persecuted by the "*Greeks*; I fly to thee for re- "fuge,

THE popular party in *Athens* carried all things before them, after *Themistocles* was banished; and such a number of false witnesses

"fuge, mighty monarch: The "evils I have done to the *Per-* "*sians* are easily to be forgiven, "in consideration of the many "atchievements performed for "them, when I hindered the "*Grecians* from pursuing the "*Medes* after the fatal battle of "*Salamis* and *Platæa*; when "having freed my country, and "placed the *Greeks* in safety, "my ambition led me on to "greater enterprizes; in which "being successful, I gratified "the far-extended *Persian* em- "pire, and performed services "acceptable to the greatest "prince on earth: since which "all things having conspired to "augment my present calami- "ties, suitable to such a condi- "tion, I come hither hoping to "receive mercy from a gracious "reconciled emperor, who hath "laid aside his anger, and is no "longer mindful of former evils; "humbly imploring you, that "taking the *Greeks* for witnesses "of the services I have done for "*Persia*, you will make use of "this occasion to shew the world "the nobleness of your virtue, "rather than the greatness of "your resentment. Hereby you "will preserve an humble sup- "pliant; if otherwise, you de- "stroy a servant of the *Persians*, "and a public enemy of the "*Greeks* (77)." *Thucydides* mentions a letter sent by *Themistocles* to *Artaxerxes*, differing very little from this speech, attributed to him by *Plutarch*. *Cornelius Nepos* hath copied this letter from *Thucydides*; and all agree, that the *Persian* monarch received him with great kindness. *Plutarch* says, that he was so well pleased with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his sleep, *I have* Themistocles *the* Athenian (78). The next morning the king sent for him again, and as soon as the first compliments were over, said, *I am in your debt two hundred talents, for so much I promised to him who brought* Themistocles; he likewise promised him far greater favours, and desired he would speak his mind freely of the affairs of *Greece*. *Themistocles* answered by his interpreter, *That discourse, like a* Persian *carpet, had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advantage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was scarce to be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece*; he therefore desired that he might have time to learn the *Persian* language, which would enable him to disclose his own ideas, without the help of another. This answer of *Themistocles* is a noble proof of his extensive genius, it was entirely in the oriental taste, the sentiment great, and the figure expressive; he delivered himself like a native *Persian* the very first day that he appeared in the court of *Persia*; the king readily granted him a year for the purpose he intended. At the end of that space he appeared frequently at court, *Themistocles* being in a short time so great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb, and the *Persian* kings were wont to promise any *Greek*, whom they sought to bring over to their interest, *that he should live with them as* Themistocles *did with* Artaxerxes. He was also in high favour with the

(77) *De bello Pelop. lib. i.* (78) *Plut. in vit. Themist.*

witneſſes aroſe, that thoſe who were moſt concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. *Ariſtides* alone, when things came to extremity, ſhewed himſelf more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to *Themiſtocles*; he refuſed to join with *Alcmæon* and *Cimon* in proſecuting him capitally, and was ſo far from inſulting him in his misfortunes, that he ſpoke of him with greater reſpect than ever. The war with *Perſia*

Ariſtides *favours* Themiſtocles *in his misfortunes.*

the queen-mother, became a convert to the *Perſian* religion, and was inſtructed therein by the magi. He had three cities beſtowed upon him, which, alluding to their ſituation, the king of *Perſia* ſaid in pleaſantry, that they ſhould ſerve to provide him *bread*, *wine*, and *meat*; theſe cities were *Magneſia*, *Myon*, and *Lampſacus*: the firſt brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents; and the laſt had in its neighbourhood the nobleſt vineyards in the eaſt. *Themiſtocles* fixed his reſidence at *Magneſia*, where he lived with all the ſplendor of a *Perſian* grandee, inſomuch that he ſaid one day at table to his children, *We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been undone.* He was ſo far from expreſſing any hatred againſt his ungrateful country, that *Plutarch* aſſures us the tenderneſs he retained for it had like to have coſt him his life; for ſeeing at *Sardis* a brazen ſtatue of a virgin, which he had ſet up in *Athens*, when he was ſurveyor of the aqueducts, he attempted to perſuade the governor of *Lydia* to ſend it back to *Athens*; who, far from giving into his opinion, fell into a great paſſion, and threatened to inform the emperor; ſo that *Themiſtocles*, in order to extricate himſelf from danger, was forced to make large preſents to his women. Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble *Athenian* died. *Plutarch* ſays, that being preſſed by the king of *Perſia*, to undertake an expedition againſt *Greece*, he made a ſolemn ſacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and ſo put an end to his life. *Thucydides*, who was co-temporary with *Themiſtocles*, ſpeaks very doubtfully of this buſineſs; *He died*, ſays he, *of a diſtemper, but ſome report that he poiſoned himſelf, ſeeing it impoſſible to accompliſh what he had promiſed the king.* He was ſixty-ſix years old at his death; he was honoured with a ſtately tomb at *Magneſia*, but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into *Attica*, and buried there. Some ſay, that the *Athenians* repenting afterwards of their ill-uſage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the *Pyræum*. And *Plutarch*, in ſupport of this, quotes the following verſes from *Plato* the comedian:

Thy tomb is juſtly rais'd upon the ſtrand,
Where from all parts admiring ſtrangers land;
In that fair port by thy great genius made,
The ſeat of empire, liberty, and trade:
So that thy aſhes, on this famous ſhore,
Both ſea and land may honour and adore (79).

(79) *Plut. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themiſt.*

was

was not yet let fall, the *Greeks* found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, especially the *Athenians*, who by means of their great force at sea were continually enriching themselves at the expence of some or other of the *Persian* emperor's subjects. They therefore devised various reasons for sending fleets to sea, though the real intent was to aggrandize and enrich themselves by the skill and valour of their troops, and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the seventy-seventh olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of such of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* as were under subjection to the great king. This expedition was pleasing to the *Athenians*, and no less grateful to the *Greeks* in general, since it seemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no less regard to their own [g].

The Athenians equip a fleet, and with what view.

Cimon the son of *Miltiades*, by the daughter of the king of *Thrace*, was unanimously chosen admiral and commander in chief on this occasion: He will make a great figure in the succeeding part of this history, and therefore it is necessary that we should give the reader his character here. *Cimon*'s abilities were fair and solid, yet less so than his virtues: His father had distinguished himself by the firmness of his courage, *Themistocles* by the strength of his judgment, *Aristides* by his probity, *Cimon* was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfection was an openness of temper which made him above deceiving, the only stain on *Themistocles*'s character; and an inflexible honesty, which raised his reputation above his father's. It was this *Cimon* whom the merciful *Athenians* put in chains for his father's fine, and for whose release his sister gave up her charms to *Callias*, remarkable only for his wealth. In his youth *Cimon* did not promise much; he was little inclined to learning, which in an *Athenian* was a strange thing: He was much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were also thought blemishes in a young nobleman like him; but of a sudden he gave his citizens to understand that the greatest virtues are not the soonest seen; for, when on the first news of the *Persian* invasion, *Themistocles* advised the *Athenians* to quit their city, and go on board their gallies, and was thereupon universally decried, *Cimon* went immediately to the temple of *Minerva*, and offered up a bridle, to signify that horsemen were no longer of use, but that they ought to trust to their ships; after which he went chearfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. *Aristides* observing the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to business, that his candour might balance the craft of *Themistocles*, in which he succeeded very happily;

Cimon establishes the Athenian greatness.

His character.

[g] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

for *Cimon* alone, of all the *Athenian* generals, was always beloved, and never ſuſpected [h].

His ſucceſs againſt the Perſians.

In this expedition he took the city of *Eion* from the *Perſians*, but with little advantage to the *Athenians*, becauſe *Butes*, who commanded in that city for the *Perſian* king, ſet fire to the place, and burnt himſelf, his garriſon, and *all the* riches that were therein; however, *Cimon* ſettled colonies in that neighbourhood, after revenging himſelf on the *Thracians*, who had aſſiſted the *Perſians* in *Ionia* with proviſions. He afterwards reduced the iſland of *Seyros*, from whence he brought the bones of *Theſeus*, which were honourably interred at *Athens*. After this he returned to *Athens*, and having increaſed his fleet to three hundred ſail, he ſteered for the coaſt of *Caria*, and having performed great things there, he ſailed for *Cyprus*, where he was informed the *Perſian* fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, their land army being encamped not far off. He attacked *firſt* their fleet and then their army, and in one day gained two important victories, one at ſea, the other at land, equal to thoſe of *Salamis* and *Platæa* [i]. *Plutarch* ſays, that he afterwards made himſelf maſter of eighty *Phœnician* veſſels, which lay in a port of *Cyprus*, and were intended to ſtrengthen that navy which *Cimon* had deſtroyed. However it was, he gained ſuch an immenſe booty, that the *Athenians* were enabled thereby to build the ſouth wall of the citadel, and to *lay the* foundation of thoſe far extended walls which *united the port* to the city, and which being built in a mooriſh ground, they were firſt of all forced to ſink great ſtones, that they might have whereon to erect a ſuperſtructure, beſides various other things for the accommodation of the citizens, and beſides what *Cimon* himſelf did out of his proportion of the ſpoils, which were very great; for he adorned the *forum* with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks, and pleaſant fountains.

Year after the deluge 1880. Before Chriſt 468.

Immenſe booty gained by Cimon, *and how employed.*

Cimon's *magnificence in his private capacity.*

The wealth of *Cimon*, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, ſo it likewiſe put it in his power to *live* in his private capacity with that magnificence which he ſo much affected; he therefore demoliſhed the incloſures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleaſed; he likewiſe kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the pooreſt *Athenians* eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was conſtantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dreſſed, and whoſe pockets were well furniſhed with money. But if by chance he met any ancient citizen

[h] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. Corn. Nepos in vit. ejuſd. [i] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

in

in a tatter'd ſuit, he made ſome of his domeſtics change cloaths with him; or if the quality of the perſon rendered that kindneſs unſuitable, he took a ſum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the diſtreſſed perſon privately. Thus, as one of the ancients ſaid of him very juſtly, he gained riches that he might uſe them, and uſed them ſo as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing theſe things from a deſire of becoming popular; on the contrary, he ſided always with the nobility, and oppoſed openly ſuch as ſought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches which his victories poured into *Athens*, brought along with them their conſtant attendant, corruption; but though the tide was ſtrong, yet *Ariſtides*, in the midſt of a voluntary poverty, and *Cimon*, who lived with the greateſt magnificence, eſcaped it, and were never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money [k].

Cimon *reduces* Cherſoneſus.

THE affairs of *Athens* were now in ſuch a proſperous condition, that they would not ſuffer any thing to be tranſacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The *Perſians* having invaded the *Cherſoneſus*, and by the help of the *Thracians* made themſelves intirely maſters of it, *Cimon* was ſent thither in a great hurry; he had with him but four ſhips, ſo that the *Barbarians* and their allies looked upon this as a very raſh attempt; however, *Cimon* falling upon them ſuddenly, took thirteen of their gallies, and afterwards reduced all *Cherſoneſus* under the *Athenian* power; after which he went againſt the *Thaſians*, who revolting from the *Athenians*, had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers *Nyſſus* and *Strymon*, which tempted the *Athenians* to fall upon them. Before we enter into the event of this war, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Cimon* put the *Athenians* into a method of becoming irreſiſtible at ſea, and of ſaving their neighbours, not at their own expence, but at the expence of thoſe they awed. It was thus: Many of the *Greek* ſtates, who by the treaty concluded with *Ariſtides* were bound to furniſh men and gallies, as well as to pay the tax for their ſupport, when they ſaw themſelves out of danger from the *Barbarians*, were very unwilling to furniſh their quota of men and ſhips; this moſt of the *Athenian* generals diſliking, would have compelled them by high fines to remedy; but *Cimon* took a contrary courſe, he permitted ſuch as were deſirous of ſtaying at home to remain there, and took a certain ſum in lieu of a galley compleatly manned. By this means he inured the *Athenians*, whom he took on board his gallies, both to

The Athenians *by his means become the moſt powerful at ſea.*

[k] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra.

hardſhip and diſcipline, while the allies, who choſe to excuſe themſelves in this manner, were enervated thro' idleneſs, and ſo from confederates dwindled by degrees into tributaries, and almoſt ſlaves. The people of *Thaſus* perceiving this, thought to have ſhaken off the *Athenian* yoke, but were at laſt obliged to ſubmit, and yield the gold mines, about which *this* war was commenced, to the *Athenians*, who ſent a great colony to *Amphipolis*, a city of *Thrace*, which for ſome time made a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the *Edones*, great part of them were deſtroyed.

Poſſeſs themſelves of the gold mines of Thrace.

In the laſt year of the ſeventy-ſeventh olympiad, the *Lacedæmonians* finding themſelves extremely vexed by their *Helotes*, who had revolted from them, and were ſupported by the *Meſſenians* and ſome other of their neighbours, ſent to demand aid from *Athens*, which produced very great diſputes there: *Ephialtes*, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, oppoſed the motion for ſending, as the *Spartans* deſired, an army to their aſſiſtance. *Cimon*, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the *Lacedæmonians*, by whoſe intereſt he had been ſupported againſt *Themiſtocles*, earneſtly preſſed the *Athenians* to lay hold of this opportunity of ſhewing their virtue and magnanimity, by ſuccouring their companion, who was the other eye of *Greece*. *Ephialtes* ſought to bring the people into his opinion, by ſhewing that *Sparta* had always been, and from the nature of her conſtitution would always be an enemy to *Athens*, and therefore ought not to be ſuccoured now the enemies her pride had excited were about to lay her low. The *Athenians*, however, liſtened rather to *Cimon* than to his adverſary, and full of a generous concern for *Greece*, ſent that fortunate general at the head of a great army to the aſſiſtance of *Lacedæmon*, which ſervice he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour. Some time after, the *Lacedæmonians* being ingaged in the ſiege of *Ithome*, ſent again to the *Athenians* for ſuccour, and were again relieved, *Cimon* marching with a numerous body of troops to their aſſiſtance; but the *Spartans*, finding that their other confederates had ſent troops ſufficient to enable them to make an end of the war ſucceſsfully, diſmiſſed the *Athenian* ſuccours, as being either afraid of them, or caring leaſt to be obliged by them. This grievouſly offended the people of *Athens*, who thenceforward not only hated the *Lacedæmonians*, but all of their own citizens who were reputed to be friends to that ſtate [1].

Cimon ſent to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians *againſt their* Helotes.

The Athenians *diſobliged by the* Lacedæmonians.

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos vit. ejuſd. Thucyd. lib. i.

The

THE *Athenians* engaged themſelves in two new wars, one againſt the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who having been always free, bore very ill theſe acts of ſovereignty which the *Athenians* exerciſed over them, as well as the reſt of their allies: The ſecond was againſt the great king in *Egypt*, which now revolted from him, and ſet up one *Inarus* for king. The fleet which the *Athenians* ſent hither performed wonders; for they enabled the *Egyptians* to beat the *Perſians* in the field, and to ſubdue two diſtricts of the great city of *Memphis*; but the third, which was called the *White-wall*, they could not reduce, the *Perſians* who retreated thither, having carried with them a vaſt quantity of proviſions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a ſiege of three years, as we have related elſewhere[m].

The Athenians make war on Ægina, and ſend a fleet into Egypt.

THEIR great buſineſs abroad did not ſo much take up the time of the people of *Athens*, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home; the popular party were continually making efforts againſt thoſe ſmall remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility; they had at their head two very great and famous men, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes*; the former of theſe was the ſon of *Xanthippus* the famous *Athenian* captain, who won the battle of *Mycale*, by *Agariſte* the niece of the celebrated *Clyſthenes*, who had ſo great a hand in expelling the *Piſiſtratidæ*. He ſtudied under *Damon* and *Anaxagoras*; from the former he learned politics, and from the latter natural philoſophy, and the art of ſpeaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence ſuperior to that of any of his co-temporaries; but he was obliged to conceal theſe ſhining qualifications, becauſe the *Athenians* had taken it in their heads that he reſembled *Piſiſtratus* very much in his face, and ſtill more in his eloquence, which was ſo nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the ſurname of *Olympus*. Notwithſtanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good eſtate, and many relations, who filled the firſt poſts of the commonwealth, yet he not only declined ſtanding for public employments, but even ſpeaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himſelf the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when *Ariſtides* was dead, *Themiſtocles* in baniſhment, and *Cimon*, generally ſpeaking, employed in foreign affairs, *Pericles* began to apply himſelf ſtrictly to public buſineſs, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of *Athens* had acted; for inſtead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himſelf wholly to the lower ſort of people, notwithſtanding that it was contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which by no

State of factions in Athens at this time.

Pericles, his birth, education, conduct, &c.

[m] See Vol. II. p. 99. 100.

means

means inclined him to a plausible insinuating behaviour. The reason was that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could possibly attain to that eminence and superiority which he affected. *Cimon*, by the greatness of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate, had placed himself at the head of the nobility, and was by them considered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generosity and condescension. The *multitude* therefore were the sole resource of *Pericles*, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foresaw exactly the dangers he must be exposed to in consequence of his making court to them. To avoid these, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid visits, and but once in all his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the *prytaneum* or *assembly*; he preserved an unshaken gravity in his look, his gestures, and his speech, and always prayed before he delivered an oration, that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people. With all these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as *Cimon*, to whom, though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell short; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expence. He encreased the *sallaries* given to such of the *Athenian* citizens as sat in courts of justice, and the money given the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in the theatres [n] (D).

INAS-

[n] PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

(D) The reader might be justly offended, if we had suffered *Aristides*'s subsequent fortunes to have slipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the share he had, like the rest of the great men of *Athens*, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen. In this note therefore we will draw together such scattered passages in relation to this great man, as the course of the history did not permit us to take notice of in the text. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Ariston*, an historian of *Chios*, or as M. *Dacier* will have it, of *Ceos*, said, that the contention between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* took rise from their being both enamoured of *Stesileus* of the island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful youth of his time, in which, if there be any truth, it is an inconteſtable argument, that the morality of the *Greeks* was far from being pure or perfect, since *Aristides*, who valued himself so much on his probity, could persist in so base and unnatural a vice. What a high esteem all his cotemporaries had of the rigid virtue of *Aristides*, is

better

INASMUCH as *Pericles* never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of consequence be choſen a member of the court of *Areopagus*, whence it came to

Pericles *an enemy to the court of* Areopagus.

better known to us from an accident, than from all the laboured panegyrics of the writers of hiſtory. It happened, that *Ariſtides* was preſent the firſt time that *Æſchylus*'s tragedy was played, which has this title, *The ſiege of* Thebes *by the ſeven captains*. A courier being therein introduced, relating to *Eteocles* the names and qualities of thoſe who commanded, thus deſcribes the genius and temper of *Amphiarius*.

He aims at real worth without the ſhow,
Reaping thoſe fruits which in his rich mind grow;
Whence ſage advice and noble actions flow.

As ſoon as theſe words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon *Ariſtides*, to ſhew that in their opinion this was his character alſo. He was appointed treaſurer of *Athens*, and executed that office with great integrity; but inaſmuch as he had expoſed ſome of *Themiſtocles*'s frauds, that artful politician accuſed him of miſapplying public money, and though nothing was falſer than this charge, got him condemned. But the court of *Areopagus* interpoſing, his fine was remitted, and he choſen treaſurer for the next year, when he ſuffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit, who thereupon extolled him to the skies, and when the end of the year came, would have perſuaded the people to chuſe him a third time; when *Ariſtides* riſing up, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in theſe words: "When I diſcharged "my office with care, and ma- "naged your treaſure faithfully, "and like an honeſt man, I was "reviled, and evil ſpoken of; "but now, when I have taken "no care at all, but left it to "the diſcretion of theſe public "robbers, I am, it ſeems, an "admirable treaſurer, and a "moſt excellent patriot; I there- "fore declare to you, that I am "more aſhamed of the honour "done to me this day, than of "the ſentence paſſed upon me "laſt year; and with indigna- "tion and concern, I ſee it is "more meritorious with you to "oblige ill men, than to deſerve "well of the commonwealth." The day before the battle of *Platæa*, a conſpiracy being diſcovered among the *Athenians* to introduce a democracy, *Ariſtides*, who commanded, would not ſuffer it to be looked minutely into, for fear it ſhould occaſion ſome ſedition in the camp; but contented himſelf with telling ſuch as were ſuſpected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might juſtify themſelves, and ſhew how much they were friends to their country. It is certain, that in this battle, *Ariſtides* proved himſelf to be as great a general as he was a ſtateſman, and gave as noble teſtimonies of his valour, as he had ever done of prudence and juſtice. He lived but four years after *Themiſtocles* was baniſhed, and notwithſtanding he had exerciſed the greateſt offices in the commonwealth, yet he was ſo poor, that

to pass that he distasted their authority, because he knew they could not be well pleased with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general assembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himself the displeasure of the most venerable council among the *Athenians*, he encouraged *Ephialtes*, his intimate friend, to stir up the people against the *Areopagites*, and to make them believe that this tribunal was the greatest curb upon them, and the only bar to that extensive liberty which their friends wished to put into the hands of the commons of *Athens*[o]; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatness in that of the people, but at the expence of the ancient constitution, and of the safety of the state, as the course of this history will shew.

Prosecution commenced against Cimon.

WHEN things were in this situation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the destruction of *Cimon*. In order to this, a prosecution was commenced against him for treason against the state; this treason was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the *Macedonians*, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the manifest opportunity he had to inlarge his conquests, after he had taken from the *Persians* the gold mines of *Thrace*. *Cimon* made a defence suitable to his character, he said that he had prosecuted to the utmost of his power the war against the *Thracians*, and other enemies to the state of *Athens*; but that it was true, he that he was unable to make a figure himself, or leave any thing to his children, except the honour of being descended from such a father, which procured them a maintenance from the public. We will instance but one thing more in relation to *Aristides*, which respects at once his poverty and virtue, and so conclude. His cousin *Callias* the torch-bearer, being under a prosecution, the orator who spoke against him observed, that tho' he was immensely rich, he suffered his cousin *Aristides* to labour under the deepest necessity. *Callias* perceiving that this made more impression on his judges, than the crime for which he was accused, he summoned *Aristides*, who owned that *Callias* had often pressed him to accept money, and that he had as often answered, *It better becomes* Aristides *to make a shew of his poverty, than* Callias *of his wealth; for many people make a bad use of their riches, whereas there is scarce one to be found, who bears poverty with an equal mind* (81). He died in the second year of the seventy-eighth olympiad, 467 years before Christ.

[o] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. & in vit. Cimonis. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi.

(81) *Plutarch. in vit. Aristid. Corn. Nepos in vit. ejusd. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. Just. lib. ii. c. 15. Senec. de Benefic.*

had not made any inroads into *Macedonia*, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and because he was struck with respect for a nation modest in their carriage, just in their dealings, and strictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the *Athenians*; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he must abide their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiss. *Elpinice* his sister engaged herself warmly in his behalf, soliciting all such as she thought might either influence the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongst the rest she addressed herself to *Pericles*, who was one of the persons appointed by the people to accuse *Cimon* at his trial. *Pericles* heard all she had to say patiently, and then answered with a smile, *You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these.* *Pericles* was noted for gallantry, and in all probability, he let fall this expression to take off all suspicion that *Elpinice* had made any impression upon him; for it was observed that when the trial came on, *Pericles* spoke but once, and then not only treated *Cimon* with great respect, but touched the business of which he was accused so lightly, that he seemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done speaking he withdrew; the consequence of this was, that *Cimon* escaped capital punishment, though he was banished by the *ostracism*, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people [p].

Pericles defends him.

But he is banished.

THE disposition of the *Athenians* appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, *Ephialtes* took this opportunity to humble the court of *Areopagus*, which he did by a decree, whereby most of the causes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elsewhere; and this the wisest of the *Athenians* have looked upon as the first step to their ruin, for it gave the people such a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however, *Ephialtes* did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets by *Aristodicus* a *Tanagrian*, as *Aristotle* reports, induced thereto by the nobility, though *Idomenes* of *Lampsacus*, an author quoted by *Plutarch*, ascribes his murder to *Pericles*, who, when he had served his purposes, thought it best to have him out of the way [q].

The power of the Areopagus curtailed.

A WAR breaking out between the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* on the one side, and the *Athenians* on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the *Athe-*

Advantages gained by the Athenians over the Corinthians, Epi-

[p] PLUT. in vit. Cim. & Peric. CORN. NEPOS.

[q] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

nians

daurians, *and people of* Ægina.

nians conceiving that the inhabitants of *Ægina* had ſome way or other been helpful to their enemies, ſent *Leocrates* their admiral, at the head of a great fleet, to puniſh that iſland which had always been troubleſome to the *Athenians*. The inhabitants of *Ægina*, vainly truſting to their ſkill in maritime affairs, ventured with a ſmall fleet, made up for the moſt part of new-built ſhips, to hazard a battle with the *Athenians*, in which however they ſuffered greatly for their raſhneſs, being totally defeated with the loſs of ſeventy ſhips, ſo that they were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Athenians*, and to purchaſe peace at the expence of honour and independence [r].

The other ſtates jealous of their greatneſs.

THE ſtates of *Peloponneſus*, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatneſs of *Athens*, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when ſhe was engaged in troubleſome affairs, and ſeemed to be leſs able to reſiſt them. On this account the *Corinthians* attacked the *Megarians*, whom they knew to be the allies of *Athens*, while the *Athenians* upon ſome freſh provocation were laying ſiege to *Ægina*; but this warlike people, far from being frighted at the number of their enemies, ſent *Myronides* their general, at the head of a conſiderable army, to the aſſiſtance of their allies, without deſiſting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. *Myronides* behaved ſo well, that after ſeveral engagements the *Corinthians* were glad to return, ſo that this attempt to check the *Athenian* power, ſerved, as many others had done, only to increaſe it [s].

The Athenians *make an unjuſt war on the* Lacedæmonians. Year after the flood 1890. Before Chriſt 458.

THE *Lacedæmonians* having ſent a great army compoſed of their own troops, and thoſe of their allies, to the aſſiſtance of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians*, the *Athenians* reſolved to attack them in their return, having long wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging thoſe inſults which they had received, or which they apprehended they had received from the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* therefore drawing in the *Argives* and *Theſſalonians* to be confederates with them, manned out a fleet of fifty ſail, and with them approached the iſthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of the paſſages, ſo that it was impoſſible for the *Lacedæmonians* to return home without encountering them. The *Spartan* army commanded by *Nicomedes*, conſiſted of eleven thouſand five hundred men; he did not however haſten raſhly to a battle, but turned aſide to *Tanagra* a city of *Bœotia*, where ſuch of the *Athenians* as inclined to an ariſtocracy entered into ſome correſpondence with him. But before their deſigns ripened, the *Athenian* army marched with great expedition to

[r] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 283. [s] Id. ib.

Tangara,

Tanagra, so that a battle became inevitable. When the *Athenians* were disposing themselves in battalia, *Cimon* presented himself on a sudden completely armed, and went to take post among the troops of his own tribe. But those of the popular faction, forgetting all respect to their country, and minding nothing but their private resentments, raised a great clamour, alledging that he came with no other view than to put himself at the head of his own party in order to assist the *Lacedæmonians*; they therefore insisted that the general should not receive him, his time of banishment being not near expired; and *Cimon* being informed of this, rather than make his countrymen uneasy, voluntarily retired, but before he withdrew, he addressed himself to *Euthippus* and the rest of his friends, who were charged with being in a conspiracy with him, earnestly beseeching them to behave in such a manner as might wipe off the aspersion, and convince the *Athenians* that they had not amongst them either braver or honester men than *Cimon* and his friends. *Euthippus* and his companions made him no other answer than desiring him to leave them his armour, since their generals would not permit him to serve at their head, which accordingly he did.

Will not allow Cimon *to fight among their troops.*

THE battle proved long and doubtful, for the *Thessalian* horse deserting the *Athenians* at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however, the troops of *Athens* and their confederates fought obstinately, particularly the little body commanded by *Euthippus*, which drawing close together, and having *Cimon*'s armour in the midst of them, charged amongst the thickest of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all slain. In the end, however, the *Athenians* were routed with a very great loss. This unfortunate business was followed shortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of *Attica*, the *Thessalians* marched suddenly in the night to attack it. The *Athenian* escort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of *Tanagra*, received the *Thessalians* as friends. But they suddenly falling upon them, the *Athenian* guard stood on their defence, and made a very gallant resistance, till at last their own army came in to their aid, who quickly routed the *Thessalians* with great slaughter; yet these in the end being sustained by the *Lacedæmonians*, the engagement became again doubtful, till at length both armies being sufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a short truce, that after such rude encounters both sides might have time to recruit their forces [t].

The Athenians *defeated at* Tanagra.

A second battle.

[t] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 283. PLUT. in vit. Cimonis.

THE

Thebes restored by the Lacedæmonians *to her ancient lustre.*

THE *Thebans*, who on account of their having joined *Xerxes* in his war against *Greece*, had lost the government of *Bœotia*, applied themselves now to the *Lacedæmonians*, entreating them to assist their recovery of it, and promising to be for ever their faithful allies against the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* conceiving this to be a very seasonable proposal, readily complied with it, and entered into a strict league with the *Thebans*. By their assistance *Thebes* was restored to her ancient lustre, rendered the head of *Bœotia*, and one of the first cities in *Greece*. The *Athenians*, however, were so much displeased at the conduct of the *Spartans* in this matter, that they resolved to send an army into *Bœotia* to overturn all they had been doing. *Myronides* the son of *Callias* was chosen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day certain when he would march against the enemy; when that day came, many whose names were in the muster-roll did not attend; *Myronides* however began his march, and when many persuaded him to wait a little, that such as had been negligent might have time to come in, he answered roundly, that it did not become a general to wait for such people, since it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy as they did towards their friends; whereas the troops he had with him, in their early appearance in the field, had given such a testimony of their courage as seemed to promise victory. The *Thebans* and their allies, making up a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched without scruple to meet *Myronides* and his handful of *Athenians*; but the event did not answer their expectation, for after a long and obstinate engagement *Myronides* prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed surprizing, as *Diodorus Siculus* long ago remarked, that ancient authors have passed over so slightly this victory of the *Athenians*, which in some sense was more glorious to them than either that of *Marathon* or *Platæa*. In both these they fought against *Barbarians*, and were assisted by their allies; in this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a superior army, composed of the bravest of the *Greeks*. The first use which the *Athenian* general made of his victory was, to march to *Tanagra*, where the *Athenians* had been so hardly dealt with a few months before; this city he took by storm, and that he might make even the defeats of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all *Bœotia*, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the *Locrians*, then penetrated into *Thessaly*, where having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery

The Athenians *send an army against the* Bœotians, *and gain a complete victory over them.*

to the *Athenians*, he returned home laden with riches and glory [u].

Tolmides *the* Athenian *admiral invades* Laconia.

THE next year *Tolmides* the *Athenian* admiral, piqued at the great actions of *Myronides*, prompted the people to give him power to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted: That they might the more readily come into his project, *Tolmides* aſked but for a thouſand men, which were readily granted him; but he well knowing that this was too ſmall a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending that he would chuſe the thouſand men out of the ſtrongeſt and braveſt of the youths of *Athens*, he privately ſolicited all ſuch to give in their names voluntarily, ſuggeſting that it would be a ſtain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three thouſand to give in their names, he then choſe another thouſand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thouſand men on board his fleet, which conſiſted of fifty ſail of ſtout gallies, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at *Methon* in *Laconia*, he took it; but the *Spartans* ſending a ſpeedy ſuccour, he was forced to quit it. However, he had better fortune at *Gythium*, another ſeaport belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*, which he took and burnt, with all the ſhipping and naval proviſions that were therein; he likewiſe waſted all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he ſailed for *Zacynthus*, which he reduced, together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then ſailed over to *Naupactus*, which he took by compoſition, and having ejected the *Lacedæmonians*, ſettled there a colony of *Meſſenians*, whom the *Athenians* had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no leſs to the honour of the *Athenians*, than thoſe undertaken in former years againſt the *Spartans*, and their allies [x].

And reduces ſeveral places.

Pericles *invades* Peloponneſus *with great ſucceſs.*

ON the very back of this, *Pericles* was ſent with his ſhips, and a thouſand ſoldiers, to invade *Peloponneſus*, which he did with great good fortune, burning, ſpoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him, as was before ſaid, but a thouſand men, for the very fame of the *Athenians* half diſcomfited their enemies, and the reputation of ſo great a general took away almoſt the power of reſiſtance. On his return to *Athens*, he found the people not a little out of humour, becauſe *Cimon* remained ſtill in baniſhment; the death of his friends in the battle of *Tanagra*, fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been baniſhed, and therefore we need not wonder that all *Athens*

[u] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 285. THUCYD. lib. i. [x] DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi.

looked upon it as an act of justice due from their state to recal him. *Pericles* conceiving well what would be the consequence of their compassion, immediately took the thing upon himself, and drew up an act for his restoration, which *Cimon* took so kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home (D).

Cimon rightly judging that it would be impossible for the *Athenians* to lie still, equipped two hundred gallies, with an intent to make a fresh attempt upon *Cyprus*, that by gaining new booties from the *Barbarians*, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the *Persian* king, than to be harrassing the *Lacedæmonians*, or oppressing their allies. *Plutarch* suggests, that he had in view no less a conquest than that of the whole *Persian* empire; part of his fleet he detached to assist the *Athenians* in *Egypt*, with the rest he remained in the neighbourhood of *Cyprus*, or as *Diodorus Siculus* says, made himself master of *Citium* and *Malus*; after which he defeated the *Phœnician* fleet, beat the *Persian* army commanded by *Megabizus*, which lay encamped in *Cilicia*, and after re-embarqued his forces, and returned to *Cyprus*, where he besieged the capital city. But the *Persian* monarch, finding no ease from the *Athenians*, and no hopes of subduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, sent orders to *Artabazus* and *Megabizus*, his commanders, to enter into a treaty of peace; which accordingly they did, and the *Athenians* having named on their side *Callias*, the son of *Hipponicus*, their plenipotentiary, the treaty was quickly finished; the principal articles of which were, first, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be free, and governed by their own laws; secondly, that the *Persians* should send no army within three days journey of the sea; thirdly, that no *Persian* ship of war should sail between *Thaselis* and *Cyene*, the former a city of *Pamphilia*, the latter of *Lycia*. Articles most glorious for the *Greeks*, and not a little acceptable to the *Persians*, since the *Athenians* on their side undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire.

Cimon recalled from banishment

The Athenians under Cimon gain great advantages over the Persians.

Who conclude a peace with them, and upon what terms.

(D) The writers of scandal among the ancients, for some such there always were, as is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to posterity, that this reconciliation between *Pericles* and *Cimon* was brought about by *Elpinice*, who, they say, stipulated for her brother, that he should be content with commanding abroad, and allow *Pericles* to be at the head of the administration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, and generously preserved the *Greeks* from falling upon each other *.

* *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib.* xi. *p.* 287. *Plut. in vit. Cimonis.*

DURING this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, whether of ſickneſs, or of a wound he had received at the ſiege, authors were not agreed in the time of *Plutarch*. His death was as honourable as his life, and his laſt act the moſt glorious of it all; for when he found himſelf about to expire, he ſent for the principal commanders, adviſed them to embarque the men, to conceal his deceaſe, and to ſail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the laſt great captain of *Athens*, the reſt were ſoldiers, and heroes too, but not patriots like *Cimon*; for they flattering the humours of their countrymen, led them at every turn to fight againſt their brethren, and moſt cruelly employed the wiſdom, power, and wealth of *Greece*, againſt herſelf; whereas *Cimon* curbed the vanity of his countrymen; he told them it was lawful to make war, and to ſpoil the *Perſians*, who had deſtroyed their city, and carried away all they had; but he diſſuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the *Greeks*, and vehemently inveighed againſt that propenſity they had to ſacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On ſuch occaſions he was wont to ſay, *The* Lacedæmonians *would not do this*; which at laſt provoked his countrymen to baniſh him, to his immortal glory, and their ſhame [z] (E).

Cimon dies.

A true lover of his country.

THE

[z] PLUT. in vit. Cimon. CORN. NEP. in vit. Cimon.

(E) The moſt memorable occurrences in the life of *Cimon*, regarding the *Athenian* ſtate, have been already taken notice of in our text; and as to his character, his diſpoſition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them alſo more than once; this note therefore will contain only ſuch paſſages in relation to the life of *Cimon*, as did not fall properly within our notice, either in ſpeaking of the public or of him. Firſt then, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus* from him report *Cimon* in his nonage to have been ſuſpected of folly, and to have been nicknamed from thence *Coalemos* as his grandfather had been before him; but *Valerius Maximus* ſays rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefited the *Athenian* ſtate, and that his ſubſequent behaviour conſtrained thoſe who thought him a fool to condemn themſelves of folly. The truth ſeems to be, that he did not affect learning, which ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the *Athenians*, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead; *Cornelius Nepos* however commends him for his eloquence, which ſome have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which, perhaps, they are miſtaken; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloquence, ſo there is alſo a natural ability of ſpeaking, which cuſtom improves into an eaſy perſuaſive oratory, more pleaſing to a mixed audience than

THE affairs of *Athens* began to be ſuddenly and ſorely diſturbed after the death of *Cimon*, for being alike hated by their enemies and their allies, the leaſt unlucky accident furniſhed a

the moſt artful and regular ſpeeches; and this we may ſuppoſe was that kind of eloquence in which *Cimon* excelled. He went, while a very youth, into the army, and learned under the moſt experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a great commander. His perſon was handſome, his ſtature juſt, his aſpect manly, his hair thick and curled, his behaviour affable, his temper ſweet, and his mind honeſt. But as all men have their faults, ſo this great *Athenian* wanted not his, which were a ſtrong paſſion for women, and an inclination for feaſting and good company; beſides his ſiſter *Elpinice*, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had ſeveral other miſtreſſes; yet he was paſſionately fond of his wife, whoſe name was *Iſodice*, the daughter of *Euriptolemus*, the ſon of *Megacles*; when the *Athenians* were in humour with him, they overlooked theſe faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they ſuffered their poets to treat him with great rudeneſs: As for example, *Eupolis*, about the time of his baniſhment, wrote a piece in which were the following verſes relating to *Cimon*:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach,
But he is indolent, and will debauch;
He's gone to *Sparta*, and was ſo unkind,
To leave his poor *Elpinice* behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to obſerve, that *Plutarch* treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that *Cimon* never ſuffered his pleaſures to interfere with the buſineſs of the ſtate, of which it ſeems, his victories ſhould be an inconteſtable proof. His attachment to the *Lacedæmonians* was the ſole cauſe of his baniſhment; for as we obſerved in giving our readers his character, he was never ſuſpected by the people of having any deſign to aggrandize himſelf at their expence; true it is that he had a moſt extraordinary reſpect for that nation, ariſing not only from the kindneſs that they had ſhewn him, but from the honeſty of his temper, which ſuited better with the ſevere virtue of *Sparta*, than with the ſprightly levity of the *Athenians*. One thing is exceeding odd in *Cimon*'s conduct, that he gave his children ſuch names, as did not ſeem to ſpeak them *Athenians*; for he named his three ſons *Lacedæmonius*, *Eleus*, and *Theſſalus*; moſt authors are of opinion, that he had theſe by a woman of *Clitorium*, though *Diodorus* the geographer aſſerts, that they were the children of his wife *Iſodice*. It is clear, from all the writers who mention this great man, that even his baniſhment neither altered his conduct towards the *Lacedæmonians*, or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter againſt the former at the battle of *Tanagra*; he had intereſt enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which ſhews how ſteady he was in his conduct, and what a high

a handle for new revolts or invasions. The *Megarians* were the first in this business; their little state, which lay in an angle of *Attica*, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion of *Athens*, and had brought them into several quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it seems, those of *Megara*, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the *Athenians*, or else conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, disclaimed all dependence on *Athens*, and entered into a strict league with her constant and avowed enemy *Lacedæmon*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the *Megarians* in their city. The *Lacedæmonians* quickly resented this proceeding, and hearing that *Pericles* the *Athenian* general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into *Attica*, and did abundance of mischief; upon which *Pericles*, who was marched against *Eubœa*, was recalled in haste to assist his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the *Lacedæmonian* army; but considering that it was led by a very young man, *Plistonax*, then king of *Sparta*, who had with him one *Chandrides* for a tutor, he sent the latter a considerable sum of money, and thereby procured the return of the *Lacedæmonian* army without blows. When *Pericles* came to make up

The Megareans *enter into an alliance with the* Lacedæmonians.

Which gives rise to a war between the latter and the Athenians.

opinion all his cotemporaries conceived of his virtues at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his last expedition are preserved in history: the first, that when he was about to embark for *Cyprus*, he dreamed that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midst of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet shortly shalt thou be,
A friend unto my whelps and me.

Astyphilus of *Posidonium* interpreted this dream thus; a dog, said he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be stiled a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking, which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed, signified the *Medes*, whose armies were constantly made up of *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, yet in spite of this he set sail, and proceeded in his expedition. The second circumstance worthy of note was, when he had arrived at *Cyprus*, having formed some great project in his head, he sent persons, in whom he could confide, to consult the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, as to his success. The oracle readily gave them this answer: *You may return, for* Cimon *is already with me.* The messengers on their return found that *Cimon* was at that time dead. He was somewhat younger than *Themistocles*; but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (82).

(82) *Thucyd. lib.* i. *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib.* xi. xii. *Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. Cicer. de Offic. lib.* ii.

Pericles *puts an end to the war without bloodshed.*

his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents laid out in a fit manner on a proper occasion: At another time the *Athenians* would not have bore with such an article in a public account, but *Pericles* had such an ascendency over them, and they were so thoroughly sensible how this money had been applied, that they passed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to prosecute the expedition against *Eubæa*, in which he had been before employed [a].

Tolmides *despising his advice is killed, and his army routed.*

While *Pericles* was at home in the winter, *Tolmides*, who had done such great things for the *Athenians*, resolved to make an expedition into *Bœotia* with a small body of troops, and in a very advanced season of the year; a great number of the bravest *Athenians* readily engaged to serve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet *Pericles* was constantly against it, pressing *Tolmides* to wait a little, and to join in his conduct prudence with valour. But he seeming to take this amiss, and not greatly to relish another's meddling in his affairs, *Pericles* told him calmly, *If you will not listen to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiss if you wait time's leisure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wisest of all counsellors.* This saying being presently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to *Pericles*; for *Tolmides*, after doing great things in *Bœotia*, was attacked by the confederate army composed of the quota's sent from all the little states of that country, killed, and his army routed at *Cheronea*. This defeat terribly humbled the *Athenians*, for in order to redeem their prisoners, they were constrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of *Bœotia*, and while this was doing, many other little states declared against the *Athenians* [b].

Pericles *reduces* Eubœa. Year after the flood 1902. Before Christ 446.

Pericles, notwithstanding all these checks marched with an army into *Eubœa*, from whence a new revolt of the *Megarians* caused him to be recalled; but within a short time he re-entered that island, and made himself master of the city of *Hestica*; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the rest of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of *Athenians* in their stead. A short time after, the rest of *Eubœa* submitted, and the *Lacedæmonians* finding it no longer for their interest to carry on the war, a negociation was set on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, *Callias* and *Chares* being plenipotentiaries for the *Athenians* [c].

Truce for 30 years between the Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians.

About this time *Psammetycus*, king of *Libya*, or, as *Plutarch* rightly calls him, of *Egypt*, sent by way of present to the *Athenian* people forty-thousand bushels of wheat, which proved

[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 293. Plut. in vit. Periclis.
[b] Thucyd. lib. i. Plut. ubi supra. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 293. [c] Thucyd. Diod. Plut. ubi supra.

a great misfortune to the city; for *Pericles*, out of ſpite to *Cimon*'s family, who had children by an *Arcadian* woman, had preferred a law, whereby *Athenians* of the half blood were disfranchiſed; this law, on account of the diviſion of the corn before-mentioned, was proſecuted with ſuch ſeverity and effect, that no leſs than five-thouſand perſons, who till then had been conſidered as freemen, were ſold as ſlaves; a moſt exorbitant ſtroke of arbitrary power, puniſhed afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all *Pericles*'s children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the *Athenians* to cancel this law out of pity to him, its author (F).

Inſtance of Pericles's ſeverity.

THE year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty-fourth olympiad, the *Sybarites*, a people of *Italy*, being a ſecond time driven from their city by the *Crotonians*, ſent ambaſſadors into *Greece*, and humbly beſought the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* to reſtore them, and to ſend a colony to ſhare with them the new city they reſolved to build. The *Lacedæmonians* rejected their requeſt, but the *Athenians*, who delighted much in ſuch applications, readily yielded to it; and not only diſpatched ten ſhips, with a conſiderable body of men on board, under the command of *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*, but alſo cauſed a proclamation to be made throughout all *Peloponneſus*, that ſuch as were willing to go and ſettle in *Italy*, might do ſo under the protection of their fleet; and abundance of people accepting the propoſition, the *Sybarites*, by the aſſiſtance of theſe new-comers, re-eſtabliſhed themſelves in their country, and built a new city, which they called *Thurium*, from whence themſelves were afterwards ſtiled *Thurians* (G)

The Sybarites driven out by the Crotonians.

Year of the flood 1904. Before Chriſt 444.

But re-inſtated by the Athenians, and the city of Thurium built.

AT

[c] DIOD. SICUL. biblioth. lib xii. p. 295.

(F) One thing this ſeverity of his produced, which has been extremely uſeful to the critics, *viz.* the ſettling exactly the number of the *Athenian* citizens at this time, when in the midſt of ſo many enemies, *Athens* durſt think of ſending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, ſubduing foreigners, and even of erecting an univerſal monarchy. This number, as it is ſet down by *Plutarch*, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen thouſand and forty perſons *.

(G) In order to conceive rightly of this buſineſs, the reader muſt aſcend a good deal higher in point of time, and trace the cauſe of the erection of *Thurium* back to the foundation of *Sybaris*, he will then ſee how the *Greeks* ſettled colonies, maintained and reſtored them. *Sybaris* was a colony of the *Achæans*, and *Trœzenians*, it ſtood on the gulph of *Tarentum*, between the rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, from which laſt it took its name (83). The felicity of its ſituation was ſuch, that in a very ſhort ſpace of time it excelled all the cities in its neighbourhood in wealth, power and people. By degrees it ſpread

* *Plut. in vit. Periclis.*

(83) *Steph. de Urb.*

At the close of the eighty-fourth olympiad, according to the computation of *Diodorus Siculus*, and six years after the con-

its dominion over four small nations inhabiting this part of *Italy*, and reckoned no less than twenty-five smaller cities than itself within its territory, so thoroughly peopled, that they could on an emergency bring three-hundred-thousand men into the field. In consequence of its prosperity *Sybaris* became formidable, and even hateful to its neighbours. Their immense wealth making its inhabitants at once luxurious and insolent, so that they neither knew how to behave towards others, or with what to content themselves (84). *Telys* being king of *Sybaris*, as *Herodotus* says (85), or as *Diodorus* with greater probability affirms, *Demagogue*, i. e. a *ruler* in right of his *eloquence*, persuaded the people upon various accusations to banish five hundred of their most considerable citizens, and to confiscate their estates. The exiles immediately fled for refuge to *Crotona*, and as suppliants fell down before the altars in the forum. In a very short space, *Telys* engaged the *Sybarites* to send deputies to *Crotona*, to demand, that those they had banished should be delivered up, threatening war in case of refusal. The *Crotonians* upon this were much at a loss what to do, at last they determined to protect at all events those who had fled to them, and to oppose force by force. The *Sybarites* took the field with 30,000 men, the *Crotonians* were able to raise no more than 10000; however valour prevailed over numbers, and the *Crotonians* having beaten the *Sybarites*, killed all *without* quarter, and in the *end* sacked and destroyed the city. *This* happened in the third year of the lxviith olympiad. *In* the fourth year of the lxxxist olympiad, the city of *Sybaris* was resettled by the *Thessalians*, but in the first year of the *lxxxiiid* olympiad, the *Crotonians* overthrew it again. After this *last misfortune*, the *Sybarites* made the application mentioned in the *text to* the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*, who commanded the *Athenian* squadron, found it no difficult task to collect volunteers in *Peloponnesus*, when the *Pythian* oracle had declared, that *the city should be exceedingly prospered if they founded it where the water was scarce, and bread without measure*. When they arrived therefore in *Italy*, and began to search through the territory of *Sybaris* for such a place as suited the oracle, they found at last a small spring, which was called *Thuria*, the water of which was conveyed through a brazen pipe that was called *Medymnum*. Concluding instantly, that this was the situation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the spring before-mentioned called it *Thurium*. They who had the direction of the buildings, contrived to have four streets in length called *Heraclea*, *Aphrodisiade*, *Olympiad*, and *Dionysiad*, and three in breadth, viz. *Heroa*, *Thuria*, and *Thurina*. When the business was executed according to this scheme, and the city

(84) *Aristot. de Rep. lib.* v. *sect.* 3. *Strab. lib.* vi. *p.* 263. *Marcian, p.* 14. *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xii. (85) *Lib.* v. *p.* 346.

conclusion of the peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, as *Thucydides* relates, a war broke out between the *Samians* and *Milesians* about the city of *Priene*, seated under mount *Micale* in *Ionia*; how this war came to affect the *Athenians* is not very clear; *Diodorus* says, that the *Samians*, who were victors, conceiving that the *Athenians* favoured their enemies, revolted from them; *Thucydides* says that the vanquished complained to the people of *Athens*, who were likewise desired by some *Samian* malecontents to send a sufficient force thither, in order to change the government, and settle a democracy. *Plutarch* intimates that the *Athenians* having directed both parties to lay down their arms, and submit to their decision, the *Samians* refused so to do, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reason assigned, which seems at least as well founded as any of the rest; and it is this, that *Pericles* engaged the *Athenians* in this war to gratify his mistress *Aspasia* a *Milesian*, one of the handsomest women in her time, and who had such an ascendancy over *Pericles*, that for her sake he sacrificed his family and his peace (H). However it was, war was decreed against the *Samians*, and *Pericles* was sent against them with a fleet of forty sail; he presently brought them into

War between the Athenians *and* Samians.

The Samians *brought under subjection by* Pericles.

city compleated, it appeared wonderfully neat and compact, every thing being so disposed, as to be at once beautiful and commodious. Peace did not long inhabit these new raised dwellings, the *Sybarites* conceiving that in their own country they ought to rule all, shut out the new-comers from all employments and honours, which so disgusted them, who were by far the majority; that they suddenly took arms, fell on the *Sybarites*, extirpated them, and sending for fresh supplies from *Greece*, formed themselves into a commonwealth, making *Charondas*, one of their fellow-citizens, their legislator. The subsequent history of *Thurium* will be found in its proper place. From what is said here, the circumstances attending establishing colonies will be sufficiently understood, as also the conveniencies flowing to their mother cities from these kind of settlements, which was the principal intent of this long note (86).

(H) *Aspasia*, who is to be the subject of this note, was one of the most famous women in all antiquity, on account both of her virtue and her vices. She was lovely in her person, admirable from her natural endowments, and no less distinguished by the accomplishments she had acquired. Her birth-place was *Miletum*, a city in *Ionia*, famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities. She was the tutress, mistress, and at last wife to *Pericles*, and as such claims a place here. The time of her birth can only be guessed at, she was in all probability about fifteen years younger than *Pericles*, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the lxxviiith olympiad. Her father's

(86) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

to subjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing first, that the government should be democratical for the future, and that fifty hostages of principal persons

ther's name was *Axiochus*; but of his quality we are ignorant. How she came to *Athens* is also a point unsettled; but as to the remaining part of her history, we are not so much in the dark. She rendered herself conspicuous by her perfection in the art of speaking, which she possessed in a superlative degree, being also admirably versed in all the branches of useful literature, particularly natural philosophy and politics. One *Thragelia*, an *Ionian*, was her model, she had made herself conspicuous in *Greece* by her charms, addicted herself chiefly to the grandees, many of whom she brought over to the interest of the great king; and, as *Plutarch* says, sowed the first seeds of the *Median* faction in most of the cities of *Greece*. *Aspasia* resembled her, and even surpassed her. It is not to be imagined, that this fair one excelled (like some of our age) in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses were on the contrary not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent *Athenians*, and amongst them by *Socrates* himself, that *Aspasia* composed the celebrated harangue hereafter mentioned, which *Pericles* pronounced with so much applause. What then must we conceive of her abilities, who had *Pericles* for a lover, and *Socrates* for a disciple? Whose fine qualities atoned even for want of reputation, and engaged the most considerable persons in *Athens*, not only to visit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures, though they detested her conduct. As eloquence was of all others the most necessary talent to an *Athenian* statesman, so *Pericles*, on hearing *Aspasia*, determined to become her scholar, observing that with an exact method she mingled the most warm and pathetic strokes of persuasive oratory, uniting the symmetry arising from art, with the vehemence flowing from nature. From admiring her wisdom, this great *Athenian* fell soon into a deep affection for her person, a thing not wonderful in itself, and less so, if what most writers report of *Pericles* be true, that he was of a very amorous disposition. Certain it is, that *Aspasia* gained an absolute dominion over him, and had as great an ascendency over his genius, as he had over the *Athenians*. *Plutarch* reports, that as often as *Pericles* went to, or returned from the *forum*, he went to the apartment of *Aspasia*, and saluted her. The tenderness this nobleman expressed for *Aspasia*, made his wife, who was a woman of family, very uneasy, which *Pericles* perceiving, readily consented that she should betake herself to a husband more agreeable to her (though she had born him two sons, *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*) and then took *Aspasia* to wife, whom he had so long and ardently loved before. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* says, that Pericles *having divorced his wife, abandoned himself to his pleasures, and living with* Aspasia, *spent on her the greatest part of his fortune*; but this ought to be regarded as meer calumny, it being morally certain, that *Pericles*

persons ſhould be delivered to him with as many children. *Plutarch* ſays, that all imaginable methods were tried to ſoften

cles in the firſt place was never profuſe; and in the ſecond, that *Aſpaſia* piqued herſelf exceedingly on her skill in œconomy. As to the affair ſpoken of in the text, *viz.* the *Samian* war, we are undoubtedly warranted by the authority of *Plutarch* in what we have advanced. For though it be true, that *Thucydides* makes no mention of *Aſpaſia*, in his detail of this war, yet that might be owing to the gravity of the author, or to his generous diſdain of blackening *Pericles*, by recording things incapable from their nature of direct proof. As to collateral circumſtances tending to ſupport this ſuggeſtion, there are many. *Aſpaſia* was a *Mileſian* by birth, *Pericles* was wont to conſult her; ſhe is reported to have accompanied him in this expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory; and laſtly, ſhe compoſed, as we remarked before, the funeral oration pronounced by *Pericles*, in honour of thoſe who were ſlain in this war. The comic poets, as they laſhed *Pericles* for affecting ſovereignty, ſo they failed not treating *Aſpaſia* with the ſame ſeverity; and as they called him *Jupiter*, they ſtiled her *Juno:* they likewiſe characteriſed her under the names of *Omphale* and *Deianira*, the one the wife, and the other the miſtreſs of *Hercules*, and many other ways. *Cratinus* uſed her the worſt; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned ſtrumpet. It is evident enough, that the ſpleen of *Pericles*'s enemies prompted them to ſay any thing of him, or of thoſe in his favour, men or women. The former they called the pimps and courtiers of the new *Piſiſtratus*; the latter not only his whores, but his bawds. Beſides various remarkable events relating to *Aſpaſia*, which we ſhall be conſtrained to take notice of in the text, it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that it is generally conceived the ſon to whom *Pericles* bequeathed his name and his eſtate, was by her; certain it is, that ſon was but of the half blood, as any ſon of *Aſpaſia*'s muſt have been, and that his father, to ſecure the inheritance to him, prevailed on the people to abrogate the law, which himſelf had procured to exclude ſuch from ſucceſſions. Beſides theſe circumſtances there is another favouring this opinion, *viz.* that *Eupolis* the comic poet introducing *Pericles* asking news of his baſtard ſon, makes the perſon he ſpeaks to, anſwer, *He is alive and well, and had been married long ago if the fear of meeting with a wife as diſhoneſt as his mother did not deter him.* Which is ſo correſpondent with what *Eupolis* elſewhere ſays of *Aſpaſia*, that one can hardly conceive this ſon to have ſprung from any but her. That ſhe ſurvived *Pericles* is certain, but for her adventures afterwards we are pretty much in the dark. *Plutarch* indeed informs us that ſhe attached herſelf to one *Lyſicles*, a man of mean birth, and as mean parts, whom by her intereſt however ſhe raiſed to great employments in the ſtate (87). What thoſe employments were is not recorded, nor any thing farther of *Aſpaſia* which deſerves notice.

(87) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Athen. lib.* xiii. *p.* 560. *Cicero in Bruto. Maximus Platonic. in tom.* ii. *A. D.* 1578. *p.* 235, 249.

Pericles

Pericles upon this occaſion; the hoſtages offered him a talent a-head by way of ranſom; thoſe who diſliked the democracy profered him a large ſum if he would leave the government as he found it, and *Piſſuthnes* the governor of *Sardis* for the *Perſian* king, thinking an ariſtocratic government in *Samos* more advantageous to his maſter, would have given ten thouſand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the *Athenians*; but *Pericles* having no reſpect to money, he carried away the hoſtages to *Lemnos*, and eſtabliſhed the democracy in *Samos* as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded in force ſeldom laſt long, the *Samians* fell into mighty diſſenſions as ſoon as *Pericles* was gone home. Some of them who had retired to *Piſſuthnes* having procured from him an aid of ſeven hundred men, returned into their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, thoſe of the oppoſite party were ejected, and the *Athenian* garriſon expelled; they procured alſo their hoſtages to be privately ſent away from *Lemnos*, and having drawn the *Byzantines* to their party, they declared themſelves open enemies to *Athens*. That city, unuſed to bear inſults, immediately equipped ſixty gallies, and ſent them under *Pericles* to ſubdue the *Samians* a ſecond time.

Who eſtabliſhes a democracy in that iſland.

The Samians *drive out the* Athenian *gariſon.*

WHEN *Pericles* was at ſea with his fleet, he found it neceſſary to detach ſixteen ſhips, as well to gain intelligence of the *Phœnician* fleet, as to haſten the auxiliary ſquadrons he expected from *Chios* and *Leſbos*; with the forty-four remaining veſſels he engaged the *Samians* and their allies, though their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, and beat them. Being afterwards ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of forty ſhips from *Athens*, and twenty-five from *Chios* and *Leſbos*, he beſieged *Samos* by land and ſea. Receiving intelligence that the *Phœnician* fleet was coming to its relief, he ſailed with ſixty ſhips to meet it. During his abſence the beſieged fell upon the remainder of the *Athenian* ſhips under the command of *Teſageras*, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained maſters of the ſea, during which ſpace of time they furniſhed themſelves with whatever they wanted. *Plutarch* cenſures *Pericles*'s conduct on this occaſion, and attributes the loſs which the *Athenians* ſuſtained to his leaving the ſiege; but there ſeems to be no foundation for this, becauſe fighting the *Phœnician* fleet at ſea, rather than in the neighbourhood of *Samos*, was certainly his intereſt. On his return to the ſiege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourſcore ſhips, according to *Thucydides*; of ninety, as *Diodorus* tells us, he ſtraitned the *Samians* more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept ſeven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refreſh themſelves. At length after nine months ſiege the

Pericles *defeats the* Samians *at ſea.*

Beſieges their city.

The Samians *gain ſome advantages.*

Samians

Samians surrendered, upon which *Pericles* demolished their walls, seized their ships, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hostages for the remainder [f].

But in the end their city is taken and dismantled by Pericles.

When *Pericles* returned from this war, he procured himself to be appointed to pronounce the public oration in commemoration of such as fell in the war, which he did with such eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where such public declamations were delivered, the women gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands (I).

Pericles *applauded by the women of* Athens.

[f] Thucydid. lib. i. de Bello Pelopen. Plut. in vit. Periclis Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 302.

(I) Amongst the rest *Elpinice* drew near him, but not with the same intention as the rest, for she addressed him in these words: "These are brave things, *Pericles*, that you have done, and "such certainly as deserve these "wreaths of glory, who have "deprived us of so many worthy citizens, not in a war a-"gainst *Phœnicians* or *Medes*, "the natural enemies of our "country, for such my brother "*Cimon* waged; but in the "overthrow of a city that was "in alliance with us, whose "people spoke the same lan-"guage, and were of our kin-"dred." *Pericles* gave a strong instance of his great composure and readiness of mind on this occasion, for he repeated carelessly the following verses from the poet *Archilocus*:

A dame like you in deep decline,
Should not attempt by art to shine;
You should not powder thus your hair,
Nor should your unguents taint the air;
Follies which suit the young and fair.

In recording these passages we had the reader's profit as well as pleasure in view, for they shew that as absolute as *Pericles* was become in *Athens*, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could and durst distinguish between the services done the state by a patriot general, one who sought nothing but to exalt the interest and glory of his couutry, and him who had the preservation of his own power chiefly in view. They shew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in *Pericles*, who was not to be ruffled even by the shrewdest speeches, but maintained always such an equality of temper as enabled him to make such an answer as was most proper on every occasion *. It is on all hands confessed that *Pericles* valued himself very much on the reduction of *Samos*, and *Thucydides* gives us great reason to believe that the *Athenians* conceived highly of him for that exploit; the *Samians* at the time he destroyed them being one of the most flourishing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wresting from the *Athenians* the dominion of the sea †.

* *Plutarch in vit. Periclis.*

† *De Bello Pelop. lib.* i.

The

What gave rise to the war between the Corcyrians *and* Corinthians.

THE war between the *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians* commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the *Athenians* into those engagements, which at last proved the ruin of their state. There is a necessity therefore that we should give here a succinct account of the causes of this war, and of the methods by which the *Athenians* were drawn to take part in it. An intestine war breaking out in the little territory of *Epidamnum*, a city in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corcyrians*, one party called in the *Illyrians* to their assistance, and the other finding themselves straitened, applied themselves for aid to the people of *Corcyra*. They neglecting the business of the people of *Epidamnum* sent to *Corinth* for succours, owning her for their foundress, because the *Corcyrians* were a colony from *Corinth*. The *Corinthians*, partly out of pity to the *Epidamnians*, and partly out of spleen to the *Corcyrians*, sent a very great fleet to the assistance of the former, which thoroughly established that party which had applied to *Corinth*; this being resented by the *Corcyrians*, they sent a fleet to *Epidamnum* to support the exiles, who on its arrival at that port did act offensively, the chief commanders having instructions to propose an amicable composure of all differences, into which the *Corinthians* would by no means come. The next year the *Corcyrians* beat the *Corinthians* and their allies at sea, and took *Epidamnum* by storm, after which they wasted the dominion of the confederates of the *Corinthians*, which greatly exasperated the latter. At *Corinth* therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and pressed their confederates to do the same, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had lost, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to insult her mother city. When the *Corcyrians* received advice of these proceedings, they instantly dispatched embassadors to carry their complaints to *Athens*, and the *Corinthians* on the receipt of this news, dispatched theirs likewise; both on the same errand, and with equal hopes [1].

Both recur to the Athenians.

THERE could be nothing more glorious for the *Athenians* than such an application as this, which seemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion which this state had always affected. *Thucydides* therefore, who begins his history with the story of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the *Corinthian* as of the *Corcyrian* ambassadors, to which we must refer our readers. At first the *Athenian* people approved the cause of the *Corinthians*, but they soon changed their minds, and took part with the *Corcyrians*, yet they did not make a league offensive and defensive with that state, because

[1] THUCID. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii.

by

by ſuch a ſtep *Athens* would immediately have broken with *Corinth*, and all her allies; they contented themſelves with making a defenſive alliance only with the *Corcyrians*, whereby both parties reciprocally promiſed to aſſiſt each other in caſe either ſhould be attacked. It does not appear that the *Athenians* entered much into the merits of this cauſe; they were become too great politicians for that; the reaſons aſſigned by *Thucydides*, who was perfectiy well acquainted with them, are theſe; firſt, *Corcyra* was a very great maritime power; ſecondly this iſland lay very convenient for aſſiſting *Athens* in her deſigns on *Italy* and *Sicily*; when the *Corinthian* fleet therefore was ready to ſail, the *Athenians*, according to their treaty, ſent ten gallies to *Corcyra* under the command of *Lacedæmonius* the ſon of *Cimon*, with whom were joined *Diotenes* and *Proteus*, as collegues. *Plutarch* ſays that *Pericles*, by ſending this ſmall ſquadron under *Lacedæmonius*, intended to affront him, or at leaſt to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the ancient ſplendor of his family, againſt which that great politician had always a pique. But there ſeems to be very little colour for this. *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Athenians*, who were indeed under the direction of *Pericles*'s counſels, did not intend the *Corcyrians* any real aſſiſtance, but ſent this ſmall ſquadron to look on while the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians* weakened and waſted each other.

Who enter into a defenſive alliance with the Corcyrians.

THE *Corinthians*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, made for the coaſt of *Corcyra* with a fleet conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſail under the command of *Xenoclides*, aſſiſted by four other *Corinthian* admirals, each ſquadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The *Corcyrians* prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to ſea a fleet of one hundred and ten gallies, which by the *Athenian* ſhips was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as ſoon as the navies were in ſight, they prepared for an engagement. The *Corcyrians* gave the right wing to their allies, the *Athenians* ranging their own fleet in three ſquadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The *Corinthians* gave their right wing to the *Megarians*, and other of their allies, diſpoſed the reſt of them in the centre, and placed their own gallies in the left, that they might engage the *Athenians*. The action was very briſk for a time, the *Corcyrian* right wing broke the left of the *Corinthian* fleet, and forcing ſome of the ſhips on ſhore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of priſoners; on the other hand the *Corinthian* ſhips in their left wing beat the right wing of the *Corcyrians*, whom the *Athenians*, according to their inſtructions, aided but faintly; at laſt the *Corinthians* charging them briſkly, the *Athenians* were obliged to defend themſelves,

The Corinthians *and* Corcyrians *engage.*

No conſiderable advantage on either ſide.

which

which they did ſo well, that the *Corinthians* were glad to retire, which accordingly they did after taking up part of the broken ſhips, and moſt of their own dead.

THE next day the *Corinthians* reſolved to attack the *Corcyrians* again, who prepared on their ſide to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the *Corinthians* of a ſudden retired, which the *Corcyrians* knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty ſail from *Athens* put it out of doubt, that the *Corinthians* ſeeing them, and fearing their might be more behind them, had wiſely choſen to withdraw. The next day the *Athenian* and *Corcyrian* fleets went and braved the *Corinthians* in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, becauſe all the ſhips from *Athens* were clean, and the *Athenians*, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to *Peloponneſus* (K).

The Athenians *aſſiſt the* Corcyrians.

THE *Corcyrian* war was followed by the revolt of *Potidea*, a town in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corinthians*, but joined in alliance to *Athens*. As ſoon as the *Corcyrian* war broke out, the *Athenians* ſent orders to the citizens of *Potidea*, immediately to demoliſh a part of the wall of their city, to ſend back the magiſtrates whom they had received from *Corinth*, and to give hoſtages for their own behaviour. *Perdiccas*, king of *Macedon*, hating the *Athenians*, took this opportunity to perſuade the *Potideans* to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens*, to entreat the revocation of the orders ſent them; but in the mean time they ſent deputies to *Sparta*, to join with the *Corinthians* and *Megarians*, in their complaints of the *Athenians*.

The revolt of Potidea

(K) Both ſides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at *Sybotis*. The *Corinthians* becauſe they remained maſters of the field of battle, had carried away part of the broken veſſels, made a thouſand priſoners, and ſunk ſeventy of the *Corcyrian* ſhips; the *Corcyrians*, becauſe by the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* they had ſunk thirty of the *Corinthian* veſſels, taken ſome ſpoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greateſt ſea-fight, which to this time had happened among the *Greeks*, there being no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy veſſels engaged. The *Corinthians* complained loudly againſt the *Athenians*, as if they had broken the peace; the *Athenians*, on the other hand, alledged, they had only aſſiſted their allies; and thus theſe ſtates began to hate each other. As for the priſoners made by the *Corinthians*, they ſold eight hundred of them for ſlaves, the reſt they uſed kindly, in hopes of making uſe of them for facilitating a peace *.

* *Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sicul. lib.* xii. *Plut. in vit. Periclis.*

The

The *Athenians*, in the mean time, ſent a conſiderable fleet againſt *Macedonia*, and ſome time after another, with a conſiderable body of land troops on board under the command of *Calias*, a man of great quality and courage. The *Corinthians* on their ſide diſpatched *Ariſteus* with a conſiderable force to the aſſiſtance of the *Potideans*. Not to detain the reader too long with a detail of all the little circumſtances of this war, which may be found in the accurate hiſtory of *Thucydides*, we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that an engagement happened before *Potidea*, in which the *Athenians* were victors, but with the loſs of their general *Calias*. *Phormio*, who ſucceeded him in his command, inveſted the city in form, and ſhut up its port with his fleet; but the *Potideans*, dreading to fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, made a moſt obſtinate defence, while in the mean time they warmly ſolicited the *Corinthians* to perform their promiſes, and to engage the reſt of the ſtates of *Peloponneſus* in their quarrel [d].

The Potideans *defeated by* Calias *the* Athenian *general, who is killed in the engagement.*

WHILE affairs abroad were in this condition, the *Athenians* were very far from being quiet at home; *Pericles* had attained ſuch a ſuperiority as had never been ſeen in *Athens* ſince the days of *Piſiſtratus*; the laſt competitor with him for the favour of the people was *Thucydides*, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications ſuiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmoſt to hinder thoſe alterations in government which the popular party ſought to bring about, and more eſpecially oppoſed *Pericles*, who perceiving that one of them muſt give way, put the matter to the teſt by procuring an oſtraciſm, wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that *Thucydides* was exiled by the people. From this time forward *Pericles* altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his diſpoſal, and took the whole management of the *Athenian* affairs at home and abroad upon himſelf.

Diſſentions at Athens.

Thucydides *exiled.*

WHEN the ſtate of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the *Athenians* apprehended a war in which they ſhould be obliged to contend, not for ſpoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands and houſes, and whatſoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with *Pericles*, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them to ſay of him. For example, when *Menon*, one of *Phidias*'s workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent ſtatuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the ſtatue of *Minerva*; many reaſons induced ſuch as diſliked *Pericles* to abet this proſecution, among the reſt theſe two;

The Athenians *jealous of the power of* Pericles.

His friends proſecuted.

[d] THUCYD. lib. i. DIOD. lib. xii.

first, they conceived that they ſhould try the minds of the people by this ſtep, and diſcover whether they were at preſent diſpoſed to bear with the proſecution of *Pericles* or not; *ſecondly*, they thought to revenge themſelves on the ſtatuary, for having inſerted a picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon* in the *ſhield* of the goddeſs. But in the end this buſineſs had an iſſue little expected, for *Phidias* having declared that by *Pericles*'s direction the gold was ſo laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be juſt. However, *Phidias* either died in priſon or was baniſhed: *Plutarch* ſays that he was poiſoned by the procurement of *Pericles*'s enemies, who afterwards ſought to charge it upon him [m].

Phidias *dies in priſon, or baniſhment.*

Hermippus next accuſed *Aſpaſia* of impiety or irreligion, as alſo for being a procureſs to *Pericles*, and as ſuch ſeducing the wives and daughters of *Athenian* citizens. *Diopithes* preferred a *pſephium* or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, *i. e.* the *Areopagus*, againſt ſuch perſons as diſputed the religion of their country, or taught ſuch things under colour of natural philoſophy in relation to celeſtial bodies, as were inconſiſtent therewith. This was known to ſtrike at *Anaxagoras*, the preceptor of *Pericles*, and even at *Pericles* himſelf. The people aſſented thereto, and in conſequence thereof, *Anaxagoras* was judicially accuſed (L). To wind up *Pericles*'s troubles, *Dracontides* moved, that *Pericles* might bring in his accounts, and that the final deciſion of his cauſe ſhould be committed to judges,

Aſpaſia *accuſed of impiety and irreligion.*

Anaxagoras *accuſed*

[m] Diod. lib. xii. c. 7. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

(L) It is not clearly expreſſed by *Plutarch*, on what account either *Aſpaſia* or *Anaxagoras* was accuſed of impiety: however, it is not hard to conjecture, that perſons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and for their great knowledge in natural philoſophy, ſhould be ſuſpected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in *Heſiod*'s time they had no leſs than thirty thouſand gods, for whoſe honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to *Anaxagoras*, we ſhall have elſewhere occaſion to mention him, and his opinions; at preſent we will ſtick to the point before us, and ſay nothing but what relates to this proſecution, its cauſes, and conſequences. *Laertius* reports from one *Sotion*, who wrote a book of the ſucceſſion of philoſophy, that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed by *Cleon* of impiety, for aſſerting the ſun to be a burning plate; but that being defended by *Pericles*, his ſcholar, he was fined five talents, and baniſhed; whereas *Satyrus* reported, that he was accuſed by *Thucydides*, not only of propagating of impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the *Perſians*, and in his abſence ſentenced to die. *Hieronymus* wrote, that *Pericles* brought him into

judges, who ſhould write their ſuffrages upon billets taken from the altars [n]. Our great orator found means to diſengage himſelf from all theſe ſnares; he appeared in perſon for *Aſpaſia*, pleaded her cauſe as an advocate, but in the midſt of his pleadings let fall a ſhower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, becauſe he had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the fight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit her. As for *Anaxagoras*, he was afraid to truſt his eloquence with the de-

Pericles *pleads in perſon for* Aſpaſia.

Aſpaſia *acquitted;*

[n] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. in vit. Anax.

into court in poor garments, and much broken with ſickneſs, which moved his judges to compaſſion. *Suidas* is poſitive, that he was caſt into priſon for introducing a new opinion, concerning the divine nature, and baniſhed, notwithſtanding *Pericles* undertook to plead his cauſe. *Joſephus* tells us, that the *Athenians* believing the ſun to be a god, and he affirming it to be without ſenſe and knowledge, they adjudged him to ſuffer death as a blaſphemer. None of theſe opinions quadrate with *Plutarch*'s account, and, which is ſtill worſe, *Plutarch* does not agree with himſelf; for, though ſpeaking of his retirement from *Athens*, he aſcribes it to *Pericles*'s precaution, yet he elſewhere admits, that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed. The truth ſeems to be, that the whole tenor of *Anaxagoras*'s philoſophy was according to the religious notions of the *Athenians*, impious. For he taught that matter was compoſed of infinite ſimilar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were diſpoſed in the frame we ſee them, by an infinite ſelf-moving mind; whence he acquired from the novelty of his doctrine, the ſurname of *Nous*, i. e. *the mind*. He lived after his baniſhment at *Lampſa-*

cus, and was ſo little affected therewith, that when a perſon told him one day, *You are deprived of the* Athenians: He anſwered, *You are miſtaken, friend, they are deprived of me.* As to his notion of the ſun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning maſs, many times bigger than *Peloponneſus*, and that its revolution was occaſioned by the repulſe of the northern air; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the ſun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her ſurface. He aſſerted likewiſe that the ſtars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, becauſe they were all contrary to the *Athenians* religion. His ſcholars were the greateſt men of *Greece*, but all ſuſpected of irreligion. To mention only a few, *Archelaus* the philoſopher, *Euripides* the tragic poet, *Socrates* the famous moraliſt, who heard both him and *Aſpaſia*; ſome ſay that *Democritus* was alſo his hearer; but *Laertius* affirms, that *Anaxagoras* could not endure him, which *Phaverinus* likewiſe aſſerts (88).

(88) *Diogen. in vit. Anaxag. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Id. de ſuperſtit.*

fence of him whose wisdom was his only crime, and therefore wisely sent him out of *Attica*, with this mark of respect, however, that he attended him in person. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the least pain about it; for being a very exact œconomist, he was able to shew two things from it, first, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and secondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as *Thucydides* observes, was the very basis of his greatness, that he was universally known to be strictly just to the public, above corruption, and thro' the innocence of his actions, in respect to pecuniary affairs, superior to all the calumnies that could be raised against him [b].

Pericles's integrity.

Reparation required of the Athenians *by the* Spartans.

THE *Spartans* having heard all that the little states of *Greece* had to say against the *Athenians*, and last of all the *Corinthians*, embassadors were sent to *Athens*, to demand reparation for the injuries, or to denounce war in case of refusal. *Thucydides*, of all ancient authors the most to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded in the first place, the expulsion of those *Athenians* who were stiled execrable on account of the old business of *Cilon*, and his associates, because by his mother's side *Pericles* was allied to the family of *Megacles*; they next insisted that the siege of *Potidea* should be raised; *thirdly*, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the *Megarians*, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of *Athens* on pain of death, should be revoked, and the *Grecian* states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of *Athens*. It is certain, that *Pericles* persuaded the *Athenians* to reject these terms, but authors are not well agreed upon what motives he acted: Some say, that he thought the din of war would dissipate that cloud of impeachments which his enemies were framing against him; others, that personal injuries done to him and to *Aspasia* provoked him to fall into these measures: The most probable seems to be, that he advised the *Athenians* according to his apprehension of the affair, and directed such measures as he thought suited best with the dignity of the *Athenian* state.

Their terms rejected.

The causes and beginning of the Peloponnesian *war.*

THE harangue attributed to him by *Thucydides*, and which we have no reason to doubt is to the same effect with that which he delivered, offers the following argument to the consideration of the *Athenians*: That whatever the *Lacedæmonians* might pretend, as to the complaints of the allies, and injustice of them, the true ground of this resentment was the prosperity of the *Athenian* republic, which they always hated, and now sought an opportunity of humbling; that it must be

[b] THUCYD. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

the

the fault of the *Athenians* themſelves, if they ſucceeded in this ſcheme, becauſe, for many reaſons accurately and judiciouſly ſtated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expenſive war than the *Peloponneſians*; that therefore it ſhould be propoſed as the moſt feaſible, and at the ſame time the moſt equitable ſatisfaction that could be given, that they would reverſe their decree againſt *Megara*, if the *Lacedæmonians* would allow free egreſs and regreſs in their city to the *Athenians* and their allies; that they would leave all thoſe ſtates free, who were free at the making of the laſt peace with *Sparta*, provided the *Spartans* would alſo leave all ſtates free who were under their dominion; and that future diſputes ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration. In caſe theſe offers ſhould not prevail, he adviſed them to hazard a war, telling them that they ought not to think they ran ſuch a hazard for a trifle, or retain a ſcruple in their minds, as if a ſmall matter moved them to it, becauſe on this ſmall matter depended their ſafety, and the reputation of their conſtancy and reſolution; whereas if they yielded in this, the next demand of the *Lacedæmonians* would be of a higher nature; for having once diſcovered that the *Athenians* might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude that they durſt deny them nothing, whereas a ſtiff denial in this inſtance would teach them to treat *Athens* for the future on terms of equality. He enforced theſe reaſons, by ſhewing that their anceſtors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all caſes preferred their glory to their eaſe, and their liberty to their poſſeſſions (M).

THESE were the cauſes, and this the beginning of the famous *Peloponneſian* war, whereof the minuteſt circumſtances are known even in theſe far diſtant times; which ſhews how far learning is preferable to power, ſince now that all the ſtates of *Greece* have been for many ages ſubverted and de-

(M) *Diodorus* informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumſtances, putting them in mind that the treaſure brought from *Delos*, amounted to ten thouſand talents, and that though four thouſand had been expended on the ſtately gate of their citadel, yet that ſix thouſand were ſtill in hand; that they were alſo entitled to the ſubſidies paid by the confederate ſtates, that the ſtatues of the gods, the *Perſian* ſpoil, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immenſe ſums, that private men were arrived at vaſt fortunes, and that conſidering their trade by ſea, they had a certain annual increaſe of wealth; they had an army on foot of twelve thouſand men, and in their colonies and gariſons ſeventeen thouſand; that their fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail, which might eaſily be increaſed, whereas the *Poloponneſians* had none of theſe advantages, which alſo *Thucydides* mentions, but places this oration lower.

ſtroyed, the reſpect due to the writings of *Thucydides* hath preſerved them, as the merit of *Xenophon*'s hath alſo done his continuation of *Thucydides*'s hiſtory, and thereby kept alive the remembrance of actions, which, however great and glorious in themſelves, had otherwiſe been buried in oblivion (N).

Platæa *ſurpriſed by the* Thebans.

THINGS being in this ſituation, the *Thebans* conceiving with themſelves that *Platæa*, which had been always remarkable for her fidelity to the *Athenians*, would be a perpetual thorn in their ſides, reſolved to ſurprize it; with this view they ſent *Eurymachus*, at the head of three hundred men, to aſſiſt ſuch of the *Platæans* as they had drawn over to their party, in making themſelves maſters of the place. In this deſign they ſucceeded very happily, the *Platæans*, who had promiſed to open the gates, kept their word exactly, and the *Thebans* in an inſtant took poſſeſſion of the place. The *Platæans*, that is, the townſmen in general, perceiving at laſt how ſmall a number the *Thebans* were, unanimouſly roſe and fell upon them, killing great numbers, and in the end forcing the reſt, with *Eurymachus* their chief, to render themſelves

[p] TAUCYD. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 7. DEMOST. adv. Neær.

(N) Beſides what is mentioned in the text of *Pericles* adviſing the *Peloponneſian* war, to get over an impeachment, there is a famous ſtory related both by *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos*, that he was induced thereto by a ſprightly ſaying of young *Alcibiades*; who ſeeing him melancholy one day, asked him, what was the matter? And upon his anſwering, that he knew not how to account for the public money that had gone through his hands, *Alcibiades* ſharply replied, *Then ſtudy to give no account at all.* Others pretend, that he was the author of the decree againſt *Megara* to revenge *Aſpaſia*, two of whoſe harlots ſome young men of that city had ſtolen away. It is true, that the decree happened on this account, but *Pericles* does not ſeem to have been any ways guilty; for a herald being diſpatched to *Megara*, to complain of the injury, he was ſlain upon the road; and this *violation* of a ſacred character *gave birth to* the war. The enemies of *Pericles* indeed ſay, that he cauſed the herald to be ſlain, that he might pick a quarrel with the *Megarians*; but that the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor *Adrian* granted many privileges and favours to the cities of *Greece*, he expreſsly excepted the *Megarians*, on account of this very murder. If *Thucydides* had conceived, that any of theſe charges on *Pericles* had been juſtly founded, *he* would certainly have reported them. As to the ſneers of *Ariſtophanes*, and other comic poets, they ought not in juſtice to paſs for evidence, ſince they were enemies alike to all who were eminent (89).

(89) *Plut. in vit. Periclis.*

pri-

priſoners of war. It happened that another party from *Thebes* came to aſſiſt their companions, but came too late, the *Platæans* foreſeeing that they would waſte their country, they offered to releaſe their priſoners, if they would forbear to ſpoil their lands; but threatened at the ſame time, that if they committed any waſte, they would put their friends to death. The *Thebans* upon this withdrew, but the *Platæans* however put their priſoners to death, alledging that they never promiſed to releaſe them but in caſe of peace; their number was one hundred and eighty, and *Eurymachus*, as he led them, died with them. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they had notice of this attempt of the *Thebans*, cauſed all the *Bœotians* in their territory to be arreſted, and when they underſtood how the *Platæans* had delivered themſelves, they ſent a great convoy of proviſions to that city, and a numerous body of troops to eſcort their wives and children to *Athens*.

The league broken on both ſides.

THE league being now broken on both ſides, each party prepared for war; both ſent ambaſſadors to the *Perſians*, both ſought to rouſe their allies. Moſt of the ſtates of *Greece* were inclined to the *Lacedæmonians*, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves on this occaſion the deliverers of *Greece*; they likewiſe hated the *Athenians*, either becauſe they already oppreſſed them, or becauſe they apprehended that in time they would. With the *Spartans* joined all the *Peloponneſians*, except the *Argives* and part of the *Achæans*; without *Peloponneſus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambracotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*, declared themſelves on their ſide. On the other hand, the *Chians*, *Leſbians*, *Platæans*, *Meſſenians*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyrians*, *Zacynthians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Thracians*, the iſlands for the moſt part, and all the *Cyclades*, excepting *Melus* and *Thera*, with *Eubœa* and *Samos*. The *Lacedæmonians* aſſembled their army at the iſthmus, but *Archidamus* the *Spartan* king, and commander in chief, diſpatched a herald to *Athens*, before he would enter *Attica*; this herald was ſent back without an anſwer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the *Lacedæmonians* reſolving to act immediately offenſively, and the *Athenians* preparing to defend themſelves as well as they could [q].

Both prepare for war.

The allies of both.

Pericles, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, ſo his wiſdom ſeems to have been the only reſource they had in it. He was aware that *Archidamus* being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his eſtates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and to cut off all ground of ſuſpicion, declared that in ſuch a caſe he made a preſent of his lands to the public. He then adviſed that without thinking how

The Peloponneſian *war.* Year after the flood 1917. Before Chriſt 431.

[q] THUCYD. lib. ii. prop. Init. DIODOR. lib. xii.

how to defend their country ſeats they ſhould turn all their care to the city, buſy themſelves eſpecially in equipping their ſhips, and ſettle a thorough reſolution, not to be intimidated with the firſt evils of war. The *Athenians* came readily into all that he propoſed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To ſay the truth, the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves aſſiſted his riſe, for their ambaſſadors continually attacking him, the *Athenians* apprehended from thence that he of all others muſt have the greateſt regard for their intereſt.

The Peloponneſians *invade* Attica.

When however the *Peloponneſian* army advanced as far as *Acharne*, one of the largeſt boroughs in *Attica*, and at a very ſmall diſtance frome *Athens*, the *Athenians* began to grow very diſcontented, and to clamour exceedingly againſt *Pericles*, for not ſo much as attempting to drive them away. *In which*

Pericles's *prudent conduct.*

however he ſhewed his judgment, for that army conſiſting of no leſs that ſixty-thouſand men, the *Athenians* were unable to ſet on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; wherefore when ſome hot men preſſed for an engagement, *Pericles* very prudently ſaid, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a ſhort time; but men once loſt, cannot eaſily be recovered. By degrees the madneſs of the people grew ſtill more violent, ſo that he was perſecuted with libels of all ſorts, and even his own friends preſſed him earneſtly to alter his conduct, and to attempt ſomething for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm *in the* midſt of this ſtorm, purſued the plan which he had laid down in ſpight of the clamour raiſed againſt him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity [r].

The coaſt of Peloponneſus, *and the territaries of the* Locrians *ravaged by the* Athenian *fleet.*

He ſent however a fleet of a hundred gallies with fourteen hundred land-forces on board, which fleet being joined by fifty veſſels from *Corcyra*, coaſting the *Peloponneſian* ſhore, did infinite miſchief, ſo that its inhabitants had no reaſon to boaſt of their expedition into *Attica*, ſince they left their own country to feel thoſe miſeries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another *Athenian* fleet infeſted the *Locrians*, and becauſe *Ægina* had been a principal occaſion of the preſent war, when the fleet returned from *Peloponneſus* it drove out all the inhabitants of that iſland, which was repeopled from *Athens*. They likewiſe reduced *Cephalenia*, and ſeveral towns in *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, while in the mean time *Pericles* refreſhed thoſe who were ſhut up in the city with diſtributions of public money, a law for the diviſion of lands, and whatever elſe he could think of to amuſe and divert them. In the autumn, when the *Peloponneſians* were retired, *Pericles*, at the head of a great

[r] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

army,

army, entered the *Megarian* territory, and did all the miſchief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reaſon of this was, becauſe on their account the *Lacedæmonians* pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this firſt year the *Athenians* made up accounts as it were with the *Peloponneſians*, and repaid them thoſe miſchiefs, inſults, and ravages, which they had committed in *Attica* at the beginning of it [s].

Obſequies of thoſe who firſt died in the war celebrated at Athens.

In the winter of this year the *Athenians* ſolemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of ſuch as firſt died in the war after this manner; firſt their bones were laid in a tent to be ſeen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come in order to pay their laſt offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypreſs coffin or coffins, and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for ſuch whoſe bodies had not been recovered, and conſequently could not have thoſe honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentations for them. They were then interred in a public ſepulchre in the *Ceramicus*, and after burial, a perſon appointed by the ſenate of *Areopagus*, made a funeral oration to their honour; the perſon appointed on this occaſion was *Pericles*. How he diſcharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from *Thucydides*, who, if he has not preſerved the words of *Pericles*, has undoubtedly kept ſtrictly to this ſenſe, ſince he wrote and publiſhed his hiſtory within ſo ſhort a time after this happened, that it would undoubtedly have been decryed, if in all its circumſtances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the firſt year of the *Peloponneſian* war [t].

Dreadful plague at Athens.

The ſpring of the next year was doubly fatal to *Athens*; nature afflicted her at home, and the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, waſted all things abroad; but the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will eaſily perceive from the deſcription of *Thucydides*, who was himſelf infected with it (O). *Pericles* in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuſe it into

[s] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. [t] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(O) This plague in *Athens* makes ſo remarkable a figure in hiſtory, and the deſcription of it by *Thucydides* has been ſo much commended, that we ſhould deal unjuſtly with our readers, if we either omitted the deſcription of this plague, or gave it in other words than thoſe of that accurate hiſtorian. "When the plague "firſt began among the *Athe-* "*nians*, the *Peloponneſians* had "not long been in *Attica*; but "ſo great a plague, and ſo fatal "as

into his countrymen, though he held them to the obſervance of the ſame rule which he had preſcribed before, and would not

" as this was, is not remember-
" ed to have happened in any
" place before. For at the firſt
" neither were the phyſicians a-
" ble to cure it, through igno-
" rance of what it was, but died
" faſteſt themſelves, as being the
" men that moſt approached the
" ſick, nor any other art of man
" availed whatſoever. All ſup-
" plications of the gods, and en-
" quiries of oracles, and what-
" ſoever means they uſed of that
" kind, proved unprofitable;
" inſomuch as, ſubdued with the
" greatneſs of the evil, they
" gave them all over. It began,
" by report, firſt in that part of
" *Ethiopia* that lieth upon *Egypt*,
" and thence fell down into *E-*
" *gypt* and *Africk*, and into the
" greateſt part of the territories
" of the king. It invaded *A-*
" *thens* on a ſudden, and touch-
" ed firſt upon thoſe that dwelt
" in *Pyræus*, inſomuch as they
" reported, that the *Peloponne-*
" *ſians* had caſt poiſon into their
" wells; for ſprings there were not
" any in that place. But af-
" terwards it came up into the
" high city, and then they died a
" great deal faſter. Now let every
" man phyſician, or other, ſpeak,
" concerning the ground of this
" ſickneſs, whence it ſprung, and
" what cauſes he thinks able to
" produce ſo great an alteration,
" ſpeak according to his own
" knowledge: for my own part, I
" will deliver but the manner of it,
" and lay open only ſuch things as
" one may take his mark by to diſ-
" cover the ſame, if it come again,
" having been both ſick of it my-
" ſelf, and ſeen others ſick of the
" ſame. This year, by confeſſion
" of all men, was of all other, from
" other diſeaſes moſt free and
" healthful. If any man was *ſick*
" before, his diſeaſe turned to *this*;
" if not, yet ſuddenly *without* any
" apparent cauſe preceding, and
" being in perfect health, *they*
" were taken firſt with an extreme
" ach in their heads, redneſs and
" *inflammation in their eyes*; and
" *then inwardly their* throats and
" tongues *grew preſently* bloody,
" and their breath *noiſom* and un-
" ſavory. Upon this *followed* a
" ſneezing and hoarſneſs, and
" not long after, the pain, *toge-*
" ther with a mighty cough, came
" down into the breaſt; and when
" once it was ſettled in the ſto-
" mach, it cauſed vomit, and with
" great torment came up all man-
" ner of bilious purgation that phy-
" ſicians ever named. Moſt of
" them had alſo the hiccoughs,
" which brought with it a ſtrong
" convulſion, and in ſome ceaſed
" quickly, but in others was *long*
" before it gave over. Their bo-
" dies outwardly to the touch,
" were neither very hot nor pale,
" but reddiſh, livid, and beflowered
" with little pimples and whales;
" but ſo burned inwardly, as not
" to endure any the lighteſt cloaths
" or linnen garments to be upon
" them, nor any thing but mere
" nakedneſs, but rather moſt will-
" ingly to have caſt themſelves in-
" to the cold water; and many
" of them that were not looked
" to, poſſeſſed with inſatiate thirſt,
" ran into the wells; and to drink
" much or little was indifferent,
" being ſtill from eaſe, and power
" to ſleep as far as ever. As long
" as the diſeaſe was at the height,
" their bodies waſted not, but re-
" ſiſted the torment beyond all ex-
" pectation, inaſmuch as the moſt
" of them either died of their in-
" ward burning in nine or ſeven
days,

not ſuffer them to ſtir without the city, either to eſcape the plague, or infeſt the enemy. He cauſed however a great fleet to

"days, whilſt they had yet ſtrength; "or if they eſcaped that, then the "diſeaſe falling down into their "bellies, and cauſing there great "ulcerations and immoderate looſe-"neſs, they died many of them "afterwards through weakneſs. "For the diſeaſe which took firſt "the head, began above, and ran "down, and paſſed through the "whole body; and he that over-"came the worſt of it, was yet "marked with the loſs of his ex-"treme parts; for breaking out "both at their privy members, "and at their fingers and toes, "many with the loſs of theſe eſ-"caped. There were alſo ſome "that loſt their eyes, and many "that preſently upon their reco-"very were taken with ſuch an "oblivion of all things whatſoever, "as they neither knew themſelves "nor their acquaintance. For "this was a kind of ſickneſs which "far ſurmounted all expreſſion of "words, and both exceeded hu-"man nature in the cruelty where-"with it handled each one, and "appeared otherwiſe, to be none "of thoſe diſeaſes that are bred "amongſt us, and that eſpecially "by this: For all, both birds and "beaſts, that uſed to feed on hu-"man fleſh, though many men "lay abroad unburied, either came "not at them, or taſting, periſh-"ed. An argument whereof, as "touching the birds, was the ma-"nifeſt defect of ſuch fowl, which "were not then ſeen, neither a-"bout their carcaſſes, or any where "elſe; but by the dogs, becauſe "they are familiar with men, this "effect was ſeen much clearer. "So that this diſeaſe, to paſs over "many ſtrange particulars of the "accidents that ſome had diffe-

rently from others, was, in ge-"neral, ſuch as I have ſhewn; "and for other uſual ſickneſſes at "that time, no man was troubled "with any. Now they died, ſome "for want of attendance, and "ſome again with all the care "and phyſic that could be uſed. "Nor was there any to ſay "certain medicine that applied "muſt have helped them; for if "it did good to one, it did harm "to another; nor any difference "of body for ſtrength or weakneſs, "that was able to reſiſt it; but it "carried all away, what phyſic ſo-"ever was adminiſtered. But the "greateſt miſery of all was the de-"jection of mind in ſuch as found "themſelves beginning to be ſick, "for they grew preſently deſperate, "and gave themſelves over with-"out making any reſiſtance; as "alſo their dying thus like ſheep, "infected by mutual viſitation: "For if men forbore to viſit them "for fear, then they died forlorn, "whereby many families became "empty for want of ſuch as ſhould "take care of them. If they for-"bore not, then they died them-"ſelves, and principally the honeſt-"eſt men: For out of ſhame they "would not ſpare themſelves, "but went in unto their friends, "eſpecially after it was come to "paſs, that even their domeſtics "weaned with the lamentations of "them that died, and overcome "with the greatneſs of their cala-"mity, were no longer moved "therewith. But thoſe that were "recovered, had much compaſſion "both on them that died and on "them that lay ſick, as having "both known the miſery them-"ſelves, and now no more ſub-"ject to the like danger: For this

diſeaſe

to be equipped, and drew together fifty veſſels of the allies of *Athens*, on board of which, and of a hundred *Athenian* gallies, he embarqued three hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, with which he ſailed to *Epidaurus*. The *Peloponneſians* hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is, withdrew their troops out of *Attica*, after they had waſted it for forty days. *Pericles* however did no

"diſeaſe never took a man the ſe- "cond time, ſo as to be mortal. "And thoſe men were both by o- "thers counted happy, and they "alſo themſelves through exceſs of "preſent joy, conceived a kind of "light hope never to die of any "ſickneſs hereafter. Beſides the "preſent affliction, the reception of "the country people, and of their "ſubſtance into the city, oppreſſed "both them, and much more the "people themſelves that ſo came "in. For having no houſes, "but dwelling at that time of the "year in ſtifling booths, the mor- "tality was now without all form, "and dying men lay tumbling one "upon another in the ſtreets, and "men half dead about every con- "duit through deſire of water. "The temples alſo where they "dwelt in tents were all full of "the dead that died within them; "for oppreſſed with the violence "of the calamity, and not know- "ing what to do, men grew care- "leſs both of holy and profane "things alike. And the laws which "they formerly uſed touching fu- "nerals were all now broken, eve- "ry one burying where he could "find room. And many for want "of things neceſſary, after ſo ma- "ny deaths before, were forced to "become impudent in the funerals "of their friends. For when one "had made a funeral pile, another "getting before him would throw "on his dead, and give it fire. "And when one was in burning, "another would come, and having "caſt thereon him whom he car- "ried, go his way again. And "the great licentiouſneſs which al- "ſo in other kinds was uſed in the "city, began at firſt from this "diſeaſe. For that which a man "before would diſſemble, and not "acknowledge to be done for vo- "luptuouſneſs, he durſt now do "freely, ſeeing before his eyes ſuch "quick revolution of the rich dy- "ing, and men worth nothing in- "heriting their eſtates; inſomuch "as they juſtified a ſpeedy fruition "of their goods even for their "pleaſure, as men that thought "they held their lives but by the "day. As for pains, no man was "forward in any action of honour "to take any, becauſe they thought "it uncertain whether they ſhould "die or not before they atchieved "it. But what any man knew to "be delightful, and profitable to "pleaſure, that was made both "profitable and honourable. Nei- "ther the fear of the gods, nor laws "of men, awed any man. Not "the former, becauſe they con- "cluded it was alike to worſhip, "or not worſhip; from ſeeing that "alike they all periſhed: Nor the "latter, becauſe no man expected "that his life would laſt till he re- "ceived puniſhment of his crimes "by judgment. But they thought "there was now over their heads "ſome far greater judgment de- "creed againſt them; before which "fell they thought to enjoy ſome "little part of their lives (90).

(90) *Thucyd. lib.* ii. *prop. init. Vide Hippocrat. lib.* iii. *Epidem. Sect.* 3.

great

great matter, the plague raging among his ſoldiers and ſeamen. On his return home, the fleet under the command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus* were ſent againſt *Chalcis* and *Potidea*, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, ſo that after a ſhort ſtay they returned from thence, alſo bringing back to *Athens* about fifteen hundred men out of four thouſand, the reſt being loſt through peſtilence and war. Theſe evils drove the *Athenians* to madneſs and deſpair. In vain *Pericles* made uſe of all his eloquence to appeaſe them; they ſent ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon* to deſire a peace, which the *Spartans* were too proud to beſtow; after this fruitleſs negociation *Pericles* harangued the aſſembly afreſh, and with the utmoſt force of reaſon, ſought to combat their apprehenſions and fears; when he had done ſpeaking, they confeſſed he was in the right in adviſing them to begin the war; yet, diſtracted with the evils it had brought, they diſmiſſed and fined him; yet with an inconſtancy natural to the people, they in a ſhort time recalled him, and veſted him with almoſt abſolute authority.

The Athenians ſue for a peace.

Firſt diſmiſs and then recal Pericles.

But the ſtorms in his family did not blow over ſo eaſily; his ſon *Xanthippus* quitted his houſe, becauſe his father would not allow him more money than his eſtate would bear; but to conceal the true cauſe, the profligate youth gave out his father converſed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, *Xanthippus* died of the plague; ſhortly after him *Pericles*'s ſiſter died, after her almoſt all his relations and friends, laſt of all his ſecond ſon *Paralus*. At his funeral, *Pericles* loſt his heroiſm quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burſt out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his houſe cloſely, and abandoned himſelf to melancholy. It was then that the *Athenians* invited him to accept of thoſe honours of which they had ſtripped him. At the perſuaſion of *Alcibiades*, and others of his friends, he came abroad and ſhewed himſelf to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his requeſt cancelled that very unjuſt law which they had made at his motion for baſtardizing all children of the half blood; and hereupon he enrolled a ſon of his by *Aſpaſia*, a freeman of *Athens*, by the name of *Pericles*.

Havock made by the plague in the family of Pericles.

In the ſummer of this year, a *Peloponeſian* navy, of a hundred gallies, waſted the iſland of *Zacynthus*, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themſelves. Towards the end of the ſummer they ſent embaſſadors to the king of *Perſia*, to entreat his aſſiſtance againſt his ancient enemies, the *Athenians*; theſe embaſſadors had it alſo in commiſſion to make application to *Sytacles*, king of *Thrace*; but his ſon *Sadocus* being a citizen of *Athens*, ſeized them, and delivered them to the *Athenians*, who put them to death, to teach the *Lacedæ-*

Events of the ſecond year of this war.

monians more mercy than they had ſhewn of late in killing ſuch as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to *Athens*. In the winter the *Athenians* ſent *Meleſander* with a fleet of twenty ſhips, to *Caria* and *Lycia*, where he was ſlain. About this time *Potidea*, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human fleſh, yielded to the *Athenians*, who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from *Athens*. Such were the events which fell out in the ſecond year of the war [u].

Platæa *beſieged by the king of* Sparta.

In the ſpring of the third year, *Archidamus*, king of *Sparta*, came with a great army and beſieged *Platæa*. The *Platæans* inſiſted that *Pauſanias*, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predeceſſors had ſolemnly eſtabliſhed; but *Archidamus* inſiſted that they ſhould forſake the ſide of the *Athenians*, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promiſe of having all things reſtored to them when it ſhould be over. The *Platæans* were ſo far from accepting theſe terms, that they reſolved to abide all things rather than deſert *Athens*. *Archidamus* then waſted their country, but not with impunity; for thoſe of *Platæa* made continual ſallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then cauſed the city to be ſet on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to aſhes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore, he was conſtrained to turn his ſiege into a blockade, and having thrown up an intrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a ſufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to *Peloponneſus*.

Pericles *dies.*

In *Thrace* and *Acarnania* the *Athenians* fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of *Phormio* gained two ſmall victories at ſea. But the great event of this year was the death of *Pericles*, which happened in the end of the ſummer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body elſe; for whereas it hurried off others ſuddenly, it deſtroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the conſtitution of his body, and the noble faculties of his mind. As an inſtance of this laſt obſervation, *Plutarch* ſays, that when he drew near his end, he ſhewed ſome of his friends an amulet or charm, which the women had hung round his neck, intimating that he muſt be very ſick indeed, when he ſuffered ſuch a remedy to be applied. In his very laſt moments, ſome of his friends ſitting by his bed-ſide, and conceiving him to have loſt his ſenſes, amuſed themſelves with reckoning up the glorious events

[u] Thucyd. Diodor. & Herodot. l. vii. c. 137.

of his life: Of a ſudden he raiſed himſelf on his bed, and turning to them, ſaid, *I wonder you ſhould commend thoſe things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing elſe, and which have happened to others alſo, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the reſt; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account.* Thus *Pericles* died as he lived, as much ſuperior to the greateſt men of *Athens*, as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared that the ſame grandeur which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preſervation; only it muſt be allowed that he gave way to the corruption of the people, that he might govern them, and that while he exalted the *Athenian* ſtate, and adorned its capital, he deſpoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious ſpirit of dominion, inſtead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by *Ariſtides* and *Cimon* [y] (P).

In

[y] Thucyd. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

(P) *Pericles* was very learned, eſpecially in the uſeful ſciences; and there is a ſtory related of of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it muſt have been within a year or two of his death at fartheſt, which ſhews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from moſt of his country-men; juſt as he was going on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipſe of the ſun happened, which ſtruck all the ſeamen with aſtoniſhment, and terrified his own pilot ſo much, that he knew not what to do. *Pericles* perceiving this, inſtantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, asked him, if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it? He anſwered, No. Why then, ſaid *Pericles*, what difference can you make between one darkneſs and the other, except that, what ſhades the ſun is bigger than my cloak. Which brought the pilot and his crew to their ſenſes again. How much he owed to *Anaxagoras* appears from this, and indeed from almoſt every great circumſtance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he ſuffered that wiſe man to be in ſuch diſtreſs, that throwing himſelf on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a reſolution of ſtarving to death. When *Pericles* was told of this, he ran to him in all haſte; yet inſtead of lamenting his diſtreſs, he fell to bewailing his own loſs, in caſe he ſhould be deprived of ſo wiſe a counſellor; to which *Anaxagoras* opening his cloak, anſwered with a low voice: *Thoſe*, Pericles, *who have need of a lamp, ſupply it with oil.* Whereupon the ſtateſman took him home, and uſed him better for the future. It was at his motion, that the *Athenians* ſeized the treaſure of all *Greece*, at *Delos*, and applied a great part of it to the adorning of their own city; which when complained of as a breach of truſt, *Pericles* thus defended it: It was given, ſaid he, to defend *Greece*

from

Archidamus *invades* Attica.

In the ſummer following, the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica* the third time, deſtroying the ripe corn, and waſting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the *Athenians*, though without profit to themſelves. In the mean time the whole iſle of *Leſbos*, the city and diſtrict of *Methymna* only excepted, revolted from the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent a fleet of forty gallies under the command of *Clippides*, and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of *Mitylene*, to demand that the citizens ſhould pull down their walls, and deliver up their ſhips, which if they did not do, they were then to act offenſively.

The Mitylenians *revolt from the* Athenians.

The *Mitylenians* endeavoured to amuſe the *Athenians*, and to that end procured a truce till they ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens*; but in the mean time they diſpatched other ambaſſadors to intreat aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, who directed them to make their ſolemn application at the olympic games to the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*, which accordingly they did, and were thereupon admitted into the alliance formed againſt *Athens*. The *Spartans* meditated another inroad into *Attica*, and actual-

from the *Barbarians*, which the *Athenians* having done, have a juſt title to the money; for money, ſaid he, is not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the conditions; and as the *Athenians* were always ready to carry on the war, it was but juſt that ſomething ſhould be done for their peace, and to give life and ſpirit to tradeſmen, which was effected by theſe public buildings. This reaſoning of his drew over to his party merchants, ſeamen, labourers, and artiſts of all kinds; as for ſuch as were not obliged this way, he provided largeſſes for them, and penſions from the public ſtock; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other *Athenians* had made themſelves eminent, *Pericles* had made himſelf a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be moſt dangerous, he cauſed them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered thoſe dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home: in a word, he made *Athens* the richeſt and moſt powerful of the *Greek* ſtates; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had ſought to depreſs; and in the midſt of all the *Athenian* greatneſs, when her commons were moſt vain, and moſt unruly, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then but for a ſmall time in diſgrace, recalled afterwards with honour by the people, and remained in poſſeſſion of his authority to his death. But in the midſt of this great fortune, *his* hands were clean, he did *all* things for *Athens*, and nothing for himſelf, leaving his paternal eſtate rather diminiſhed than improved (91).

(91) *Plut. in vit. Periclis. Thucyd. lib.* i. *&* ii. *Dioder. Sicul. lib.* xi. xii. *Juſtin.* iii. *c.* 7. *Val. Max. l.* viii. *c.* 11. *& mult. al.*

ly

ly advanced as far as the *Isthmus*; but their allies not sending their quotas as they had promised, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an *Athenian* fleet had appeared on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. Yet the *Peloponnesians*, in pursuance of their promise to the *Mitylenians*, sent a fleet to their assistance of forty gallies; but they were able to effect little, because the *Athenians* had sent a hundred gallies on that coast. Hitherto they pursued the maxims of *Pericles*, and cultivated a naval force; but as this cost immence sums of money, they were constrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raise that tax which *Aristides* had imposed with the consent of the *Greeks*, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 gallies.

Mitylene besieged by the Athenians.

THE *Mitylenians* and the rest of the *Lesbians*, greatly incensed at those of *Methymna* for remaining stedfast in their duty to the *Athenians*, made excursions into their country, whereupon the *Athenians* invested the city of *Mitylene*, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themselves instead of offending their neighbours. *Platæa* was all this time blocked up, its little garrison consisting of four hundred natives, and fourscore *Athenians*, having thus long withstood the whole power of *Peloponnesus*, but finding it a vain thing to hope assistance from *Athens*, and being very much streightened for provisions, they took a desperate way of forcing a passage through the enemies lines, which when they came to execute, many declined; three hundred however persisted in their intention, and fell with such fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a passage, and marched to *Athens*, the rest were compelled to retire back into the city; thus ended the fourth year of the *Peloponnesian* war [z].

Mitylene taken.

Decree ordering all the Mitylenians *to be put to death, or sold for slaves.*

IN the very beginning of the next year the *Peloponnesians* sent forty ships to the relief of *Mitylene*, and at the same time entered with a great army into *Attica*, for the fifth time, under the command of *Cleomenes*. The *Athenians* were exceedingly distressed by these cruel ravagers; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in *Lesbos*. *Paches* who commanded before *Mitylene*, obliged it to surrender before the *Peloponnesian* fleet, sent to succour it, could arrive; he likewise chased that fleet, and returning to *Lesbos*, sent the *Lacedæmonian* minister, whom he found in *Mitylene*, together with a deputation, from the inhabitants of that place to *Athens*, where the *Lacedæmonian* was immediately put to death; and in a general assembly of the people, it was resolved at the motion of *Cleon*, that orders should be sent to *Paches*, to put all the *Mitylenians*, who were at man's estate, to death, and to sell the

[z] THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi supra.

women and children for ſlaves. The next day, however, they reconſidered this decree, which *Cleon* ſtill ſupported with all his eloquence; but *Diodorus*, an orator of a milder diſpoſition, having ſhewn how injurious it would be to the *Athenian* glory, to deal ſo ſeverely with perſons who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, it was carried by a very ſmall majority to reverſe the decree. A clean ſhip was immediately diſpatched to *Leſbos*, to countermand the orders that had been ſent to *Paches* the day before, and inſtructions were given to the commander to make all the ſail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ſhip, which, though he ſtrongly endeavoured, he could not perform. He arrived, however, time enough to ſave the *Mitylenians* from utter deſtruction; for *Paches* being a man of great humanity, took a day to conſider the orders he had received, and in that ſpace the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The *Athenians*, however, did not wholly pardon the *Mitylenians*; on the contrary, they put a thouſand of the briſkeſt of the rebels to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls of the city, took away all their ſhips, divided their lands among themſelves, and let them again to the *Mitylenians* at very high rents.

The decree revoked.

But the inhabitants treated with great ſeverity.

The Athenians *take the iſland of* Minoas.

THE ſame ſummer they made themſelves maſters of the iſland of *Minoas*, lying over-againſt the territory of *Megara*; they ſeized likewiſe the port of *Niſæa*, and fortified it; which acquiſitions were of mighty importance to them. The *Platæans*, driven to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered, and by the judgment of the *Lacedæmonians* were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty-five *Athenians*, put to death, and their women ſold for ſlaves. Such was the end of one of the braveſt and moſt generous people of *Greece*. Their city was ſome time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the *Thebans*, who left only an inn to ſhew where it ſtood. The fame, however, of its ancient inhabitants moved *Alexander the Great* to rebuild it.

The Platæans *ſurrender, and are cruelly uſed by the* Lacedæmonians.

The famous ſedition of Corcyra.

IN this year happened the famous ſedition in *Corcyra*, from whence future ſeditions, when their effects rendered them terrible, were ſtiled *Corcyrian*. *Thucydides* hath inſerted a very copious deſcription thereof, its cauſes and conſequences, in his admirable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the *Athenians*, we are bound to inſert a ſuccinct relation of it here. We have already obſerved, that the war waged by this ſtate againſt the *Corinthians* induced the *Peloponneſian* war; and in ſpeaking thereof, we have ſhewn that a great number of *Corcyrians* were carried away priſoners into *Peloponneſus*, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the reſt were ſold for ſlaves: The reaſon of this conduct of the *Corinthians* was a deſign they had formed, of engaging theſe

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Corcyrians to influence their countrymen to ſide with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderneſs imaginable, inſtilling into them by degrees an hatred of democratic government, and a deſire of veſting the rule of their iſland in their own hands. When it was found that the *Corcyrian* priſoners had thoroughly imbibed theſe principles, they were told, that on condition they would uſe their intereſt at home in favour of the allies, and to the prejudice of *Athens*, they might obtain their freedom. The *Corcyrians* promiſed largely, returned home, and, which may ſeem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promiſed. From theſe endeavours ſprung the ſedition before mentioned. At firſt, ſuch as were for an ariſtocracy prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of thoſe who inclined to a democratic government; they were aſſiſted by the *Peloponneſians*, but the *Athenians* ſending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed party, the *Peloponneſians* were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party taking heart again in *Corcyra*, revenged the injuries they had received from the now depreſſed faction; nor would they ſuffer any notions of religion to reſtrain their hands, but dragged away ſuppliants from the altars to execution, on the ſtanding maxims of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worſt of all was, that this example once ſet, almoſt all the ſtates in *Greece* felt in their turns the like commotions, which were always incited and blown up by agents from *Sparta* and *Athens*, the former pretending to ſettle ariſtocracies every where, and the latter exerting her utmoſt power to prevent their remaining any where.

Athens engages in a new war.

In the midſt of theſe momentous affairs, and while they had ſo many others on their hands, the *Athenians* were ingaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than all the reſt. It happened thus; the inhabitants of *Sicily* were ſplit into two factions, the one ſtiled the *Doric*, which had the ſtate of *Syracuſe* at its head, the other the *Ionic*, which owned the *Leontines* for their chiefs; the latter conceiving themſelves too weak without foreign aid, applied to *Athens*, and ſent a citizen of theirs, one *Gorgias*, a great orator, to intreat it: Never was any miniſter ſuited better to his negociation than this man to treat with the *Athenians*; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and ſo ſoothed the ears of the people by his fine ſpeeches, that they ran headlong into a war, which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the *Peloponneſians*. *Pericles* had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war; he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they meddled with nothing elſe, and that their ſucceeding

Sides with the Leontines *againſt the* Syracuſans.

therein would fix their empire over *Greece*, and ſecure *Athens* in as high a ſtate as ſhe could expect, or ought to deſire. But the people, giddy with ſucceſs, and hoping at once to graſp the empire of *Greece*, and the dominion of *Sicily*, reſolved to aſſiſt the *Leontines*, and to that end diſpatched a fleet under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*; and, as if this new buſineſs had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly ſailed before they began to equip another (Q).

Events of the ſixth year of this war.

AT the opening of the next ſummer, the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Agis*, the ſon of *Archidamus* king of *Sparta*, invaded *Attica*, or rather aſſembled in order to invade it; for the many earthquakes which happened at this time throughout *Greece* alarmed them ſo much, that they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in *Sicily* with various ſucceſs; *Carcades*, one of their generals, being ſlain, the ſole command devolved upon *Paches*, who diſcharged his truſt with great reputation. At *Athens* the people ordered new ſhips to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among theſe *Demoſthenes* gained great reputation, and made himſelf very agreeable to their allies. The *Athenians*, however, received ſome check from the *Ætolians*, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the *Ambraciots*, and conſtrained them to conclude a peace with the *Acarnanians*, the allies of *Athens*. *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, who commanded in *Sicily*, gained, as the winter drew on, ſome advantages over the *Syracuſians*, and in this year it is remarked that mount *Ætna* made a greater irruption than it had done for fifty years; this was the ſixth year [b].

IN the ſucceeding ſpring, *Agis*, the ſon of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica* with a great army; the *Athenians*, however, fitted out a great fleet, ſending forty ſhips to *Sicily*, and to their commanders gave inſtructions to keep a ſtrict eye on *Corcyra*,

[b] THUCYD. lib. iii. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xii.

(Q) The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midſt of all theſe great deſigns, cutting off this year four thouſand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people. *Diodorus* ſays, ten thouſand; he likewiſe acquaints us with what he ſuppoſes to have been the cauſe of this diſtemper, he aſcribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, and a very hot ſummer following thereupon, during which the *Eteſian* gales or evening breezes were wanting. The *Athenians*, however, aſcribed it to the pollution of the iſle of *Delos*, by the burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore cauſed to be removed, and ſought to appeaſe *Apollo* by various ſacrifices *.

* *Thucyd. lib.* iii. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xii.

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the inhabitants of which were under great apprehenſions leſt their exiles ſhould make any attempt, or the *Peloponneſians* make a deſcent with their fleet of ſixty gallies, which was in their neighbourhood. *Demoſthenes* was ſent with another fleet to infeſt the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*; he was one of the greateſt generals of his time, of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet ſailed by *Laconia*, he took notice of the promontory of *Pylus*, which was united to the land by a narrow iſthmus, having before it a barren iſland, about two miles in circumference, in which however there was a very good ſafe port, all winds being kept off either by the headland, or by the iſle; theſe advantages made him apprehend, that a garriſon left here would give ſo much trouble to the *Peloponneſians*, that they would find it more adviſeable to protect their own country, than to invade their neighbours. He propoſed therefore to his collegues, that they ſhould immediately ſeize it, and fortify it with the utmoſt expedition; but they deſiring rather to fulfill their inſtructions, than to do extraordinary ſervice, for which they might not be thanked, refuſed to follow his advice, and inſiſted upon ſailing to *Corcyra*, purſuant to orders. A ſtorm ariſing, obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the iſland, where *Demoſthenes* revived his perſuaſions to ſeize and fortify ſo convenient a poſt, but in vain; his collegues were all of another opinion, ſo that he was forced to give way; but the matter taking air, the ſoldiers declared unanimouſly that they would not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in ſix days finiſhed a ſtrong wall; and then the reſt of the admirals ſailing for *Corcyra*, *Demoſthenes* was left with five ſhips to guard his new-raiſed fortifications.

Demoſthenes *inſeſts the coaſt of* Peloponneſus.

As ſoon as the news of this event was carried to the *Peloponneſian* army, it was immediately reſolved to return back and beſiege *Pylus*. When they arrived before the place, they took poſſeſſion of the harbour, and cauſed a choſen body of *Spartans* to take poſſeſſion at the ſame time of the iſland *Sphacteria*, and theſe precautions taken, they attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments with great vigour; *Demoſthenes* and his garriſon made a prodigious defence, and a fleet of forty *Athenian* ſhips arriving very ſeaſonably, offered battle to the *Peloponneſian* fleet; but this being refuſed, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were at preſent ſet on taking *Pylus*, the *Athenians* boldly ſailed into the harbour, broke and ſunk moſt of the veſſels therein, and took the reſt, after which they beſieged the *Spartans* in the iſle, which threw the affairs of the *Peloponneſians* into the greateſt diſorder. The *Lacedæmonians* ſent for their magiſtrates into camp, which was their cuſtom in all great dangers, and they perceiving that no ſafety could be wrought for

Pylus *beſieged by the* Spartans.

The Spartan *fleet deſtroyed.*

the *Spartans* in *Sphacteria*, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the *Athenian* army, while a negociation was carried on at *Atheus*; the articles of this truce were, that the *Peloponnesians* should deliver up all their ships, on condition to have them punctually restored to them in case the treaty did not take effect; that neither the *Athenians* nor they should undertake any thing till this negociation ended some way or other; that a certain quantity of victuals should be carried daily to the island, but that no ship should attempt to pass thither by stealth; that the truce should end at the return of the embassadors, and that, if in the mean time it were broken in any of its articles, it should be held utterly void in all. The *Lacedæmonian* embassadors spoke to the *Athenians* with great gravity and wisdom; they shewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their request; and in proof of this they urged an argument worthy of the *Spartans:* You have now, said they, an advantage, which whether it be owing to your wisdom, or fortune, may be disputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occasion, to make a just and honourable peace, you will shew that your nation do not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas, if you do not make peace, you will risque that reputation, and even those advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The *Athenians* in general were inclined to put an end to this troublesome war, but *Cleon*, one of their demagogues, a warm and obstinate man, so wrought upon them, that they insisted on very unreasonable conditions, and treated the embassadors in such a manner, that finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The *Peloponnesians* then demanded their ships, but the *Athenians* pretending that the truce had been infringed, refused to deliver them, and thereby kept the possession of sixty good vessels, to which they had but a very indifferent title.

A truce concluded, and the articles thereof.

The proposals for a peace rejected by the Athenians.

Hostilities being recommenced on both sides, the *Lacedæmonians* attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments at *Pylus*, while the *Athenians* renewed their assaults on the *Lacedæmonians* at *Sphacteria*; the latter, though under all the discouragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, insomuch that the business went on very slowly, which gave the people of *Athens* much uneasiness. They began then to wish they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at *Cleon*, who, to excuse himself said, that it would be easy for the general of the forces they were now sending to attack the *Spartans* in the isle, and put an end to this dispute at once. *Nicias*, who had been appointed to this command, said immediately, that

Hostilities begun anew on both sides.

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if *Cleon* believed he could do ſuch great things, he would do well to go thither in perſon; the latter conceiving this to be meant only to try him, ſaid he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby *Nicias* catched him, and declared that he had relinquiſhed his charge. *Cleon* thereupon ſaid, modeſtly enough, that he was no general; but *Nicias* anſwered, he might then become one; and the people pleaſed with this controverſy, held the orator to his word: *Cleon* then advancing, ſaid, I am ſo little afraid of the enemy, that I will deſire but a very ſmall body of troops; and yet in conjunction with thoſe at *Pylus*, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the *Spartans* you are in ſuch pain about, or periſh in the attempt: At which the people, little expecting ſuch things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him however the troops he deſired, and he ſet ſail on this expedition, in which he conducted himſelf with great prudence and fortitude; for he firſt ſent a herald to the enemy's camp, ſignifying, that if the *Lacedæmonians* in the iſle ſurrendered at diſcretion, a new negociation might be commenced; but this demand being looked upon as diſhonourable to the *Lacedæmonian* ſtate, it was rejected. He afterwards, in conjunction with *Demoſthenes*, made a deſcent upon the iſland, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valour, reduced the *Spartans* to the laſt extremity.

Cleon perceiving it to be in their power to cut theſe brave men to pieces, reſtrained his *Athenians*, and ſent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at diſcretion; whereupon the *Lacedæmonian* commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two ſuperiors being killed, demanded a conference with the *Athenian* generals, in which he deſired leave to ſend for orders to the *Peloponneſian* camp, but that was refuſed: At length the terms offered were accepted, and the priſoners were put on board the ſhips in order to be conveyed to *Athens*. They had ſuſtained a ſiege of twenty-two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they loſt one hundred and twenty-eight perſons out of four hundred and twenty, ſo that two hundred and ninety two yielded. *Cleon*, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promiſe, producing the priſoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully elated the people, who in their next aſſembly decreed, that theſe priſoners ſhould be ſafely kept till a peace ſhould be made, unleſs the *Peloponneſians* ſhould in the mean time invade *Attica*, in which caſe they reſolved that they ſhould be put to death. They ſent a colony of *Meſſenians*, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the *Spartans*, to repoſſeſs *Pylus*, and their neighbourhood was ſo troubleſome to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they quickly re-

Cleon *appointed to command againſt the* Lacedæmonians *at* Sphacteria

He reduces the place.

ſolved to ſend embaſſadors afreſh to *Athens*, in order, if it was poſſible, to put an end to the war. The people of *Athens* were too much exalted with their ſucceſs, to treat the *Lacedæmonians* either with juſtice or candour, and the embaſſadors of that ſteady nation, diſdaining to be amuſed with frivolous pretences, returned without doing any thing.

Thoſe of the Lacedemonian *faction at* Corcyra *cruelly murdered.*

THIS ſummer the *Athenians* fought the *Corinthians* near the iſthmus. They ſent likewiſe a fleet to *Sicily*, which fleet had inſtructions to put in at *Corcyra*, and to aſſiſt the government there againſt the faction which was in the intereſt of the *Lacedæmonians*; this they effectually performed, for they gave the *Corcyrians* ſuch aſſiſtance, that the exiles fell into their power; they impriſoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death with all the circumſtances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent. When there were only ſixty remaining, they beſought the *Athenians* to put them to death, and not deliver them up to their countrymen. The *Corcyrians* thereupon ſurrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing theſe unhappy men into deſpair, they ſtrangled and otherwiſe deſtroyed themſelves with their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miſerable ſedition, which for ſo many years rent this little iſland, and made the *Corcyrians* endure greater evil from themſelves than they had ever felt from any enemy. The *Athenians* were this year ſucceſsful in ſome other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall omit, and refer our readers to an account of them in *Thucydides*.

An embaſſador from the king of Perſia *to the* Lacedæmonians *intercepted by the* Athenians *and diſmiſſed.*

IN the winter, a *Perſian* ambaſſador, whoſe name was *Artaphernes*, being ſent to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace*, and brought priſoner to *Athens*. His letters and inſtructions were read, but when it was diſcovered that they no way concerned the *Athenians*, he was diſmiſſed, and other embaſſadors from *Athens* were ſent with him to *Epheſus*, where when they came, they were informed that *Artaxerxes* the *Perſian* monarch was dead, by which their commiſſion being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year the *Athenians* apprehended that the inhabitants of *Chios* had an intention to deſert them, they therefore ſent a fleet thither, with orders that they ſhould demoliſh their new walls, a method they commonly practiſed on ſuch occaſions. Theſe were the principal events of the ſeventh year of the war [c].

IN the beginning of the eighth year of the war, there happened an eclipſe of the ſun, as *Thucydides* tells us, which was

[c] THUCYD. lib. iv.

followed

followed by an earthquake [d]. The firſt matter of conſequence the *Athenians* reſolved on, was the taking of the iſle of *Cythera*, ſeated on the coaſt of *Laconia*, which lay extremely convenient for them. *Nicias* was choſen to command in this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of *Pericles*, had been eminent in the ſtate, and enjoyed a great meaſure of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary, for though he had much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of treſpaſſing in the leaſt on his inſtructions, and timorous to the laſt degree of offending the people. *Pericles*, eſpecially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he ſo much exceeded all others in eloquence, that to ſpeak and to perſuade were the ſame things with him; and the people being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he deſired. *Nicias* was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchaſe it, another way: He had an immenſe eſtate, and he laid out a great part of it in beſtowing largeſſes, exhibiting plays, ſhews, and whatever elſe might pleaſe the people, who likewiſe pitied the timidity of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propoſe to them. We have already mentioned his diſpute with *Cleon* as to the buſineſs of *Pylus*; the ſame man was his conſtant opponent in every thing, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and intereſts. *Cleon* was continually the author of warm and violent counſels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the *Lacedæmonians*; whereas *Nicias* was gentle in his manners, adviſed moderate meaſures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other reſpects he was fearful, yet he never diſſembled that he wiſhed well to the *Lacedæmonians*, that is, wiſhed his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that ſtate and their own, by obſtinately continuing the war. The people having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into *Cythera*, and furniſhed him with a ſtrong fleet and a good army.

Nicias *appointed to reduce the iſland of* Cythera.

His character.

Nicias executed his commiſſion punctually and ſucceſsfully, whereby he gained them a very commodious poſt, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* very ill neighbours; afterwards the *Athenians* took *Thyrea* on the confines of *Laconia*; this place the *Lacedæmonians* had given to the inhabitants of the iſle of *Ægina*, when they were expelled by the *Athenians*; theſe with

Cythera *and* Thyrea *taken by the* Athenians.

[d] Idem. ibid.

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the *Cytheræans* were sent to *Athens* to abide the judgment of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and inveterate enemies of their state and nation; the latter they dispersed for the most part through the islands under their obedience, and on such as they left in their own country they imposed a very heavy tribute. In *Sicily*, one *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse*, persuaded all the inhabitants of that island to adjust their differences among themselves, whereby the *Athenian* generals were constrained to re-embark their forces, and to return home. There were three of them, *Pythodemus*, *Sophocles*, and *Eurymidon*; they gave the people a distinct account of the reasons which induced them to quit the island, and insisted particularly on this, that the *Sicilians* being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other measures. But the *Athenians*, who seldom considered any thing where success was wanting, banished two of their generals, and subjected the third to a very heavy fine.

Great disturbances in Megara

THE *Athenians* laid siege to *Megara*, under the conduct of *Hippocrates* and *Demosthenes*; but *Barsidas*, the *Lacedæmonian*, coming to relieve the place, engaged the *Athenians*: It ended in a drawn battle, but nevertheless the *Lacedæmonian* party prevailing in *Megara*, those who sided with the *Athenians* were many of them obliged to withdraw: After this, such as had been banished for adhering to the *Lacedæmonians* returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was past, and their attempting nothing which might disturb their country. But as soon as they were settled, they forgot their oath, and with it all tenderness for their country, caused a hundred of those whom they most suspected to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and in consequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and possessed themselves of the supreme power.

THE *Bœotians* growing weary of that form of government, which since their league with the *Lacedæmonians* had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the *Athenians*, and to invite them to assist in settling democracies throughout *Bœotia*; but this business was not very prosperous, for the *Thebans* and other *Bœotians* of their party, drew together a great army under the command of *Pantoedus*. The *Athenians*

The Athenians *defeated by the* Thebans *and their allies*

were commanded by *Demosthenes* and *Hippocrates*; at *Delium* the armies met, and a very bloody engagement ensued, wherein the *Athenians* were at last beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in *Bœotia* taken away, most of the *Bœotians*, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forsake their country,

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and to take shelter in the *Athenian* territories. *Thucydides* the historian, commanded at this time the *Athenian* forces on the coast of *Macedonia*, whither the *Lacedæmonians* had sent *Brasidas* one of their best generals with a considerable army. He, partly by force, partly by persuasion, reduced *Amphipolis* and several other places; but *Thucydides*, by a quick march, saved *Ione*; and the *Athenians*, being extremely alarmed at the news of *Brasidas*'s conquest, sent new supplies of men, money, and ships, in the winter to the *Macedonian* coast; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their interest in those parts, where the valour and conduct of the *Lacedæmonian* chief carried all before him. These were the events of the eighth year of the war [c].

Amphipolis reduced by Brasidas

In the beginning of the spring the *Spartans* made new propositions of peace at *Athens*, supposing that the misfortunes which their enemies had met with in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much mistaken; for the *Athenians*, perceiving that fortune was no more constant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of *Amphypolis*, agreed to a truce for a year, that they might have time to re-establish them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties should remain in quiet possession of what they held at present, that embassadors, heralds, and all other persons with public characters, should have free leave to enter any of the states in order to the negotiation of a general peace, that neither party should receive or protect deserters, that all controversies should be amicably decided, and not by force; proceedings at sea were likewise settled, and confederates on both sides were comprised in this truce. Immediately on the conclusion thereof, negotiations were set on foot for a general peace; but these were interrupted, and the *Athenians* thrown into new disorders by an accident in *Thrace*, where the city of *Scione*, and the city of *Menda* revolted to *Brasidas*, who knowing nothing of the truce, sought to draw over *Potidæa* also; the *Athenians* pretending that *Scione* revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereat, asserting that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and *Menda* should be restored them, which negotiations not having the power to effect, an army was sent to reduce them; by this army *Menda* was recovered, but *Scione* made an obstinate resistance, whereupon the *Athenians* encompassed it with a wall, and turned their siege into a blockade. The spring drawing on, the *Lacedæmonian* army, under the command of *Brasidas*, made an attempt upon *Potidæa*; but

The Spartans make new propositions of peace.

Truce for a year, and upon what terms.

The negotiations for a peace interrupted,

[c] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Niciæ.

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it miſcarried, and the *Athenians* began to recover ſome courage in this part of the world.

Cleon *takes the city of* Torone *and* Galopſus.

THE truce expiring on the day of the *Pythian* games, *Cleon* perſuaded the *Athenians* to ſend a great army into *Thrace* under his own command; it conſiſted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, all *Athenian* citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty gallies. *Cleon*, ſoon after his arrival took the city of *Torone*; but he miſcarried in his attempt on *Stagirus*, which however did not diſcourage him from falling upon *Gallopſus*, a colony of the *Thaſians*, which he took; after which he retired to *Ione*, waiting there for ſuccours. *Braſidas*, who had an army much inferior to *his*, obſerving that *Cleon* was become careleſs, and that his troops *did not* obſerve diſcipline, attacked the *Athenians* by ſurprize, and routed them with very great ſlaughter; *Cleon* himſelf flying at laſt, but not far, a *Lacedæmonian* ſoldier overtaking and killing him, on the ſpot; *Braſidas* was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the *Athenians* loſt ſix hundred men, and the *Lacedæmonians* no more than ſeven.

Cleon *defeated and killed*, Braſidas *mortally wounded.*

THIS deciſive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the *Athenians* were greatly humbled by the loſs of their army, and the *Spartans* little leſs concerned at the loſs of their general; beſides, the *Athenians* in loſing *Cleon*, loſt the moſt popular ſpeaker amongſt them, and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wiſe and prudent ſtateſmen amongſt them thought fit to offer in their public aſſemblies. Amongſt the *Lacedæmonians* there was likewiſe a conſiderable party, at the head of whom was *Pliſtonax* their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as *Nicias* and his party did at *Athens*. Theſe proceedings induced various negotiations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, on the following conditions: That a reſtitution of places and priſoners ſhould be made on both ſides, excepting that *Nicæa* ſhould remain to the *Athenians*, who had taken it from the *Megarians*, and that *Platæa* ſhould remain in the hands of the *Thebans*, becauſe they abſolutely would not give it up. The *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, refuſed to be included in this peace, but the reſt of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly ſworn at *Athens* in the archonſhip of *Alcæon*, ten years after the commencement of the war; and as *Nicias* of all the *Athenians* moſt vigorouſly promoted it, ſo from him it was called the *Nician* peace [d].

A fifty yearspeace. The terms agreed on.

[d] THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Niceæ.

THE

THE quiet of *Greece* was far from being reſtored on the ceſſation of the war; ſuch of the ſtates of *Peloponneſus* as were not ſatisfied with the terms of peace, began to intrigue and negotiate amongſt themſelves, and to endeavour to ſet on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the ſtate of *Argos*. The pretence was, that the liberty of *Greece* was in danger from the alliance between *Sparta* and *Athens*, and as a proof of this they alledged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual conſent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleaſure. In the mean time the *Spartans* found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of the treaty with *Athens*; for whereas it was ſtipulated, that all places taken ſhould be reſtored, *Amphipolis* abſolutely refuſed to return under the *Athenian* government, ſo that all the *Lacedæmonians* could do was to withdraw their garriſon, and under the colour of this, the *Athenians* on their ſide refuſed to evacuate *Pylus*. The *Lacedæmonians* preſſing earneſtly to have this fortreſs into their hands, or that at leaſt the *Helots* and *Meſſenians* might be removed from thence, the *Athenians* were at laſt prevailed on to grant the latter, and to ſend thoſe who were thus removed from *Pylus* to the iſland of *Cephalenia*.

Some ſtates diſſatisfied with the peace.

IN the winter new negotiations were entered into on all ſides, the *Lacedæmonians* ſought to induce the *Bœotians* to give up *Panactus* and the *Athenian* priſoners, in hopes thereby to recover *Pylus*; with much ado they brought the *Bœotians* into this, but not till they had thoroughly deſtroyed the fortifications of the city in queſtion; after which it was delivered up. The *Athenians* on their ſide had done every thing that could be expected from them, excepting only the rendering of *Pylus* which they kept as a pledge for the *Spartans* complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of *Panactus* therefore gave them very much uneaſineſs, and induced them to apprehend the *Lacedæmonians* had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themſelves to their old confederates at their expence. Theſe diſcontents were heightened by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who began now to rival *Nicias*, and who will make ſo conſiderable a figure in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, that there is a neceſſity of our informing the reader who and what he was.

New diſcontents.

Which are heightened by Alcibiades.

IN point of birth he yielded to none, he was the ſon of *Clinias*, the nephew of *Pericles*, and deſcended lineally from *Ajax*; in his perſon he was ſo beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comelineſs; his fortune was large, and beyond moſt of the nobility in *Athens*; as to his parts, *Cornelius Nepos* ſeems to have drawn his juſt character in ſaying,

His character.

ing, that nature in him had exerted her utmoſt force, ſince whether we conſider his virtues or his vices, he was diſtinguiſhed from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to put on all theſe virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a looſe to his paſſions, he was indolent, luxurious, diſſolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate and inclined to prophaneneſs. It was a great advantage to him, that *Socrates* had a great friendſhip for him, or, as the *Greeks* ſtiled it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners, and brought him to the knowledge of many things of which otherwiſe he would have been ignorant; but alſo gave the *Athenians* hopes of him, and kept them from reſenting thoſe wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilſt a lad; by his mother's ſide he was deſcended from the *Alcmeonidæ*, and his anceſtors by the father's ſide had been always upon good terms with the *Lacedæmonians*. *Clinias* had indeed diſclaimed his friendſhip with that people, but *Alcibiades* renewed his title to it, and affected to ſhew a mighty reſpect to *Lacedæmonian* ſtrangers. But when he obſerved the embaſſadors of that ſtate applied themſelves wholy to *Nicias* and his dependants; he reſented it ſo much, that he began inſtantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out that the *Lacedæmonians* were not hearty in their laſt treaty, and that *Nicias* was more a friend to them than was conſiſtent with his duty to his country.

He raiſes jealouſies in the people againſt Nicias.

In proof of the firſt he alledged, that the *Spartans* were now taking meaſures for humbling *Argos* and her allies, that they might afterwards bring down *Athens*. As to the latter he put his countrymen in mind of the coldneſs *Nicias* had ſhewn when they would have ſent him with a fleet to make a deſcent on *Sphacteria*; the iſſue of all this was, that the people began to entertain a diſtruſt both of their old general, and of their new allies. Shortly after this came embaſſadors from *Lacedæmon* to court the *Athenians*, and to teſtify their opinions as to the ſincerity of that ſtate; theſe miniſters at firſt applied themſelves to *Nicias*, who introduced them to the ſenate, where they declared they were veſted with full power to adjuſt all differences, and to add ſuch new clauſes to the treaty already ſubſiſting as might give ample ſatisfaction to the *Athenians*. When they retired from thence, *Alcibiades*, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his houſe, where he expoſtulated with them on their attaching themſelves to *Nicias*, aſſured them of his friendſhip, and as a proof thereof, adviſed them to deny in the general aſſembly of the people that they were veſted with full powers, under pretence that the acknowledging thereof would induce

induce the *Athenians* to extort unreasonable compliances. When therefore the embassadors came into the forum, *Alcibiades* first stood up and asked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they answered, No. *Alcibiades* turning to the people, said, *You see, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to these* Lacedæmonians, *who deny to you to-day what they solemnly affirmed yesterday to the senate!* The people upon this absolutely refused to hear the *Lacedæmonians* speak. *Alcibiades* immediately afterwards recommended the cause of the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, who at that time sought the friendship of *Athens*; but before they could come to a conclusion an earthquake happened, which of course dissolved the assembly.

Nicias's *negotiations at* Sparta *ineffectual.*

AT the next meeting, *Nicias* proposed that he might be sent embassador to *Sparta*, before any harsh resolutions were taken, which the assembly complied with; but when *Nicias* came to *Lacedæmon* he found there a party as unreasonable as that which he had left at *Athens*; for they would not give him any sort of satisfaction with respect to his demands, and only swore anew to the old alliance, merely that they might seem to do something for the sake of their old friend. Upon his return, the *Athenians* concluded a league with the *Argives* and other states before mentioned for a hundred years, which *Alcibiades* who promoted it looked upon as a master-piece in politics, because thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a distance in case the feuds between *Sparta* and *Athens* were revived, a thing which was much easier foreseen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this *Peloponnesian* war [c] (R).

A league for a hundred years between the Athenians *and* Argives.

THE

[c] THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR. lib. xii. PLUT. in vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(R) We thought it necessary to insert here the league itself, as it stands in *Thucydides*, for many reasons: first, because it enlightens the history; secondly, for that it shews the policy of those times, and that the treaties of the ancient *Greeks* were no less perfect and explicit than ours; thirdly, that it might serve as an authority to demonstrate the truth and solidity of this history: thus it runs:

"The *Athenians* and *Argives*, "and *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, "for themselves, and for the "confederates commanded by "every of them, have made an "accord for an hundred years, "without fraud or damage, both "by sea and land. It shall not "be lawful for the *Argives*, nor "*Eleans*, nor *Mantineans*, nor "their confederates, to bear arms "against the *Athenians*, or the "confederates under the com-"mand of the *Athenians*, or "their confederates, by any "fraud or machination whatso-"ever; and the *Athenians*, *Ar-"gives* and *Mantineans*, have "made league with each other "for a hundred years on these "terms. If any enemy shall in-

Alcibiades's *advice to the inhabitants of* Argos *and* Patræ.

THE next ſummer *Alcibiades* at the head of a conſiderable army, paſſed over into the territory of *Argos*, and from thence to

" vade the territory of the *Athe-*
" *nians*, then the *Argives*, *Ele-*
" *ans*, and *Mantineans* ſhall go
" unto *Athens* to aſſiſt them, ac-
" cording as the *Athenians* ſhall
" ſend them word to do, in the
" beſt manner they poſſibly can.
" But if the enemy, after he
" have ſpoiled the territory ſhall
" be gone back, then their city
" ſhall be held as an enemy to
" the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Manti-*
" *neans*, and *Athenians*, and war
" ſhall be made againſt it by all
" thoſe cities, and it ſhall not
" be lawful for any of thoſe ci-
" ties to give over the war with-
" out the conſent of all the reſt.
" And if any enemy ſhall invade
" the territory either of the *Ar-*
" *gives*, or of the *Eleans*, or of
" the *Mantineans*, then the *A-*
" *thenians* ſhall come into *Argos*,
" *Elis*, and *Mantinea*, to aſſiſt
" them in ſuch ſort as thoſe ci-
" ties ſhall ſend them word to
" do, in the beſt manner they
" poſſibly can. But if the e-
" nemy, after he hath waſted
" their territory, ſhall be gone
" back, then their city ſhall
" be held as an enemy both
" to the *Athenians*, and alſo to
" the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Man-*
" *tineans*, and war ſhall be made
" againſt it by all thoſe cities,
" and it ſhall not be lawful for any
" of them to give over the war
" againſt that city without the
" conſent of all the reſt. There
" ſhall no armed men be ſuffered
" to paſs through the dominions
" neither of themſelves, or of
" any the confederates under
" their ſeveral commands, to
" make war in any place what-
" ſoever, unleſs by the ſuffrage
" of all the cities, *Athens*, *Argos*,
" *Elis*, and *Mantinea*, their paſ-
" ſage be allowed. To ſuch as
" come to aſſiſt any of the o-
" ther cities, that city which
" ſendeth them ſhall give main-
" tenance for thirty days after
" they ſhall arrive in the city
" that ſent for them, and the
" like at their going away. But
" if they will uſe the army for a
" longer time, then the city
" that ſent for them ſhall find
" them maintenance at the rate
" of three oboles of *Ægina* a-
" day for a man of arms, and of
" a drachma of *Ægina* for a
" horſeman. The city which
" ſendeth for the aids, ſhall have
" the leading and command of
" them whilſt the war is in their
" own territory: but if it ſhall
" ſeem good unto theſe cities to
" make war in common, then
" all the cities ſhall equally par-
" ticipate of the command. The
" *Athenians* ſhall ſwear unto the
" articles both for *themſelves*
" and for their confederates;
" and the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Man-*
" *tineans*, and the confederates
" of theſe, ſhall every one ſwear
" unto them, city by city, and
" their oath ſhall be the greateſt
" that by cuſtom of the ſeveral
" cities is uſed, and with moſt
" perfect hoſts, *i. e.* beaſts offer-
" ed in ſacrifice, and in theſe
" words:

" I will ſtand to this league
" according to the articles there-
" of, juſtly, innocently, and ſin-
" cerely, and not tranſgreſs *the*
" ſame by any art or machina-
" tion whatſoever.

" This oath ſhall be taken at
" *Athens* by the ſenate, and the
" officers of the commons, and
" adminiſtred by the *Pritanies*.
" At *Argos* it ſhall be taken by
" the ſenate, and the council of
" eighty, and by the *Artynæ*,
" and adminiſtred by the coun-
" cil

to *Patræ*; he laboured at both places to perſuade them to build walls to the ſea, that ſo they might the more eaſily receive aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*. The *Patræans* thinking to ſhew their wiſdom and foreſight, expoſtulated with *Alcibiades*, telling him, that if they took his advice, the *Athenians* might in time ſwallow them up. I do not know, anſwered he, but they may, yet they muſt begin at the feet, and eat you by degrees, whereas if the *Lacedæmonians* are your enemies, they will begin at the head, and devour you all at once. The *Argives* thought this year to have made themſelves maſters of *Epidaurus*, but were hindered by the *Lacedæmonians* putting a garriſon into it of three hundred men, whereupon the *Athenians* brought back the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians*, and reſettled them in *Pylus*; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that ſtiled the *Peloponneſian*, yet no action was undertaken therein [f].

Truce between the Spartans and Argives.

THE next ſummer the *Spartans* drew together a very great army, which under the command of *Agis* their king, entered the territory of *Argos*, where the confederate army lay; but as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was ſuddenly concluded by two of the *Argive* generals, and the king of *La-*

[f] THUCYD. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

"cil of eighty. At *Mantinea* it ſhall be taken by the pro-curators of the people, and by the ſenate, and by the reſt of the magiſtrates, and adminiſtred by the *Theori*, and by the tribunes of the ſoldiers. At *Elis* it ſhall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the officers of the treaſury, and by the council of ſix hundred, and adminiſtred by the procurators of the people, and by the keepers of the laws. This oath ſhall be renewed by the *Athenians*, who ſhall go to *Elis*, and to *Mantinea*, and to *Argos*, thirty days before the olympian games, and by the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, who ſhall come to *Athens* ten days before the *Panathæan* holy days. The articles of this league and peace, and the oath ſhall be inſcribed in a pillar of ſtone by the *Athenians* in the citadel; by the *Argives* in their market-place, within the precinct of the temple of *Apollo*; and by the *Mantineans* in their market-place, within the precinct of the temple of *Jupiter*; and at the olympian games, now at hand, there ſhall be erected jointly by them all a brazen pillar in *Olympis* (with the ſame inſcription). If it ſhall ſeem good to theſe cities to add any thing to theſe articles; whatſoever ſhall be determined by them all in common council, the ſame ſhall ſtand good (92)."

(92) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. v.*

cedæmon, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill treated by their reſpective citizens. Some ſhort time after, an *Athenian* army conſiſting of a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, arrived at *Argos*, whereupon the *Argives* renounced the truce with *Lacedæmon*, and began the war again. The *Athenian* troops were commanded by *Laches*, and *Nicoſtratus*, but *Alcibiades* was in it as a volunteer without command; he it was who perſuaded the *Argives* to beſiege *Orchomanus*, and ſoon after *Tegea*; but the career of their victories was ſoon ſtopped, for *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a great army, came to give them battle; it was fought in the neighbourhood of *Mantinea*, and is very accurately deſcribed by *Thucydides*; in it the *Argives* and their confederates were at firſt victorious in one wing, but the *Lacedæmonians* prevailing in the center, and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the *Argives* and defeated them alſo, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in the right of which they erected a trophy. The *Eleans* and *Athenians* however, after this battle inveſted *Epidaurus*, and threw up entrenchments around it; in the winter a ſtrong party in *Argos* joining with the *Lacedæmonians*, that city broke off her league with *Athens*, and renewed it with *Sparta* for fifty years; in conſequence of which the *Argives* aboliſhed democracy, which hitherto had ſubſiſted in their city, and to compliment their new allies, not only ſet up an ariſtocracy among themſelves, but aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians* with a conſiderable body of troops, to force the *Sicyonians* upon the ſame meaſure; thus ended the fourteenth year after the *Peloponneſian* war, which was now opened again with circumſtances more dangerous than before.

Which the latter renounce.

The battle of Mantinea. Year of the flood 1971. Before Chriſt 417.

Argos *renews her league with* Sparta.

And a-new renounces it.

In the very next ſummer *Argos* changed her party again, for falling into an early diſlike of ariſtocracy, which to thoſe who were free before ſeemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the *Lacedæmonians* in their city, and upon ſuch of their own citizens as they thought were of their party, and having killed ſome, and baniſhed others, they renounced their new made league with *Sparta*, and renewed their old one with *Athens*. They likewiſe began to follow the advice which *Alcibiades* had given them, and with indefatigable induſtry wrought on the long walls which were neceſſary to join their city with the ſea. The *Athenians* in the mean time being convinced that *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia* had betrayed them, and been the chief occaſion that their expeditions againſt the *Chalcideans* and the city of *Amphipolis* had miſcarried, they renounced their league with him, and declared war againſt him. Theſe were the events of the fifteenth year [g].

[g] Thucyd. Diodor. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

Alci-

Alcibiades at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ships into the territories of *Argos*, to assist his friends, and to put an end to the disputes which reigned in that city; in order thereto, he caused three hundred of the inhabitants, who were suspected of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, to be seized and carried away; after which they sailed to the island of *Melos*, which though but small, and of inconsiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obstinacy against the *Athenians*; the general contented himself with besieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned the siege into a blockade, and leaving a considerable body of forces in his lines here, turned to *Athens*. *Philocrates* the son of *Endemus*, being afterwards sent with supplies to the camp before *Melos*, he reduced the place to such distress, that the inhabitants yielded at discretion; whereupon the *Athenians* put every man who was able to bear arms to the sword, and carried the women and children captives to *Athens* (S). The *Athenians* from *Pylus* made various incursions into *Laconia*, which the *Lacedæmonians* did not resent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their subjects to make reprisals on the *Athenians*. As to the affairs of *Macedonia* they received no very material alteration, except that the *Athenians* made some incursions into the territories of king *Perdiccas*; these were the events of the sixteenth year of the war [h].

The capital of the island of Melos *besieged by* Alcibiades

Yeilds to Philocrates, *and is cruelly used*

THE *Athenians* determined in the beginning of this year to send a fleet into *Sicily*, to the assistance of the *Egistines*, engaged in a war with the *Syracusians*. *Nitias* was appointed commander in this expedition, and *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* were given him for his collegues. But while the necessary preparations were making, an accident happened, which put the whole city in confusion; the *Hermæ*, i. e. the statues of *Mercury*, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be discovered, notwithstanding a proclamation, offering impunity and reward to the informer;

The statues of Mercury *defaced at* Athens.

[h] THUCYD. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

(S) *Thucydides* and *Plutarch* both mention this extraordinary act of severity; but they differ pretty much with respect to the circumstances attending it. *Thucydides* speaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obstinate defence of the inhabitants of *Melos*. *Plutarch* says, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of *Athens*, which, if it was not proposed, was at least promoted by *Alcibiades*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates this fact also, but generally, and without any circumstances at all.

Alcibiades *accused of irreligion.*

yet in conſequence of a clauſe therein, inviting any perſon, in what condition ſoever, to diſcover former ſacrileges, ſome ſervants and ſlaves depoſed, that a long time before certain young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed ſome *religious* myſteries, and that *Alcibiades* was amongſt them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a proſecution againſt him, to which *Alcibiades* readily offered to anſwer, aſſerting his innocence, and proteſting againſt accuſations brought in his abſence; but his enemies being determined to deſtroy him, procured others to move that for the preſent he ſhould have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial ſhould be aſſigned him; to which propoſition he very unwillingly was forced to conſent. The fleet ſailed, but they had not been long in *Sicily* before orders from *Athens* arrived, directing *Alcibiades* to return, and abide his trial, the city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the *Mercuries.* It was a ſtate trick plaid off by the enemies of *Alcibiades* to ruin the mighty intereſt he had in *Athens*; to the ſame end they gave out, that he had entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city to the *Lacedæmonians*, and that he had perſuaded the *Argives* to undertake ſomething to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended that the cauſing him to be arreſted in the ſight of his army, might produce great commotions therein, thoſe who were ſent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to diſcover by any means the ſevere reſolution taken againſt him. They executed their commiſſion very exactly, ſo that *Alcibiades* and thoſe of his army, who were accuſed as well as he, had not any ſuſpicion; but in the courſe of their voyage, gathering from the ſeamen ſomewhat of what was intended, and being informed that a perſon out of fear of death had acknowledged himſelf guilty, and impeached them, they wiſely determined not to truſt an enraged and ſuperſtitious multitude, but to provide for their own ſafety, by withdrawing as ſoon as they had an opportunity; which offering itſelf quickly after, they gave their convoy the ſlip, and retired to ſuch parts of *Greece*, as out of hatred to the *Athenians*, were moſt like to give them ſhelter; as for *Alcibiades*, he afterwards went to *Sparta*, and was well received there.

And recalled from Sicily *to take his trial.*

He flies to Sparta, *where he is well received.*

Agis *king of* Sparta, *invades* Attica.

EARLY in the ſpring, *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a very numerous army of *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and other nations of *Peloponneſus*, invaded *Attica*, and according to the advice which *Alcibiades* had given, ſeized and fortified *Decelea*, which ſtood at an equal diſtance from *Athens* and the frontiers of *Bœotia.* But the greateſt misfortune that happened to the *Athenians*, during the whole courſe of this war, was

was that which befel them this year in *Sicily*, where they not only loſt the conqueſt they aimed at with the reputation they had ſo long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals. But as *Sicily* was the ſcene of theſe misfortunes, we ſhall relate them at length in the hiſtory of that iſland, and only add here in a note the private misfortunes of the *Athenian* commander (T).

WHEN

(T) We mean the misfortunes which were derived from the fear of the people, and his ſuperſtition; he carried with him into *Sicily* one *Stilbides*, a philoſopher, who had weaned him from many of his fo'lies, and had poſſibly ſaved him at laſt, if he had lived; but happening to die ſometime before the laſt defeat at *Syracuſe*, *Nicias* had no body about him, who could account for an eclipſe of the moon; for as to eclipſes of the ſun, *Pericles* had put their being ominous out of every body's head, by an action mentioned in note p. 447. In their laſt retreat, *Nicias*, in the midſt of his misfortunes, behaved with the greateſt dignity and compoſure; after he was taken priſoner, perceiving that the *Syracuſians* continued ſtill to maſſacre his ſoldiers, though they were abſolutely in their power, he threw himſelf at the feet of *Gylippus*, whom he addreſſed in theſe words: *In the midſt of victory*, O Gylippus, *ſuffer yourſelf to be touched with pity, not of me, whom on exceſs of miſery has made famous, but of thoſe unhappy* Athenians. *Conſider that fortune is never ſo changeable as in war, and do not forget how the* Athenians, *whenever they got the better of the* Lacedæmonians, *always uſed their victories with moderation and generoſity*. The *Lacedæmonian*, moved at this, raiſed up *Nicias*, and gave orders that the ſlaughter ſhould ceaſe; but thoſe orders were very indifferently obeyed, many hundreds being killed afterwards. Authors differ exceedingly about the melancholy cataſtrophe of this great man. *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Syracuſians*, againſt *Gylippus*'s will, put *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* to death; or, as the word literally ſignifies, cut their throats. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Timæus* wrote, that *Hermocrates* ſent the generals word, that the *Syracuſians* would put them to death, and that thereupon they ſlew themſelves. *Diodorus Siculus* is ſtill wider from *Thucydides* than any of the reſt; for he makes *Gylippus* the author of their death againſt the will of the wiſeſt of the *Syracuſians*, and has inſerted an oration of his to that purpoſe. *Juſtin* from *Trogus Pompeius* ſays, that *Demoſthenes* ſlew himſelf; but that *Nicias* ſubmitted, and was made priſoner; undoubtedly *Thucydides* deſerves moſt credit; with his account of the matter therefore we will cloſe this note:

"*Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* they "killed againſt *Gylippus*'s will. "For *Gylippus* thought the vic- "tory would be very honour- "able, if over and above all his "other ſucceſs, he could carry "home both the generals of the "enemy to *Lacedæmon*. And it "fell out, that one of them, "*Demoſthenes*, was their greateſt "enemy, for the things he had "done in the iſland and at *Py-* "*lus*; and the other upon the "ſame occaſion their greateſt "friend.

The allies of Athens *begin to waver.*

WHEN advices of these losses came to *Athens*, they were for a long time not believed; but when the thing could be no longer doubted of, they grew very angry with those who had advised the war, and with such as had pretended to publish prophecies and oracles in favour of it; they resolved however to take all necessary measures for supporting the dignity of the state, to leave the administration of affairs to grave and wise persons, to live with great frugality at home, and to treat their confederates better abroad; the expediency of these resolutions appeared suddenly, for as soon as the news of the defeat in *Sicily* was spread throughout *Greece*, all such as had been confederates with *Athens* began to shew their dislike of her, while the *Lacedæmonians* were preparing by all means whatsoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before.

The Athenians *equip a new fleet*

The *Athenians* caused the promontory of *Sunium* to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vast quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Are joined by the Chians.

IN the beginning of the next year, the *Chians* sought to revolt from *Athens*, and to put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a view to which they sent privately embassadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promised to send such a fleet as might protect them; but this promise was easier made than kept, and besides the *Athenians* got notice of it in the mean time, and sent a fleet to *Chios*. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that island with their perfidy, which they stiffly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of *Chios* knew nothing of what had been transacted with the *Lacedæmonians*. But

" friend. For *Nicias* had great-
" ly laboured to have those pri-
" soners which were taken in the
" island to be set at liberty, by
" persuading the *Athenians* to
" the peace: for which cause
" the *Lacedæmonians* were in-
" clined to love him. And it
" was principally in confidence
" of that, that he rendered him-
" self to *Gylippus*. But certain
" *Syracusians* (as it is reported)
" some of them for fear (because
" they had been tampering with
" him) left being put to the tor-
" ture he might bring them in-
" to trouble, whereas they were
" now well enough; and others
" (especially the *Corinthians*) fear-
" ing he might get away by cor-
" ruption of one or other (being
" wealthy) and work them some
" mischief afresh, having per-
" suaded their confederates to
" the same, killed him. For
" these, or for causes near unto
" these, was he put to death,
" being the man, that of all the
" *Grecians* of my time had least
" deserved to be brought to so
" great a degree of misery (93)."

(93) *Thucyd. lib.* vii. *prop. fin. Diodor. lib.* xiii. *Plut. in vit. Nic. Justin. lib.* iv. *c.* 5.

the

the *Athenian* general, to put the buſineſs out of diſpute, inſiſted that they ſhould ſend their quota to join the fleet of *Athens*, whereupon they were conſtrained to fit out immediately ſeven gallies, and to ſend them as he directed. After this the *Athenians* had ſeveral ſmall ſucceſſes at ſea, which not a little diſcouraged the *Peloponneſians*, who would ſhortly have loſt all their reſolution, if *Alcibiades* had not exerted his eloquence to perſuade them to carry on the war. He adviſed them to ſend him with a ſmall fleet to *Ionia*, where he promiſed to engage the cities to revolt from the *Athenians*, and to negotiate a league between *Sparta* and the great king, from whence he aſſured them, that ſuch advantages would be derived as muſt effectually ſink their rival. The *Lacedæmonians* coming at laſt into his meaſures, he paſſed over, as he had propoſed, into *Ionia*, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promiſed, which ſtruck the *Athenians* with ſuch a panic, that they inſtantly ordered a thouſand talents, which had hitherto been reſerved untouched, to be laid out in the ſervice of the war, for which alſo they made other great preparations. As ſoon as they were able they ſent ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips to ſea with directions to reduce, firſt of all, ſuch places as had revolted, and then to act generally againſt the *Peloponneſians*; moſt of theſe ſquadrons were ſucceſsful, ſo that *Leſbos*, *Claſomene*, and other places, which upon the proſpect of the downfal of *Athens*, had revolted from her, were conſtrained to fall under her dominion again.

Alcibiades *perſuades ſeveral ſtates in* Ionia *to revolt from the* Athenians.

Which are again reduced.

Alcibiades in the mean time acquitted himſelf well to the *Lacedæmonians*, by drawing *Tiſſaphernes* the king of *Perſia*'s lieutenant into the league with them. The *Spartans* however were diſpleaſed with the terms thereof, and ſought to have them altered, which gave the *Perſians* much diſtaſte. The hatred which *Agis* had conceived againſt *Alcibiades* for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he perſuaded the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend orders to their general in *Ionia* to put the *Athenian* to death, notwithſtanding all the ſervice he had done their ſtate. *Alcibiades*, gaining ſome intelligence of this, retired to *Tiſſaphernes*, and laying aſide the *Lacedæmonian*, as he had formerly done the *Athenian*, he became now a perfect *Perſian*; and by the politeneſs of his addreſs, gained ſo much on *Tiſſaphernes*, who was a profeſſed enemy to the *Greeks*, that he ſtiled his gardens of pleaſure, after he had been at vaſt expence in adorning them, *Alcibiades*, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the *Athenian* perceived that *Tiſſaphernes* placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a juſt light into the affairs of *Greece*; he told him, it was not for the intereſt of the *Perſian* king that *Athens* ſhould be deſtroyed, but on the contrary, that ſhe and *Sparta* might be maintained as rivals to each other,

Alcibiades *negotiates an alliance between* Tiſſaphernes *and the* Spartans.

Flies to the Perſians.

Hisprudent advice to the Perſians.

that the *Greeks* might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his master; but if it should at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he advised them to trust *Athens*, because she would be content with the dominion of the sea; whereas the pride of the *Spartans* would always instigate them to new conquests, and especially excite a desire of setting all the *Greek* cities at liberty. For the present he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promised to the *Peloponnesian* seamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependance, as also to countermand the order given to the *Phœnician* fleet, to join that of *Peloponnesus*.

Alcibiades endeavours to demolish the democracy at Athens.

WHEN *Tissaphernes* had given into these councils, *Alcibiades* privately wrote to some of the officers of the *Athenian* army which lay at *Samos*, intimating that he was now treating with the *Persian* on their behalf, adding that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was abolished. The reason offered by him to engage the *Athenians* to this proceeding, was, that the *Persian* king liked not a democracy, but should immediately trust and assist *Athens*, if the government was put into the hands of a few (U).

The Athenians *ready to sacrifice the democracy to the friendship of the* Persians.

THE *Athenians*, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of *Pisander*, and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propositions of *Alcibiades*, dissolved the democracy in defence of which they had so often and bravely

(U) *Phrynicus* the *Athenian* general, having a great antipathy to *Alcibiades*, and dreading his return, resolved to let nothing slip which might prevent it; he therefore not only gave his opinion against the proposition which *Alcibiades* had made, but also discovered it to *Astyochus*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* troops; this man, being brought over to the interest of *Tissaphernes*, revealed *Phrynicus*'s treachery. *Alcibiades* upon this wrote again to his correspondents at *Samos*, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. *Phrynicus*, when he had information of this, wrote a second time to *Astyochus*, reproaching him with betraying him, and discovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithstanding to betray the army he commanded at *Samos*, which lay in an open town, to the *Lacedæmonians*; which piece of intelligence *Astyochus* instantly revealed to *Alcibiades*. *Phrynicus* being aware of this, told his soldiers that the *Lacedæmonians* were about to attack them by land and sea, and that therefore they should throw up with all diligence a strong intrenchment round the town to defend themselves, which immediately they did; so that when *Alcibiades* wrote again concerning *Phrynicus*'s second treachery, his letters were disbelieved, because the general had taken such care for their safety. Such were the chieftains of *Greece* in these times, how unlike those who broke the power of *Persia*, and abandoned their country, rather than live in it in a state of dependence?

fought,

fought, or rather resolved to dissolve it, for it stood yet a small time. The issue of their present debates was, that *Pisander* with ten deputies should return and treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tissaphernes*, that it might be known on what terms the king of *Persia*'s friendship might be depended on; and in case they were reasonable, to declare, that the *Athenians* would vest the sovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival, *Alcibiades* discovered that *Tissaphernes* did not incline to help the *Athenians* at present on any terms, because they had been lately successful, and *Alcibiades* himself had taught him to help always the weaker party; when *Alcibiades* perceived this, he set up such high demands in the name of the *Persians*, that the *Athenians* themselves broke off the treaty, whereby he preserved both their friendship and that of *Tissaphernes*.

The democracy overturned in most places subject to Athens.

When *Pisander* and his collegues came to the army at *Samos*, they engaged them to favour the scheme for the alteration of government, and procured a commission to themselves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of *Athens*. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almost done their work without them, partly by cajoling the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms assassinating such as were friends to the people. It was at first proposed, that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when *Pisander* and his associates found the strength of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time *Oropus*, a strong city on the borders of *Bœotia*, revolted from the *Athenians*, whereby all *Eubœa* was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being desirous to revolt, and the disturbances at *Athens* giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time the twentieth year ended of the *Peloponnesian* war [h].

Oropus *revolts from the* Athenians.

New form of government established at Athens.

When *Pisander* and his associates first came from the army, they accused *Phrynicus* to the *Athenians*, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of consummate parts and prudence, and according to *Thucydides*, as honest as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in settling an oligarchy, *Alcibiades* would be afraid to trust it; there was likewise at *Athens* one *Antiphon*, a man of such mighty parts and eloquence, that

[h] Thucyd. lib. vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Nic. & Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos vit. Alcibiad.

the people were afraid of him to ſuch a degree, that he was conſtrained to avoid ſpeaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man deviſed a new frame of government, and having communicated it to *Piſander*, they contrived together a method whereby to eſtabliſh it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, propoſed that ten men ſhould be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, theſe ten appointed an aſſembly of the people at *Colonus*, a place without the city. When they came together there, inſtead of propoſing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, *That every* Athenian *might ſpeak his mind freely*, i. e. without danger from any of the laws; which being aſſented to, *Piſander* produced his ſcheme, which was, that the old form of government ſhould be diſſolved, and that five *prytanes* might be elected; that theſe five ſhould chuſe a hundred; that each of the hundred ſhould chuſe three; that the four hundred thus elected, ſhould become a ſenate with ſupreme power, and ſhould conſult the five thouſand only, when and on ſuch matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of *Athens* which was grown into diſlike with the people, who were notwithſtanding not over-fond of the new; but thoſe who were for it being ſuch as were men of great parts, found means to eſtabliſh it by force; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his veſt, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered ſuddenly into the ſenate houſe, diſſolved the old ſenate, paid them their ſalary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were conſtrained to ſubmit, not knowing what to do, or to whom they ſhould apply. The new ſenate choſe *prytanes*, or preſidents out of their own body, and began to eſtabliſh themſelves after the mode of moſt new governments, by blood, bones, and baniſhment; yet theſe ſeverities, though they were illegal, were not exceſſive, and as ſoon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough.

The new magiſtrates ſue to the Lacedæmonians *for a peace.*

THEY ſent embaſſadors to *Agis*, who lay with the *Lacedæmonian* army at *Decelea*, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the *Spartans* might better rely on them than on the democracy. But *Agis* was of another opinion; he could not imagine that the *Athenians*, who had ſtickled ſo much for democracy, would ſubmit patiently to an oligarchy, eſtabliſhed rather through the arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens; he therefore gave no anſwer to the embaſſadors ſent by the four hundred, but having ſignified his thoughts of the matter to the *Lacedæmonians*, procured a great recruit to be ſent him into

into *Attica*. On the arrival of theſe ſuccours, he marched boldly to *Athens*, not at all queſtioning but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raiſe a ſedition on his approach, and either ſubvert the government, or ſo weaken and diſtract the city, that the *Lacedæmonians* might eaſily take it: But he was quickly convinced of his miſtake, for the people of *Athens*, when he approached their walls, and ſent ſome advance parties to ſkirmiſh with them, attacked and routed thoſe parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with ſuch order and intrepidity, that *Agis*, after receiving ſome loſs, was conſtrained to retire again to his old poſt, from whence he ſent back the laſt forces he received to *Lacedæmon*. After this the four hundred ſent embaſſadors to him again, concerning whoſe negotiations we can ſay nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before.

Agis returns no anſwer, but marches to Athens.

Is forced to retire.

THE four hundred, knowing well that the army at *Samos* were generally inclined to a democracy, ſent ten deputies thither to appeaſe them, by perſuading them that the government now ſubſiſting at *Athens*, was only the beſt ſort of democracy, the dernier reſort not being in the four hundred, but in the five thouſand, a larger number than had ever aſſembled while the power was in the people: But theſe deputies were hardly gone from *Athens* before deputies of the army arrived there, ſignifying that they had reſtored the democracy at *Samos*, and that they were reſolved to adhere to that form of government; for which the four hundred ſent ſome of theſe deputies to priſon: But one *Carias*, who came from the army, made his eſcape, and got thither again, making a frightful report of the ſtate of things at *Athens*; upon which a ſedition enſued, that might have been very fatal to the ſtate; but moderate men interpoſing, the generals *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus* contented themſelves with taking an oath of all the ſoldiers to do their utmoſt to reſtore the power to the people, to fight againſt the *Peloponneſians* and other enemies of *Athens*, and never yield obedience to, or have any correſpondence with the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be ſteady in the meaſures they had taken, by repreſenting to them that they had not deſerted their city, but their city them; that their ſtrength was ſuperior to any that could be ſent againſt them by the four hundred, and that queſtionleſs on the public faith *Alcibiades* would come to them, and procure them aid from *Tiſſaphernes*, and the king. Theſe diſcourſes had their effect; the ſoldiers came unanimouſly into all that was required of them, choſe new officers that might be depended on, and when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the *Peloponneſians*.

The Athenian *army declare for a democracy.*

At the requeſt of *Thraſybulus* they recalled *Alcibiades*, who, on his arrival, made

And recal Alcibiades

made a moſt eloquent ſpeech to the army, ſhewing them the true ſource of his misfortunes, the injuſtice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the ſtate. Above all things he magnified the power and good-will of *Tiſſaphernes*, though he knew he had little authority for it; yet he could not be ſaid to deceive his countrymen, becauſe by this very method he compelled *Tiſſaphernes* to become their friend, inſtilling ſuch a ſpirit of jealouſy into the *Peloponneſians*, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility.

They create him general with full power.

THE ſoldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but ſailing directly to *Athens*, and reſtoring the ancient form of government there. *Alcibiades* oppoſed this extravagant meaſure; he told the ſoldiers, that ſince they had choſen him their general, he muſt return to *Tiſſaphernes* in order to diſpoſe things for the making a ſpeedy end of the war. The army came readily into this, as they did into every thing he deſired of them, and he departed accordingly. When he came to *Tiſſaphernes*, he gave him to underſtand that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power o the *Athenians* to be either great friends, or very troubleſome enemies to the ſubjects of the king; and that, whether they ſhould be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himſelf formidable to the *Perſians* by boaſting of the *Athenian* power, and neceſſary to the *Athenians* by the diſplay of his intereſt with the *Perſians*.

As to the *Peloponneſians*, their affairs went wrong every where, and all through the procurement of *Alcibiades*: Their army mutinied, and forced their general to fly to a ſanctuary; *Tiſſaphernes* with-held their pay, and deluded them with promiſes of a fleet; they on the other hand diſtruſted *Tiſſaphernes*, and neither knew what meaſures to take, nor whom to truſt. When *Alcibiades* came back to the *Athenian* army, he diſpoſed them to hear reaſon, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it. The deputies from *Athens* had ſtayed all this while at *Delos*, being afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the ſoldiers having paſſed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of *Alcibiades*, however, they were allowed to come and deliver their meſſage; but no ſooner had they done this, than the army cried out as vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourſe with the tyrants, but ſail to *Athens*, and reſtore the government; but *Alcibiades* ſtill interpoſed; he ſhewed that if ſuch a courſe was taken, all *Ionia* and the *Helleſpont* would be immediately loſt; ſo that if they pretended to be true patriots, they muſt

Alcibiades *his power with the army.*

remain

remain where they were, and defend the dominions of the ſtate. To the deputies he gave this anſwer, that they ſhould immediately return to *Athens*, and to acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to reſign their power, and to reſtore the ſenate they had ejected; that as to the five thouſand, they might retain their authority, provided they uſed it with moderation, and that they ſhould remember to look well to the concerns of their country at home, ſince, if they betrayed *Attica*, or the army deſerted *Athens*, a reconciliation would not reſtore the miſchiefs ſuch wrong ſteps might create.

All things in confuſion at Athens.

ON the return of theſe deputies to *Athens*, all things were in confuſion, few regarding the public, almoſt all anxious for their particular intereſt. *Phrynicus* knowing upon what terms he ſtood with *Alcibiades*, laboured to maintain the government in being; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the army. The former were the ſtronger party, and that they might make a proper uſe of their ſtrength, they diſpatched away embaſſadors to *Sparta*, deſiring peace upon any terms; they likewiſe ordered the *Pyræum* to be fortified towards the ſea, upon which *Theramenes*, who was at the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy, which was rendered the more probable by the coming of a fleet of forty *Peloponneſian* ſhips upon the coaſt; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hundred ſought firſt to maintain themſelves in the ſovereignty they had acquired; but if that could not be done, to preſerve at leaſt the city under their dominion; and in caſe that likewiſe failed, to make a compoſition for themſelves, by giving it up to the *Peloponneſians*; for at all events they were reſolved to prevent a popular government from being reſtored, not doubting, that if once that was done, they ſhould fall victims. *Phrynicus*, who was ſent at the head of the embaſſy to *Sparta*, being able to effect nothing, returned, and on his return was ſtabbed in the forum; after which *Theramenes* and his party growing bolder, ſeized the chiefs of the four hundred, upon which a tumult enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not *Thucydides* the *Pharſalian* interpoſed, and engaged the people to be quiet. The ſoldiers, however, inſiſted on demoliſhing the new works in the port, which for the ſake of ſafety was permitted.

Phrynicus *murdered.*

New form of government propoſed.

THE next day the four hundred, though in great fear, aſſembled in the ſenate-houſe, and ſent ſome of the members to appeaſe the people, promiſing to ſet all things right, and to make every thing eaſy; in order to which, they propoſed that they ſhould be allowed to chuſe five thouſand men, who ſhould elect four hundred by turns to govern the ſtate, beſeeching

ſeeching their countrymen not to deſtroy themſelves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that at a certain day a general aſſembly ſhould be convoked for ſettling the ſtate, but when that day came, and the aſſembly was convened, news was brought that the *Lacedæmonian* fleet ſteered directly for *Salamis*, which put all things in confuſion again; for inſtead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crouds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for *Eubœa*, whither immediately a fleet from *Athens* was ſent, under the command of *Thymochares*; but this fleet had little ſucceſs, for being attacked by the *Peloponneſians* without, and betrayed by the *Eretrians* on ſhore, they were miſerably defeated, twenty-two ſhips out of thirty-ſix being taken, moſt of the others ſunk or diſabled, and all *Eubœa*, except *Orcus*, revolting. When this news came to *Athens*, the wiſe and the unwiſe gave up all things for loſt, the defeat of *Sicily* ſeeming a ſmall thing to this, becauſe they had now neither fleet nor army, and had loſt *Eubœa*, from whence the city received greater ſupplies than from *Attica* itſelf; certain it is, that if the *Spartans* had known their own ſtrength, they would have ſailed directly to *Athens*, and put an end to the war; but being always ſlow, and eſpecially ſo in naval affairs, they gave the *Athenians* time, which of all things they wanted moſt; when they had gained this, they wrought ſo hard at their gallies, that in a ſhort ſpace they equipped a fleet of twenty ſail; the power of the four hundred they aboliſhed by law, conferred the ſovereignty on the five thouſand, and acted in all other reſpects, eſpecially in recalling *Alcibiades*, with ſuch prudence, moderation, and firmneſs, that *Thucydides* thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed ſo happy a temperature as at this time. *Piſander* and the reſt of the vehement ſticklers for oligarchy, withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at *Samos*, and to the view of thoſe things which were performed in *Ionia*.

The Athenian *fleet defeated by the* Lacedæmonian

A new fleet built and equipped.

New form of government introduced.

Tiſſaphernes going to *Aſpendus*, where the *Phœnician* fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promiſes he had made to the *Peloponneſians*. *Alcibiades*, however, perſuaded the *Athenians*, that he meant nothing leſs, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to paſs, ſailed with thirteen gallies to *Aſpendus*, where he held frequent conferences with the *Perſian* lieutenant, embroiling him thereby ſo effectually with the *Peloponneſians*, and they with him, that he deſtroyed all their affairs. In his abſence an engagement happened between the *Peloponneſian* fleet, under the command of *Mindarus*, which conſiſted of ſeventy-three ſail, and that of *Athens*, under the command of *Thraſybulus*, conſiſting only of fifty-five:

The Athenians *defeat the* Lacedæmonians *at ſea.*

At

At firſt the *Peloponneſians* had the advantage, ſinking ſome of the *Athenian* ſhips, and running others on ſhore; but purſuing the advantage too eagerly, and breaking their line, the *Athenians* ſupplied, by their great ſkill in maritime affairs, their defect in force, and intirely defeated the *Peloponneſians*, taking twenty-one of their ſhips: It is true, they loſt fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, though dear bought, was a prodigious advantage; it raiſed the hopes of the *Athenians*, gave new life to their affairs, and ſaved all *Ionia*, and the *Helleſpont*.

Take Byzantium, and gain other advantages.

A FEW days after, the *Athenians* took eight gallies coming from *Byzantium*, which had revolted preſently after they reduced that city, and grievouſly fined its inhabitants for their diſobedience. *Alcibiades* returning with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, with which ſquadron he conſtrained the *Halicarnaſſeans* to pay a large ſum of money, and fortified *Cos*. The news of theſe advantages coming to *Athens*, mightily enlivened the people, and inſpired them with hopes of recovering *Eubœa*, and putting an honourable end to the war. Theſe events fell out in the ſummer of the twenty-firſt year of the war [1] (W).

The Athenians gain another victory at ſea.

Year after the flood 1938. Before Chriſt 410.

Doricus, admiral of the *Italian* gallies, paſſing to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Helleſpont*, found the *Athenians* in his way at *Seſtos*, whereupon he fled to *Dardanum*, and landing his men, endeavoured from the ſhore to defend his ſhips, which he cauſed to be hauled on the beach. The *Athenian* fleet, however, attacked him, and were upon the very point of making themſelves maſters of all his gallies, when *Mindarus*, the *Peloponneſian* admiral, came to his aſſiſtance, with a navy of eighty-four ſail. The *Athenians* thereupon relinquiſhed their firſt enterprize, and prepared for a general engagement, *Thraſybulus* commanding the right wing,

[1] THUCYD. l. viii. prope fin. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN. l. v.

(W) Here we take leave of our old and ſure guide *Thucydides*: who concludes his hiſtory at this point of time. The hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* war was continued by *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*; the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next ſeventeen years, that of the latter the next forty-eight. *Theopompus*'s writings are ſwallowed up by time, but it may be great part of their contents are preſerved by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Grecian* Hiſtory of *Xenophon* remains ſtill in our hands, but imperfect, the hiſtory of the preſent war from the end of the 21ſt ſummer to that of the 23d being wanting. However, with the help of *Plutarch* and *Diodorus*, we ſhall be able to ſupply that deficiency.

and *Thraſyllus* the left. *Mindarus*, with his *Lacedæmonian* ſhips, had the right in the *Peloponneſian* fleet; and *Doneus*, with the *Syracuſian* gallies, were in the left. *Pharnabazus*, with a *Perſian* army, lay hard-by on the ſhore, on whoſe aſſiſtance the *Peloponneſians* knew they might depend. *The Athenians*, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, fought with great reſolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty ſail appeared in view; neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickened their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival. When they drew near, the admiral's galley hoiſted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to *Alcibiades*. The *Peloponneſian* fleet immediately broke and fled; the *Athenians* took ten ſhips, and if a mighty tempeſt had not ariſen, would have taken many more. *Mindarus* was conſtrained to run his ſhips into any port, and marched with his men to join *Pharnabazus*, who effectually protected them from the *Athenians*.

Eubœa *joined to the continent.*

THE *Eubœans* having almoſt generally deſerted the *Athenians*, the *Bœotians* propoſed to them the joining their country, by an artificial iſthmus, to the continent, to which they aſſented, and herein they ſucceeded in ſpight of the oppoſition given them by the *Athenians*, and the rapidity of the *Euripus*, the arm of the ſea they were to fill up. *Theramenes* the *Athenian* admiral finding it impoſſible to hinder this deſign from taking effect, he ſailed away to other places, particularly to *Paros*, reduced them again under the *Athenian* government, and levied exorbitant fines upon ſuch as he conceived had willingly deſerted him; after which he ſailed to join the grand fleet, under the command of *Thraſybulus*.

SOME time after this conjunction, advice came that *Mindarus*, by the aſſiſtance of *Pharnabazus*, had taken *Cizicum* by ſtorm, upon which it was reſolved to ſail directly thither and fight them. When, therefore, the *Athenian* fleet had coaſted the *Cherſoneſus*, and were arrived at *Preconneſus*, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of *Chares*, directed him to march ſtrait to *Cizicum*; as to the fleet, they divided it into three ſquadrons, the firſt led by *Alcibiades*, the ſecond by *Theramenes*, and the third by *Thraſybulus*. *Alcibiades* with his ſquadron ſailed in

Alcibiades *gains two complete victories on the ſame day.*

ſight of the *Peloponneſian* fleet, upon which *Mindarus*, having with him eighty ſail, put to ſea, to give him battle. *Alcibiades*, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the *Peloponneſians* purſued him with great joy, when on a ſudden *Alcibiades* made a ſignal for a new line. The *Peloponneſians* looking about them, ſaw the ſquadrons of *Theramenes* and *Thraſybulus*, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the ſhore; upon this, altering their courſe, they

they endeavoured to get into *Cleros*, a port near *Pharnabazus*'s camp; *Alcibiades* purſued them thither, ſinking and taking their ſhips all the way: When they came to the ſhore, however, *Pharnabazus* ſent them ſuch aid, that the *Athenians* ſuffered in their turns. *Thraſybulus* then landed his men to their aſſiſtance, giving *Theramenes* orders to land alſo, to join *Chares*, and to come with all ſpeed to their aid. *Alcibiades* dealt with *Mindarus* and his *Lacedæmonians*; *Thraſybulus* fought bravely againſt the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, and their *Perſian* ſuccours, notwithſtanding they were much outnumbered, and were at laſt ſurrounded. In that inſtant *Theramenes* and *Chares* came in with their foot; the battle was long, and obſtinately fought, till *Mindarus* being killed, the *Perſians*, *Peloponneſians*, and *Lacedæmonians* all fled; and thus, to his immortal glory, *Alcibiades* gained a victory at ſea, and another at land, on the ſame day, took the enemy's whole fleet, and more ſpoil than his men could carry away.

WHEN the news of this ſucceſs reached *Athens*, the people were ready to run diſtracted; they immediately levied an army of a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and ſent thirty gallies to join *Alcibiades*, from whom, as he was now maſter of the ſea, they expected all things. The *Lacedæmonians* conceiving rightly of this war, that it would end in the deſtruction either of the one ſtate or the other, ſent *Endius* their embaſſador to *Athens* to propoſe a peace. This miniſter delivered himſelf to the aſſembly of the people, after the *Laconic* manner, in a ſhort, plain, and excellent ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed, that *Athens* had ſuffered more, and was like to ſuffer more than *Sparta* from this war; but inaſmuch as the evils occaſioned by war were hateful to all good men, he ſaid the *Spartans* deſired both to free themſelves, and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this account only they had ſent him to treat of peace. The people at firſt were inclined to reliſh what he ſaid, but one *Cleophon*, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a ſlave, but who had ſurreptitiouſly got his name inſerted in the roll of citizens, by a petulent harangue, put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to ſend back *Endius* without an anſwer. This was the laſt ſtep they had to take for perfecting their ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuſe peace again; and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that *Alcibiades* would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had been hitherto ſo unſteady, fix herſelf now to their ſide [m].

The Lacedæmonians propoſe a peace.

Their embaſſador ſent back without an anſwer.

[m] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. i. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN. lib. v. c. 4. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Alcibiad.

In the beginning of the next year, *Thrasybulus* having repulsed *Agis*, king of *Sparta*, who led an army to the gates of *Athens*, sailed with a great fleet, and a strong body of land-forces on board, to *Ephesus*, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to *Lesbos*, and other places, where he had better success. The *Spartans*, in the mean time, perceiving that the war was transferred far from *Greece*, attacked *Pylus* by sea and land, whereupon the *Athenians* sent a squadron under the command of *Anytus*, but he finding the wind directly against him, after he had been some days at sea, returned to *Athens*; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die; which sentence, however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner. In the mean time the garrison of *Pylus*, after having made an obstinate defence, rendered upon terms; and thus the *Lacedæmonians* pulled this thorn out of their side, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the *Megareans* surprized *Nisæa*, which so enraged the *Athenians*, that they immediately sent an army into that country, though it could be of no use. The *Megareans*, by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and some troops from *Sicily*, ventured a battle, wherein they were most shamefully beaten, the *Athenians* killing great numbers of them, and committing horrid devastations in their country. In the mean time *Alcibiades*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Theramenes*, did great things in the *Hellespont* and *Thrace*; at last they besieged *Byzantium*, then well fortified, and having in it a *Lacedæmonian* garrison, under the command of *Clearchus*; some of its inhabitants, however, betray'd it, and let in *Alcibiades* and his army; the garrison, however, and such of the *Byzantines* as adhered to them, made so gallant a resistance, that the *Athenians* were on the point of being driven out; which when *Alcibiades* saw, he caused proclamation to be made, that the *Byzantines* should be safe in their persons and effects, whereupon they turned out the garrison, which were all put to the sword, except five hundred, who were sent prisoners to *Athens*. This done, *Alcibiades* received *Byzantium* into favour [n].

Pylus *attacked by the* Spartans.

And taken.

The Megareans *defeated by the* Athenians.

Byzantium *submits to* Alcibiades.

Alcibiades *how received at* Athens.

In the beginning of the next year *Alcibiades* and *Theramenes* returned in triumph to *Athens*; they brought with them a fleet of two hundred ships, and such a load of spoils, as had never been seen in *Athens* since the *Persian* war. The people left their city destitute, that they might croud to the port to

[n] Xenophon. Diod. Sicul. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi supra.

behold

behold *Alcibiades* as he landed; old and young bleſſed him as he went by, and the next day, when he made an harangue in the aſſembly, they directed the record of his baniſhment to be thrown into the ſea, ordered the *Eumolpides* to abſolve him from the curſes he lay under, created him general with abſolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The ſweetneſs of his temper, his complacence to all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immenſe riches he brought, to the diſcharge of taxes, made the beſt of the *Athenians* ready to own that he deſerved the honours that were paid to him; neither did he long indulge to himſelf the enjoyment of his glory, but ſoon put to ſea, with a fleet of an hundred ſhips, in order to do further ſervice to his country.

Agis makes an attempt upon Athens.

He was ſcarce departed when *Agis*, king of *Sparta*, made a bold attempt upon *Athens*; he came with an army of twenty-eight thouſand men, in the night, to the very walls, ſlew the watch, and gained part of the walls. The *Athenians*, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning ſent out a body of horſe, equal to the cavalry of the *Peloponneſian* army; they fought under the walls, and in ſight both of the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*; at laſt the *Athenians* prevailed, and drove the *Peloponneſian* cavalry back on their foot, whereupon *Agis* retired, finding it impoſſible to prevail againſt the city. *Alcibiades*, in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of *Antiochus* his pilot, with ſtrict orders to do nothing till his return, ſailed into the *Helleſpont*, to aſſiſt ſome of the cities, which yet ſtood firm to the *Athenians*. When he was gone, *Antiochus* little regarding his orders, went and provoked *Lyſander*, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral to fight, which he, finding *Alcibiades* was abſent, very readily did. In this engagement the *Athenians* were beat, loſing fifteen ſhips, with *Antiochus* their commander. On the news of this defeat *Alcibiades* returned, and would have provoked *Lyſander* to a ſecond battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the *Athenians* being perſuaded, that this diſgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of *Alcibiades*, and liſtening alſo to certain ſtories they were told, that he correſponded with *Pharnabazus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, they inſtantly ſtripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were *Conon*, *Thraſybulus*, and *Pericles*, the ſon of the famous *Pericles*. *Conon* having demanded the fleet from *Alcibiades*, he readily yielded up his command, but refuſed to return to *Athens*. He then with his own ſhip paſſed over into *Thrace*, built a caſtle for his own ſecurity, and

Is repulſed.

Alcibiades diſcharged and ten generals named in his room.

erected a little principality in the sight of his many and potent enemies [o].

Victory over the Athenians *gained by* Callicratidas.

THE next year *Conon*, the *Athenian* general, engaged *Callicratidas*, the successor of *Lysander*, in a sea-fight, wherein he is said to have shewn greater conduct than any admiral before him had done, in the disposition of his fleet; however, he was worsted, lost thirty of his ships, and was closely besieged in *Mitylene*. News of this coming to *Athens*, the people were in great confusion; they admitted all sorts of persons to the freedom of their city, who would assist them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ships, which were sent away to *Samos*, where their fleet rendezvouzed, with strict orders to relieve *Conon* at any rate. In obedience to these commands, the whole fleet, consisting of an hundred and fifty sail, bore away from *Samos*: *Callicratidas* receiving advice thereof, leaving a force sufficient to block up the city, sailed with an hundred and fifty ships to *Malea*, a promontory of *Lesbos*. The same night that he arrived there, the *Athenian* fleet came to *Arginasæ*, a place over-against *Lesbos*. In the morning a general engagement ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy, till at last the *Lacedæmonian* admiral being sunk, the *Athenians* gained a great victory, with the loss, however, of twenty-five of their ships, with most of the men in them; but the *Peloponnesians* lost seventy-seven. It might have been expected, that the people of *Athens* would have been extremely grateful to those generals who had gained them this victory; but the very contrary happened, for *Theramenes* having accused his collegues of having taken no care to save the dying, or to pay the last rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled; two of them, not caring to trust the people, fled, but six of them returned home and stood their tryal, alledging that they were hindered by a tempest from doing what they were now accused of neglecting; but *Theramenes* making a most laboured and pathetic oration against them, in which he now and then stopped, that the cries of those who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have escaped in a meal-tub, and who deposed, that the people, when drowning, desired that the *Athenians* would revenge them on their generals, the people, against law and reason, condemned them all to death. *Socrates*, the philosopher, was at that time one of the prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. *Diomedon*, one of those who were condemned, rising up, desired to be heard, whereupon silence being made,

Who loses his fleet and life in a second engagement Year of the flood 1942. Before Christ 406.

The Athenian *commanders condemned and executed.*

[o] THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. CORN. NEPOS in vit. ejusd. JUSTIN. lib. V.

he

he ſpoke thus: *We all of us wiſh, ye men of* Athens, *and wiſh it from our hearts, that the ſentence pronounced againſt us may iſſue in the proſperity and happineſs of this city; but ſince we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but juſt and fit that you return thanks to* providence *for it.* They were then all hauled to execution, and ſuffered like brave men, with great reſolution, calmneſs, and fortitude; their names are *Diomedon*, *Thraſyllus*, *Calliades*, *Lyſias*, *Ariſtocrates*, and *Pericles*, the only ſon of the famous *Pericles.* A little while after the madneſs of the people turned the other way, *Cleophon*, the demagogue, who had been very buſy in this matter, was killed in a ſedition, upon which the reſt who had ſtirred in that affair fled, but *Calixenus*, who pronounced the ſentence, returned afterwards, and being hated by all men, was famiſhed to death [p].

THE next year the *Athenian* fleet aſſembled at *Samos*, under the command of *Conon*, while *Lyſander* took the command of what fleet the *Peloponneſians* had left; he being unable to fight with ſo ſmall a force, and having too great a one to lye idle, ſailed firſt to *Thaſus*, which he took, afterwards he ſailed to the coaſt of *Attica*, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he returned to his old ſtation, and ſome time afterwards beſieged and took *Lampſacus*. The *Athenians* hearing of this, ſailed under the command of *Conon* and *Philocles*, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ſhips; firſt to *Seſtos*, and then to the river *Ægos*, where *Lyſander* lay daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in ſtrength, refuſed. While they remained here, the *Athenians* grew idle and careleſs, and having a camp on ſhore, ſpent their time in revelling and drunkenneſs. *Alcibiades* reſiding in the neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he came therefore to the officers, and earneſtly beſought them to be more vigilant. He told them that *Lyſander* was both a wiſe and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They anſwered that they wondered at his aſſurance, who was an exile and a vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening if he came any more, to ſeize him and ſend him to *Athens*; they afterwards concluded among themſelves, what they ſhould do with the *Peloponneſians*, when they were taken priſoners, and reſolved, at the motion of *Philocles*, their general, to cut off their right hands, or, as *Plutarch* ſays, their right thumbs, that they might never be able to hold a ſpear, but tug at an oar. *Adiamantus*, one of their officers, could not help ſaying, that ſuch idle diſcourſe was unworthy of *Athenians*; for which they hated him.

Thaſus *and* Lampſacus *taken by* Lyſander.

[p] XENOPHON. DIOD. PLUT. CORN. NEP. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

Lyſander gains a compleat victory over the Athenians.

SOME days after, *Lyſander* taking his opportunity, fell upon them, while they lay in diſorder, both by ſea and land, and gained one of the moſt compleat victories recorded in hiſtory. *Conon* with eight gallies only eſcaping to *Cyprus*. Afterwards returning to *Lampſacus*, *Lyſander* puts *Philocles* and three thouſand captives, with all their officers, except *Adiamantus*, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates.

Reduces all the cities under the Athenians.

After this execution, he reduced all the cities, which had been under the *Athenian* power, diſmiſſing all their garriſons with great civility, that going home to *Athens*, the city might be full of people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to beſiege it, which ſoon after he did by ſea; while *Agis* king of *Sparta* came with a great land-army before it. For a long time the *Athenians* defended themſelves, without ſo much as demanding a peace, at laſt, being ſore preſſed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with *Agis*, but he referred them to *Sparta*; thither they ſent deputies, who offered to give up all things but their city and port. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, would liſten to nothing, unleſs their walls were demoliſhed. On the return of the ambaſſadors, *Archiſtratus* propoſed complying with thoſe terms to the aſſembly, for which he was impriſoned, many preferring death to ſlavery; at length *Theramenes* undertook to treat with *Lyſander*, who after a long attendance referred him to *Sparta*, whither with ſome other deputies he was preſently ſent. On their arrival they found the council of the confederates aſſembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter deſtruction of *Athens*, excepting only the *Spartans*, who declared they would not conſent to the ruin of that city, which had ſo well deſerved of *Greece*.

Athens beſieged by the Peloponneſians

Submits upon moſt diſadvantagious terms.

ON the return of *Theramenes*, peace was concluded upon theſe terms, that the long walls, and the fortifications of the port ſhould be demoliſhed, that they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips, except twelve, receive all they had baniſhed, and follow the fortune of the *Lacædemonians*. *Lyſander* cauſed the walls to be pulled down, all the muſic in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the *Perſians* at *Salamine*. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed an oligarchy expreſly againſt the will of the people; and thus the ruin of *Athens* ended the twenty-ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* war [q].

Year of the flood 1944. Before Chriſt 404.

The thirty tyrants.

As ſoon as *Lyſander* had demoliſhed the long walls, and the fortifications of the *Piræum*, he conſtituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to ſubjugate the ſtate. Theſe are the perſons ſo famous in

[q] XENOPHON Hellen. lib. ii. DIOD. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Lyſander. CORN. NEPOS in vit. ejuſd. JUSTIN. lib. xv.

hiſtory,

hiſtory, under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of *Lyſander*, mere impliments of power, who as they derived their riſe from conqueſt, and the law of the ſword, exerciſed their offices in a ſuitable manner; that is, with the higheſt teſtimonies of pride, inſolence, and cruelty. Inſtead of making laws, they governed without them, appointed a ſenate and magiſtrates at their will, and, that they might do all things without danger and controul, they ſent for a garriſon from *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of *Callidius*, upon their promiſe to pay the ſoldiers regularly. One of the firſt ſteps they took was to puniſh all informers, who by falſe accuſation had taken off honeſt men, and diſturbed the ſtate; this, though ſevere, was popular, but when through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over *Callidius* to their party, they ſuffered bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage againſt the good.

Their arbitrary adminiſtration.

Critias and *Theramenes* were at the head of the thirty, men of the greateſt power and abilities in *Athens*; the former was ambitious and cruel without meaſure, the latter retained ſome bowels for his country; the former puſhed on all the bloody ſchemes framed by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always oppoſed them at firſt with moderation, at laſt with vehemence. He ſaid, that power was given them to rule, and not to ſpoil the commonwealth, and that it became them to act like ſhepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to beware of rendering themſelves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being ſuch a handful of men as they were. The reſt diſliking much the former part of his diſcourſe, catched hold of the latter, and immediately choſe out three thouſand, whom they made the repreſentatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them ſhould be put to death, but by the judgment of the ſenate, thereby openly aſſuming a power of putting any other *Athenian* citizens to death by their own authority. A glorious uſe they made of this new-aſſumed privilege, for as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themſelves in particular, they put to death without cauſe and without mercy. *Theramenes* openly oppoſing this, and abſolutely refuſing to concur in ſuch meaſures, *Critias* accuſed him to the ſenate as a man of unſteady principles, ſometimes for the people, ſometimes againſt them, always for new things and ſtate revolutions. *Theramenes* owned that he had ſometimes changed his meaſures, but alledged that he had always done it to ſerve the people; he ſaid, that it was ſolely with this view, that he made the peace with *Sparta*, and accepted

Critias and Theramenes at the head of the thirty.

Their different ſentiments.

The bad uſe the thirty make of their power.

cepted the office of one of the thirty; that he had never oppoſed their meaſures, while they cut off the wicked; but when they began to deſtroy men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime againſt the ſtate.

Theramenes and many others unjuſtly put to death.

WHILE *Theramenes* was ſpeaking, *Critias* withdrew, perceiving that the ſenate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what *Theramenes* had ſaid; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out, that he had ſtruck *Theramenes*'s name out of the liſt of the three thouſand, that the ſenate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cauſe, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death. *Theramenes* perceiving, that they intended to ſeize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midſt of the ſenate-houſe, and laying his hands thereon, ſaid: *I do not ſeek refuge here, becauſe I expect to eſcape death, or deſire it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder, may intereſt the gods in bringing them to ſpeedy judgment, and thereby reſtore freedom to my country.* The guards then haled him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poiſon with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind with his laſt breath, that as they ſtruck his name out of the three thouſand, they might ſtrike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, ſo that in a ſhort time ſixty of the worthieſt and moſt eminent citizens of *Athens* fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongſt theſe the moſt pitied was *Niceratus*, the ſon of *Nicias*, a man univerſally beloved for his goodneſs, and univerſally admired for his virtues. As for the *Spartans*, they, loſing their former generoſity, were extremely pleaſed with theſe things, and by a publick decree commanded that ſuch as fled from the thirty tyrants ſhould be carried back bound to *Athens*; which extraordinary proceeding frightened all *Greece*; but the *Argives* and *Thebans* only had the courage to oppoſe it; the former received the *Athenian* exiles with humanity and kindneſs, the latter puniſhed with a mulct ſuch of their citizens as did not riſe and reſcue the *Athenian* priſoners, who in purſuance of the *Lacedæmonian* decree, were carried bound through their territories [r].

Thraſybulus makes an irruption into Attica, and ſeizes Phyla.

Thraſybulus and ſuch as were with him had taken ſhelter in the *Theban* territory, reſolved to hazard ſomething rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet conſidering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cauſe of his coun-

[r] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. ii. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Lyſand. Alcibiad. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Lyſand. JUSTIN. lib. v.

try,

try, made an irruption into *Attica*, where he ſeized *Phyla*, a caſtle at a very ſmall diſtance from *Athens*, and there in a very ſhort ſpace his forces were augmented to ſeven hundred men; and though the tyrants made uſe of the *Spartan* garriſon in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet *Thraſybulus* prevailed in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and at laſt conſtrained them to break up the blockade of *Phyla*, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantageous for them to have the poſſeſſion of *Eleuſina*, marched thither, and having perſuaded the people to go unarmed out of their city, that they might number them, took this opportunity moſt inhumanly to murder them. The forces of *Thraſybulus* increaſing daily, he at length poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Piræum*, which he fortified in the beſt manner he could, but the tyrants being determined to drive him from thence, came down againſt him with the utmoſt force they could raiſe. *Thraſybulus* defended himſelf with great obſtinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having loſt before the place not only a great number of men, but *Critias* the preſident of the thirty, another of the ſame body, and one who had been captain of the *Piræum*.

And the Piræum.

Critias *killed.*

WHEN they came to demand the dead from *Thraſybulus*, in order for their interment, he cauſed a cryer he had with him, to make a ſhort ſpeech in a very loud voice to the people, intreating them to conſider, that as they were citizens of *Athens* without, ſo thoſe againſt whom they fought, and who fought to preſerve themſelves within the fort, were *Athenian* citizens alſo, wherefore inſtead of thinking how to ruin and deſtroy their brethren, they ought rather to conſult how all differences ought to be compoſed, and eſpecially ought to rid themſelves of thoſe bloody tyrants, who in the ſhort time they had had the adminiſtration in their hands, had deſtroyed more than fell in the *Peloponneſian* war. The people, though moved by theſe diſcourſes, differed among themſelves, the conſequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and choſe ten men out of each tribe to govern in their ſtead, whereupon the tyrants retired to *Eleuſina*. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with thoſe in the *Piræum*, but ſent away deputies to *Sparta*, as did alſo the tyrants from *Eleuſina*, complaining, that the *Athenians* had revolted, and deſired their aſſiſtance to reduce them. The *Spartans* ſent thereupon a large ſum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed *Lyſander* commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, reſolving to ſend ſea and land forces to reduce *Athens* a ſecond time, intending, as moſt of the *Greek* ſtates ſuſpected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable that this deſign of theirs would

The tyrants expelled.

have

have taken effect, if *Pausanias*, king of *Sparta*, envying *Lysander*, had not resolved to obstruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raised against the *Athenians*, of which himself had the command, and with which he marched immediately to besiege the *Piræum*. While he lay before the place, and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correspondence with *Thrasybulus*, informing him what propositions he should make in order to force the *Lacedæmonians*, who were suspected by all their allies, to grant them peace [s].

A peace concluded between the Spartans *and* Athenians

THE intrigues of *Pausanias* had all the success he could wish; the *Ephori* who were with him *in the* camp concurred in his measures, so that in a short space a treaty was concluded on the following terms; that all the citizens of *Athens* should be restored to their houses and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had succeeded them, and who had acted no less tyrannically than they, and the eleven, who during the time of the oligarchy had been constituted governors or keepers of the *Piræum*; that all should remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to trust to this agreement, they should have free leave to retire to *Eleusina*. *Pausanias* then marched away with the *Spartan* army, and *Thrasybulus* at the head of his forces marched into *Athens*, where having laid down their arms, they sacrificed with the rest of the citizens in the temple of *Minerva*, after which the popular government was restored. Yet quiet was not thoroughly established, the exiles at *Eleusina*, having endeavoured by the help of money to raise an army of foreigners, by whose aid they might recover the authority they had lost; but first depending on their friends in the city, they sent some of the principal persons amongst them as deputies to treat with the citizens, but strictly instructed them to sow jealousies, and excite discords among them. Which the latter quickly perceiving, put these persons to death, and then remonstrating to those at *Eleusina*, that these contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the destruction of their country, they offered immediately to pass an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath.

The state of Athens *throughly resettled.*

THIS being accepted, those who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjusted, and both parties most religiously observed the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly resettled the state. In this whole transaction, the virtue of *Thrasybulus* deserves chiefly to be admired. When be first seized the castle of *Phyla*, the tyrants

[s] XENOPH. DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

privately

privately offered him to receive into their number inſtead of *Theramenes*, and to pardon at his requeſt any twelve perſons he ſhould name; but he generouſly anſwered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchaſed on ſuch terms; and by perſiſting in his deſign, accompliſhed, as we have ſeen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it was, ſince, as *Iſocrates* informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of law, and drove five thouſand more into baniſhment, procuring alſo the death of *Alcibiades*, as many think, though at a great diſtance from them (X).

MUCH

(X) We are here to ſpeak of the misfortunes of *Alcibiades*, a man who deſerved much of his country, and would have deſerved more, if her impatience had not prevented his ſervices, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of ſerving her. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not becauſe he had done any fault, but becauſe he had not performed all which the *Athenians* hoped from him: his ſucceſs in his firſt expedition had ſo elated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of atchieving any thing, which he deſired to atchieve, tho' his ſhips were ill-provided, and tho' he had no pay for his ſoldiers; when therefore he was ſent to *Chios* and *Ionia*, they concluded the firſt news they heard would be that he had reduced both. Being diſappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and perſecuted him anew, for not doing what in the nature of things, it was not poſſible he ſhould have done. With the public madneſs of the people conſpired the private envy of the chief men amongſt them. *Thraſybulus* began to diſlike him, and moſt of the ten commanders, who afterwards periſhed by popular rage, now buſied themſelves in turning it on him; of which when *Alcibiades* had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was fooliſh to ſtudy a defence againſt an accuſation, when it was poſſible to fly from it. In his expedition into *Thrace*, he made uſe of ſuch as offered their ſervice, and he did it with honourable intent; firſt to ſettle a ſecure retreat for himſelf, and ſecondly to preſerve the *Greek* cities in his neighbourhood, from the inſults of theſe *Thracians*, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, ſo they conſulted nothing but their own intereſt, preying, as occaſion ſerved, on any who were leaſt able to reſiſt. After the entire deſtruction of the *Athenian* fleet, and the flight of *Conon* to *Cyprus*, *Alcibiades* thought himſelf no longer ſafe in his caſtle; for the *Lacedæmonians*, his inveterate enemies, being now every where powerful, he was afraid they ſhould take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him; he therefore retired firſt into *Bythinia*, but finding himſelf not ſafe there, he went to *Pharnabazus*, who received him with great civility, and as he believed, with great friendſhip. In *Athens* the people ſighing under the thirty tyrants

MUCH about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was settled again in *Athens*, *Socrates* was condemned, and

tyrants, placed all their hopes in *Alcibiades*; they knew his love for his country, and they doubted not but he would make some effort to relieve her. The tyrants themselves expected the same thing, and especially *Critias* their chief, who had been his most intimate friend, and at whose motion the decree had been made for recalling *Alcibiades* from banishment; but the lust of power destroys all ties, whether of blood or affection. He who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and sending to *Lysander*, assured him, that *Athens* would never be quiet, or *Sparta* safe, till *Alcibiades* was destroyed. The *Lacedæmonian* general scorning to defile himself with an assassination, treated these notices with the contempt they deserved; but *Critias* applying to the magistracy of *Sparta*, procured an order to be sent from thence to *Lysander*, which he durst not obey. Upon receipt of this order, *Lysander* sent away a messenger to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to put it in execution. *Pharnabazus* committed the affair to *Magæas* his brother, and to his uncle *Susamethres*. *Alcibiades* resided at that time in a small village in *Phrygia*, together with *Timandra*, a mistress of his. As he slept he had this dream: He thought himself attired in his mistress's habit, and that she holding him in her arms, dressed his head, and painted his face as if he had been a woman. Others say, he dreamed that *Magæas* cut off his head, and burnt his body; and it is said, that it was but a little while before his death, that he had these visions. They who were sent to assassinate him, had not courage enough to enter the house; but surrounding it first, they set it on fire. *Alcibiades*, as soon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire, with a design to choak it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked sword in his right, he cast himself into the middle of the fire, and escaped securely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly the furniture and other materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him; but standing at a distance, they slew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own robes, the very best she had, she buried it as decently and as honourably as her present circumstances would allow. She buried him in a town called *Melissa*; and we learn from *Athæneus*, that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor *Adrian*, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of *Parian* marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull should be sacrificed to him annually. *Ephorus* the historian, as he is cited by *Diodorus Siculus*, gives quite another account of his death, than that before cited from *Plutarch*. He says, that *Alcibiades* having discovered

the

and put to death. He was not only a philoſopher, or one who in words profeſſed the love of wiſdom, but one who in deeds, as well as by his excellent ſayings, demonſtrated that he was truly wiſe. As a ſoldier he had been preſent in ſeveral engagements; in one he preſerved the life of *Alcibiades*, in another he carried off a friend of his, who was wounded upon his back, in a third he ſhewed as much courage and conduct as the moſt experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he ſerved, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with enduring hardſhips with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was deſired of him; for though he was exceedingly temperate, and ſtrictly ſober, yet if his company was deſired he refuſed not to go to entertainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refuſed to meddle at all with matters of ſtate, till he grew far in years, and was then elected to the ſenate by his tribe. He oppoſed, as we have already related, the judgment given againſt the generals for not burying the dead; though *Theramenes*, his friend had promoted it, and when he was called upon to put that judgment in writing, as his office required, he ſaid he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed it.

Socrates *the celebrated philoſopher.*

Several inſtances of his good nature.

AFTERWARDS he thought to reſcue *Theramenes*, when he was accuſed by his collegues; after his death, he continued to ſpeak his mind freely, which gave ſome umbrage to the thirty, who notwithſtanding ſuffered him to live, becauſe *Critias* was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindered him not from diſcloſing his mind to his aſſociates, particularly he ſaid one day to *Antiſthenes* on account of the eminent men, who were daily taken up, "Doth it repent thee, that we have "done nothing memorable, or at all comparable to what thoſe "monarchs have performed, who are celebrated in tragedies, "ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, *Agamemnon*, and *Egiſthus?* They "are in thoſe plays beheaded, feaſted with their childrens fleſh, "and ſome way or other deſtroyed at laſt; but no poet had "ever the hardineſs to introduce the death of a hog upon the

Gives umbrage to the thirty.

the deſign of *Cyrus* the younger to take up arms, informed *Pharnabazus* thereof, and deſired that he might carry this news to the king; but *Pharnabazus* envying that honour, ſent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himſelf, which *Alcibiades* ſuſpecting, went to *Paphlagonia*, and ſought to procure from the governor thereof letters of credence to the king, which *Pharnabazus* underſtanding, hired people to murder him. He was deſtroyed in the fortieth year of his age (1).

(1) *Plutarch. in vit. Alcibiad. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nep. in vit. Alcib. Athen. in Deipnoſ.*

"ſtage.

" ſtage." One of his friends complaining, that of late he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no poſt or office, *Socrates* demanded tartly, are you ſorry for it? At another time he delivered himſelf in a public converſation thus: " A " herdſman would be very diſingenious, who, in caſe the cattle " grew worſe, and the herd thinner, by his management, would " not confeſs himſelf an ill herdſman; but the governor of " a city would be yet more diſingenuous, if, ſeeing his citizens " grew worſe and thinner, he ſhould not own himſelf an ill " governor." Which being reported to the tyrants, *Critias* and *Charicles* ſent for him, and forbad him to converſe with any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed ſomewhere elſe than upon his ſhoulders; but not being yet ſatisfied of his fidelity to their government, they ſummoned him to the ſenate-houſe, and ordered him to go with ſome other *perſons*, whom they named, to ſeize one *Leon*, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way, that they might enjoy his eſtate; this commiſſion *Socrates* flatly refuſed, and not ſatisfied therewith, added alſo his reaſon for ſuch refuſal. *I will never willingly*, ſaid he, *aſſiſt an unjuſt act. Chericles* replied ſharply, *Doſt thou think*, Socrates, *to talk always in this high ſtyle, and not to ſuffer. Far from it*, added he, *I expect to ſuffer a thouſand ills, but none ſo great as to do unjuſtly.* Upon which he went directly home, where he would not have been long ſafe, if the tyrants had not *ſhortly* after been obliged to turn their thoughts to the *contriving* means for their own ſafety, rather than to project how to injure and deſtroy others.

The cauſe of his death

THE cauſe of this great man's death was the pique one *Anytus* had taken againſt him, who drew in *Melitus* a bold young man, and *Ariſtophanes* the comic poet. The laſt of theſe broke the ice firſt, brought *Socrates* upon the ſtage in a comedy of his, called the Clouds, wherein he repreſents him as a man given to a ſubtle fallacious way of arguing, whereby he could make a bad cauſe ſeem good, an introducer of new gods, whilſt himſelf worſhipped none, and as a petulent railer at thoſe things which others held ſacred. *Socrates* himſelf went to the theatre, where he ſat in the moſt conſpicuous place: and when one of his friends aſked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he anſwered, *Not at all; I fancy I am at a feaſt, where every one enjoys me.*

Complaint prefered againſt him to the ſenate.

A long time after this *Anytus* conceiving the ſeaſon now proper for the execution of that vengeance, which he had ſo long meditated, engaged *Melitus* to prefer a complaint againſt him to the ſenate, which he did in theſe words: Melitus, *ſon of* Melitus, *a* Pythian, *accuſeth* Socrates, *ſon of* Sophro-

Sophronicus, *an* Alopetian. Socrates *violates the law, not believing the deities whom the city believeth, but introducing other new* gods. *He violates the law likewiſe, in corrupting youth, the puniſhment death.* When the day of trial came on, *Melitus* opened the proſecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted, and had much ado to get thro' it. The crimes he therein alledged, were, that *Socrates* perſuaded his ſcholars to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of *Critias* and *Alcibiades*, that he taught young people to be diſreſpectful to their parents, by telling them that he would make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like nature. When he had done, *Anytus* began a long and malicious harrangue, wherein he was favourably heard; and after him *Lyco* in a ſet rhetorical ſpeech ſupported the accuſation. When theſe had done ſpeaking, *Socrates* went up into the orators deſk, and from thence uttered the ſpeech, which the reader will find at the bottom of the page (Y).

Plato

(Y) " I am ſurprized, O *Athenians!* how *Melitus* came " by this extraordinary piece of " knowledge, that I do not worſhip the gods the city worſhips. Others have ſeen me, " and ſo, if *Melitus* had pleaſed, " he might have done too, ſacrifice at common feſtivals in " the public altars; how do I " introduce new deities, when I " profeſs in all my actions to be " directed by the voice of God; " they who obſerve the notes of " birds, or the anſwers of men, " are guided by the voice. None " doubts of thunder, that it proceeds from the ſupreme power, " and is oraculous, that the " prieſteſs on the tripod conveys " to us by her voice, what ſhe " receives from the god, who " doubts? and that he foreknows future events, and communicates them to whom he " pleaſes, all men believe and " confeſs as well as I. Many call " ſuch as foretel future things, " ſooth-ſayers and diviners. I " aſcribe theſe things to the dæmon, and, I conceive, ſpeak " more religiouſly therein, than " they who fancy I know not " what divine power in birds; " that I am no impoſtor here- " in many can atteſt, who have " asked any advice, and never " found it fail; let ſuch as are " incredulous hear this alſo to " confirm their opinions; as to " my being favoured of the " gods, when *Cherephon* in the " preſence of many witneſſes, " inquired of the oracle at *Delphos* concerning me, *Apollo* an- " ſwered, that no man was more " free, more juſt, more wiſe; " yet the ſame god ſaid more of " *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* " law-giver, that he knew not " whether to call him a god or a " man. Me he compared not " with the gods, though he gave " me the priority amongſt other " men; but truſt not the gods " herein, conſider me exactly " yourſelves, whom have you " leſs a ſlave to ſenſual pleaſures? " whom more free? I accept " neither ſtipends nor gifts. " Whom more juſt than him, " who conforms himſelf ſo to " the

Condemned by a great majority.

Plato would also have spoken in his defence, and going up into the desk, opened his speech thus: *Though I*, Athenians, *am the youngest of those that come up into this place.* The people immediately cried out, *of those who go down*, which they constrained him to do, without allowing him to speak

" the present time, as that he " stands not in need of the de- " fence of any other? who will " say that he deserves not the " title of wise, who, since he " was able, never lost any op- " portunity of learning, by in- " quiry, all the good possible? " And that I took not the pains " in vain, is evident from hence, " that citizens and strangers, " studious of virtue, have pre- " fered my conversation to that " of other men. Why do you " think so many desire to oblige " me by gifts, whom they know " to have no capacity of requit- " ing them? or how can you " account for my engaging so " many, without requiring any " return from them? that when " the city was besieged, and " every one lamented the wretch- " edness of his condition, I " shewed no alteration of tem- " per, but remained the same " as before; that while others " lay out their money on exte- " rior things to please them- " selves, I furnish myself from " within, with such things as " please me better. If none " can controvert what I say, " how comes it to pass that I " deserve not commendation " both of gods and men, in- " stead of being charged as I " am now by you, *Melitus*, that " with these instructions I cor- " rupt youth. Every one knows " what it is to corrupt youth; " can you name one whom I of " religious have made impious, " whom from a modest deport- " ment, I have rendered impu- " dent, of a frugal disposition, " prodigal, of a sober habit, de- " bauched, of a hardy way of " life, effeminate? know ye " any of these?" " I know " those, answered *Melitus*, whom " you have persuaded to be more " obedient to *you* than to their " own parents." *With* respect " to instruction, I confess *I have*, " answered *Socrates*, for that " was my sphere, not theirs. In " regard to their health, men " consult physitians, before their " parents; in law-suits they ap- " ply to counsel, not to cousins; " and in war you inquire as to " your general's skill in arms, " not who are his allies." " With " good reason, cried *Melitus*, " and fit we should." " *Is it so*, " said *Socaates?* If others are " preferred for such things, as " they excel in, and with rea- " son too, can you think it fit, " because in the opinion of some " I have an advantage beyond " others in educating youth, " which is a matter of the great- " est consequence to society, " that therefore I ought to suffer " death? *Anytus* and *Melitus*, " O my judges, may procure " that judgment, but hurt me " they cannot: To fear death, " is to seem wise, and not to be " so, for it is to pretend to un- " derstand what we really un- " derstand not. No man knows " what death is, or whether it " be not the greatest happiness " which can arrive to us, yet all " fear and shun it, as if they " were sure it would be the " greatest misfortune."

another word; then proceeding to vote, it was carried againſt *Socrates* by two hundred eighty-one voices. He might, however, have eſcaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a proſecution againſt him deſerved rather the higheſt rewards, and a maintenance out of the public ſtock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were ſo much incenſed, *His death.* that they judged him to a capital puniſhment, by a majority of eighty. He might eaſily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed on him to have made his eſcape; but he refuſed, drank the poiſon in their preſence, praying to God to make his paſſage from this life happy, and ſhewed the ſame calmneſs and reſolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (*Z*).

It

(Z) *Socrates* happened to be condemned the very day after the ſacred ſhip ſet ſail for *Delos*. The reader muſt obſerve, that this ſhip went annually in commemoration of the mighty deliverance of *Theſeus* in *Crete*, and in conſequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ſhip from the port of *Athens*, to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death. This ſometimes, by means of a contrary wind, occaſioned the intervention of a conſiderable ſpace, as happened in the caſe of *Socrates*, who was in priſon thirty days before his death; in this time he was viſited by his friends, ſome of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed; *Why*, ſaid he, *do you know any place out of* Attica *where death never comes?* *Plato* hath wrote a long diſcourſe concerning the manner of his death; we will from thence tranſcribe only ſo much as relates immediately thereto, tho' indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. "It was now ſun-ſet, for he had "ſtaid long within, when the "officer entered, and after a "little pauſe, ſaid, I have not, "*Socrates*, obſerved that car-"riage in you, which I have "found in others; but as I "thought you the moſt generous, "the mildeſt, and beſt of all "men, that ever came into this "place, ſo I now ſee you hate "me not, for that whereof o-"thers are the cauſe: you know "the meſſage I bring, farewel; "bear what you cannot remedy. "With that he departed weep-"ing; and fare thee well, ſaid "*Socrates*, I am well: How "civil is this man? I found him "the ſame all the time of my "impriſonment, he would often "viſit and diſcourſe with me, "uſed me always courteouſly, "and now ſee how kindly he "weeps for me: but come, "*Crito*, let us do as he bids us, "if the poiſon be ready, let it "be brought. The ſun is yet "ſcarce ſet, anſwered *Crito*, o-"thers take it late after a plen-"tiful ſupper, and full cups; "make not ſo much haſte, there "is

Conon's *project for reſtoring the affairs of the* Athenians.

IT is eaſy to judge, that from the uſage they gave the worthieſt men amongſt them, the *Athenians* leaſt deſerved to meet with patriots; yet ſo it was, that notwithſtanding her ill uſage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. *Conon*, who after the misfortune which befel him at the battle of the *Helleſpont*, which was followed by the deſtruction of *Athens*,

" is time enough. He replied, " they, who do ſo, think they " gain time, but what ſhall I " gain by drinking it late, on- " ly deceive myſelf, as cove- " tous of life, and ſparing of " that which is no longer mine? " Pray let it be as I ſay; then " *Crito* ſent one of the atten- " dants, who immediately re- " turned, and with him the man " that was to adminiſter the poi- " ſon, bringing a cup in his " hand. To whom *Socrates*, " Prithee, honeſt friend, for thou " art well verſed in theſe buſi- " neſſes, what muſt I do? No- " thing, ſaid he, but as ſoon as " you have drank, walk till you " find your legs begin to fail; " then lie down, and in ſo ſaying " he gave him the cup. *Socrates* " took it chearfully, not chang- " ing either countenance or co- " lour; and looking pleaſantly " upon him, demanded whether " he might ſpill any of it as a " libation, who anſwered, he " had made no more than would " juſt ſerve. Yet, ſaid *Socrates*, " I may pray to God, and will, " that my paſſage hence may be " happy, which I beſeech him " to grant, and in that ſame in- " ſtant drank it off eaſily, with- " out any diſturbance. Many " of us, who till now, had re- " frained from tears, when we " ſaw him put the cup to his " mouth, and drink off the poi- " ſon, were not able to contain " any longer; which *Socrates* " obſerving, *Friends*, ſaid he, " *what mean ye? for this reaſon* " *I ſent away the women, leſt* " *they ſhould be ſo unquiet: I* " *have heard we ſhould die with* " *gratulation and applauſe, be* " *quiet then, and take it patient-* " *ly*. Theſe words made us, " with ſhame ſuppreſs our tears; " when he had walked a while, " perceiving his legs to fail, he " lay down on his back, as the " executioner directed him; who " looking on his feet, pinched " them hard, asking him if he " felt it; he anſwered no: he " did the like to his legs, and " ſhewing us how every part " ſucceſſively grew cold and " ſtiff, told us, when that *chil-* " neſs came at his heart, he " would die; not long after he " ſpake theſe his laſt words, *O* " Crito, *I owe* Æſculapius *a* " *cock, pay it, neglect it not*. It " ſhall be done, ſaid *Crito*, will " you have any thing elſe? He " made no anſwer, lay ſtill a " while, then ſtretched him " forth; with that the execu- " tioner uncovered him, his eyes " were ſet, *Crito* cloſed them. " This was the end of the beſt, " the wiſeſt, and moſt juſt of " men." Tho' *Leo Allatius*, and ſome others, have endeavoured to repreſent the time of the death of *Socrates*, as a point not eaſily ſettled, yet they are certainly in the wrong, ſince there is ſcarce a great event in the whole *Greek* hiſtory, the time of which is more unqueſtionably ſettled, the *Arundelian* marbles, and

Athens, had kept himself close in *Cyprus*, and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no less than the restoring the *Athenian* affairs to their antient state, and bestowing once more upon that city the empire of the sea; with this view he caused a project to be transmitted to the *Persian* king, wherein he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the pride of the *Lacedæmonians* would be extremely detrimental to his affairs, that their dominion once thoroughly settled in *Greece*, they would presume to give laws to *Asia* also, especially with respect to the *Greek* cities therein, and that therefore it would be expedient for the *Persians* to consider of some means for putting it once more in the power of *Athens* to check the insolence of that aspiring state, and thereby preserve the great king's dominions in peace and safety. *Conon*'s memorial was quickly supported by facts; two *Lacedæmonian* armies, within the compass of a few years, passed over into *Asia*, the last under *Lysander* and *Agesilaus*, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the *Persian* king had not, by sending some of his agents with vast sums of money into *Greece*, raised so many, and so powerful enemies against *Sparta*, that she was constrained to recal *Agesilaus* to her assistance.

He is appointed admiral of the Persian *fleet.*

THE expediency of *Conon*'s advice being so fully made known, he, as a person perfectly well skilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admiral of the *Persian* fleet [r]; the *Athenians* in the mean time had the courage to join with the *Argives*, and other states, in a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, which they pursued with variety of fortune. *Conon* attacked

[r] DIODOR. ad Ann. 2. Olymp. 95. ISOCRAT. in Evag. & Orat. ad Philip. PAUSAN. in Atticis. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 1.

and many other authorities, shew that it happened when *Laches* was archon, in the first year of the ninety-fifth olympiad, that is, 1948 years after the flood, and four hundred before the birth of Christ. The reader may possibly be desirous to know what became of his enemies; and because we shall have no opportunity of inserting it in the history, we will add it in this note. The *Athenians* grew very quickly sensible of the mischief they had done, and because it was irreparable, they so hated its authors, that they would not suffer them to light fire at their houses. They would not answer them a question. They would not bathe with them; and if they were seen to touch ever so large a vessel of water, they threw it away, as impure, until these men, unable to bear this usage longer, hanged themselves; and for the same reason, the *Athenians*, that they might blot from their minds the memory of so black an action, forbad the name of *Socrates* to be mentioned in the *Theatre* (2).

(2) *Plato in Phæd. Plut. de Invidia & odio.*

Year of the flood 1950. Before Christ 398.

the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the *Persians*, which consisted of ninety sail, and after an obstinate engagement, wherein the *Spartan* admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking fifty ships, and five hundred prisoners. Afterwards he and *Pharnabazus* obliged most of the states, dependent on *Lacedæmon*, to change sides, particularly those of *Coos*, *Nisæa*, *Tios*, and *Chios*, *Mitylene*, *Ephesus*, *Erythrea*, and other places followed their example, and thus the *Lacedæmonians* at once lost the empire of the sea. *Conon* determined after this unexpected success to return to *Attica*, and in his way thither brought over the *Cyclades*, reduced *Cythera*, put a garrison therein, and after having confirmed the *Corinthians* in their league with the *Athenians*, he sailed from thence to *Athens*, where he promised the citizens to rebuild the long walls, and to re-fortify the city, which he accordingly performed as far as in him lay, hiring a multitude of workmen, and landing a great body of men from the fleet; the *Thebans* also sent five hundred carpenters and masons, and other cities did the like; but *Teribazus*, who commanded the *Persian* armies in *Asia*, envying *Conon*'s great success, gave out, that he made use of the *Persian* power merely to get towns and countries for his own citizens. To answer which charge, he sent for him to *Sardis*, where upon his first appearance he threw him into prison[s].

The Lacedæmonians *defeated, and lose the empire of the sea.*

Conon *imprisoned by the* Persian *governor.*

THE disturbances in *Greece* gave the *Athenians* an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, and making themselves once more considerable; the *Corinthian* war, particularly as it lasted a considerable time, and with various success, served as a kind of school to the *Athenian* youth, who addicted themselves to arms; and it served the better, because the *Athenian* general, who then commanded, was *Iphicrates*, not only the best officer of *Greece* in his days, but who, in his knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him; others had studied it from the glory resulting therefrom, *Iphicrates* looked upon it as a science, for which he laid down rules, and brought things nearer a certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. *Plutarch* tells us that he was the son of a shoe-maker, but *Cornelius Nepos* does not mention any thing of his family; the first exploit by which he distinguished himself was in a sea-fight, where finding himself wounded, and unable to remain on board the enemy's ship, he catched up one of the soldiers in his arms, and carried him on board his own, which shews that he had great strength of body, as well as mighty presence of mind. We are told

Iphicrates *his birth, education, and knowledge of the art of war.*

[s] XENOPHON. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Cononis.

further

further with reſpect to his perſon, that it was wonderfully venerable, and that he ſtruck with awe all ſuch as converſed with him. He ſhewed his good ſenſe in altering the habit and arms of the *Athenian* ſoldiers, which had been uſed to his time; inſtead of large heavy ſhields, he gave them light ones; inſtead of ſhort ſpears, long ones; and inſtead of little ſtabbing ſwords, weapons of a more uſeful ſize.

He gains great advantages in the Corinthian *war.*

In this war of *Corinth* he gained by his ſkill great advantages over armies more numerous, and compoſed of better ſoldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp, tho' it was in the country of his allies; and when ſome of his officers, who thought he gave the ſoldiers needleſs trouble, aſked him who he was afraid of; I am afraid, anſwered he, of being forced to uſe that expreſſion, which of all others leaſt becomes a general, *I did not think of it.* *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta*, whoſe troops had been elſewhere always victorious, were notwithſtanding beaten with great loſs by this *Athenian*, which exceedingly grieved *Ageſilaus*, and made him abate ſomewhat of that haughtineſs he had hitherto ſhewn upon all the offers which had been made to him for peace.

Thraſybulus *retrieves the* Athenian *affairs abroad.*

Abroad the affairs of the *Athenians* went but ill; the exiles from *Rhodes*, which was now under a democratic government, went to *Sparta*, and boaſting there of their great intereſt, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to change ſides, and join with the *Lacedæmonians*, two fleets were ſent to that iſland. The *Athenians*, greatly alarmed at this, diſpatched the famous *Thraſybulus*, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the deſigns of the *Lacedæmonians* from taking effect. When this great captain came into theſe ſeas, he received ſuch intelligence from *Rhodes*, as thoroughly convinced him that any attempt he made thereupon would be fruitleſs; he therefore ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, where he reconciled two *Thracian* princes, and made them confederates with the *Athenian* ſtates; after this he bent his endeavours to the reducing ſuch cities as, taking advantage of the bad ſtate of the *Athenian* affairs, had revolted from them. In purſuance of this ſcheme, he reduced *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, and afterwards ſailing over to *Leſbos*, where all the cities had revolted except *Mitylene*, he brought them again under the obedience of *Athens*, and levied conſiderable ſums of money by way of fine for the revolt; after theſe victories he ſet ſail for *Rhodes*, hoping that the fame of them would awe the people of that iſland, and contribute to the end for which he had been ſent thither. Firſt of all he exacted a ſum of money from *Aſpendus*, but after it was paid him, his ſoldiers having plundered ſome of the inhabitants without his knowledge, it ſo much provoked them, that in the night,

when *Thraſybulus* thought himſelf ſafe, and expected no harm, they ſuddenly entered his camp, where they committed great ſlaughter, and in the beginning thereof ſlew him, which ſo terrified his ſoldiers, that making what haſte they could to their ſhips, they withdrew without attempting to proſecute further the expedition on which their general had been ſent. This end had *Thraſybulus*, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune ſuperior to moſt, and in the glory of freeing his country from ſervitude without any view to his own intereſt, ſcarce equalled by any.

Thraſybulus *ſurpriſed in his camp and ſlain.*

THE *Athenians* to ſupply his place were conſtrained to ſend *Iphicrates*, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals; their inſolence and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguiſhed all their great men. *Iphicrates* had only with him eight gallies, and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of *Thraſybulus*'s fleet, hitherto commanded by one *Argyrius*; he having intelligence that *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, proud of ſome ſmall ſucceſſes he had obtained, lay very careleſsly at *Abydus*, immediately ſailed thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and ſlew them, after which *Iphicrates* ſailed to *Cherſoneſus*. Shortly after *Ægina*, at the motion of *Eteonecus*, revolted, whereupon the *Athenians* ſent one of their admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the iſland, as ſoon as the *Athenian* fleet was withdrawn, began to infeſt the coaſt of *Attica*, which vexed the *Athenians* exceedingly, and conſtrained them to keep a ſquadron continually at ſea, to protect as well the villages on the ſhore, as their ſhips employed in trade, an evil they had experienced ſince the cloſe of the *Peloponneſian* war.

Is ſucceeded by Iphicrates, *who gains ſome advantages over the* Lacedæmonians.

Ægina *revolts.*

THE affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* obliging them to remove the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of *Ægina*, the *Athenians* ſent *Eunomes* with a ſtrong ſquadron to keep in *Gorgopas*, who was left to command there. *Gorgopas* finding his much out-numbered by the *Athenian* gallies, retired into port, and landed his troops, which when the *Athenian* admiral perceived, he put to ſea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the reſt of his ſhips might ſteer after him. *Gorgopas* inſtantly reimbarked his men, and ſtood away after the *Athenian* fleet, keeping aloof, till *Eunomes*, entering a port of *Attica*, began to land his men; which when he had half finiſhed, *Gorgopas* fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obſtinate fight, carried off four gallies to *Ægina*; this loſs was a little after repaired by *Chabrias* the *Athenian* general, for he ſailing to *Cyprus* with a fleet, which had a body of land-forces on board, landed in *Ægina* in the night-time, and

The war carried on with various ſucceſs.

having posted the major part of his forces in a valley near the temple of *Hercules*, ordered the rest to advance towards a place called the *Three Towers* at break of day; *Gorgopas*, as soon as he had intelligence of the *Athenians* landing in the island, marched with what forces he could to oppose them, and sent orders to all who were on board the fleet to hasten to him with the utmost speed, which accordingly they did; and these rushing all by the ambuscade where *Chabrias* lay, he suddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other *Athenians* fell upon them in front; *Gorgopas* with eight *Spartans* being quickly slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, of whom *Chabrias* cut off near four hundred men, which, with the want of the subsidies they expected from *Sparta*, so broke the spirits of the inhabitants of *Ægina*, that they undertook nothing for a considerable time after.

Gorgopas *the* Spartan *admiral slain.*

At length *Talentias* being sent from *Sparta* to command the gallies in that island, he so wrought upon the people by his fair speeches, that they went on board the ships, and offered to follow him where he pleased. He having sacrificed and taken a day's provision on board, put out to sea, and having in the night rode very near the port of *Athens*, as soon as it was day he sailed strait into the *Pyræum*, where he took several gallies, and a great number of prisoners. These he sent presently away to *Ægina*, and afterwards cruising along the coast, carried off several trading vessels, and an immense booty, out of which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he so raised their spirits, that they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an *Athenian* squadron of eight gallies, and took them; after which, drawing together a fleet of eighty sail with twenty gallies of *Syracuse*, he roamed about without rival, and maintained the dominion of the sea for the *Lacedæmonians* [t].

Talentias *the* Lacedæmonian *gains several advantages over the* Athenians.

The *Spartans*, willing to secure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered *Antalcidas* their admiral to settle with the ministers of the king of *Persia* the terms of a general peace in *Greece*; which he did accordingly, and the other states were obliged to accede to the treaty, however dishonourable to the *Grecian* name, as we shall relate at length in the history of the *Lacedæmonians* [u].

Peace of Antalcidas After the flood 1961. Before Christ 387.

[t] Xenophon. lib. iv. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos in vit. Iphic. Thrasyb. & Chabr.

[u] See Vol. VII. p. 109, 110, & Xenophon. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Artax. Corn. Nepos in vit. Iphicr. Isocrates in Panathenaico. Aristid. in Leuctrica 1 & 4. Xenophon. Hellen. 5.

The haughty behaviour of Sparta *after this peace.*

THE design of this peace was evidently the raiſing *Sparta* to an uncontroulable dominion over the *Grecian* ſtates, which ſhe began to exerciſe immediately after it took effect falling firſt on the *Mantineans*, and afterwards on other little ſtates [w], at laſt on *Thebes* itſelf, where, without the leaſt provocation, the *Lacedæmonians* ſeized the citadel, and enabled the *Thebans* of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to *Athens*, which city was far from making the ſame figure now as formerly. The *Theban* exiles however found here not only a ſafe place of refuge, but all the kindneſs and aſſiſtance they could reaſonably expect from the principal men in *Athens*, who laboured hard to perſuade the people that it was both ſafe and honourable for them to ſuccour theſe unhappy men. The exiles, unſatisfied with being ſafe abroad, longed to live with freedom at home: they therefore found means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy in *Thebes*, and by the private aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* brought matters ſo to bear, that they got poſſeſſion of the city; but fearing leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould ſend mighty ſuccours to their garriſon in the citadel, they ſent deputies to *Athens*, beſeeching the people to call to mind with what kindneſs they had received the *Athenians* who were baniſhed by the thirty tyrants, and how far it was owing to their aid that the *Athenians* recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to deſert them now, when the *Thebans* were ready to fight againſt *Sparta* for the liberty of *Greece*, but to afford them ſuch ſuccours as might enable them to fight with hope.

The Theban exiles received at Athens.

The Athenians ſuccour the Thebans *againſt the* Spartans.

THE people having heard the *Theban* deputies, came preſently to a reſolution of ſending away ſuch a body of auxiliaries as might at once demonſtrate their gratitude to the *Thebans*, and their care of the liberty of *Greece*; with this view they ſent *Demophoon* at the head of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, who marched with prodigious diligence to *Thebes*, where they enabled thoſe of their party to take the citadel, which they effected before the *Lacedæmonians* could relieve it; after which the *Athenians* returned home. From this time forward they ſought by all means to raiſe a party againſt the *Spartans*, by putting themſelves at the head, by which they hoped to recover their ancient luſtre. The forces however of the *Lacedæmonians* being as yet much greater than their own, made them ſometimes obliged to diſſemble their hatred to that ſtate, and alſo to diſcountenance thoſe orators who were notoriouſly enemies to *Sparta*.

[w] See Vol. VII. p. 110, & ſeq.

AN

AN accident happened at laſt which intirely changed the face of things, and conſtrained the *Athenians* to declare openly againſt *Lacedæmon*. One *Sphodrias*, a *Spartan*, who commanded at *Theſpis*, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had ſucceeded, his countrymen muſt have been abſolute lords of *Greece*; for he marched ſuddenly with a great body of troops towards *Athens*, and hoped to ſeize the fort of *Pyræum* in the night; but when he had marched as far as *Eleuſina*, the ſun began to appear, upon which his ſoldiers refuſed to march any farther. That he miſſed his blow was far from being the worſt conſequence of his raſhneſs; the *Athenians* were ſo much alarmed, that they ſeized certain *Spartan* embaſſadors who were in their city, and made them priſoners, conceiving that they were privy to this attempt; but they aſſerting their innocence, aſſured the people of *Athens* that *Sphodrias* ſhould be called to a ſevere account, and pay with his life for this infamous attempt; whereupon they were releaſed, but *Sphodrias* being brought to a trial, and acquitted, the *Athenians* inſtantly declared war, accounting it better to hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their houſes by ſuch ſudden expeditions.

The Athenians *declare againſt* Lacedæmon.

THEY named on this occaſion three generals, *Timotheus*, *Chabrias*, and *Calliſtratus*, directing them to levy an army of twenty-thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; they likewiſe ordered a fleet to be fitted out of two hundred ſail. To ſhew that they did not intend to fight for themſelves only, but that they would do juſtly by all their confederates, they reſtored all the lands which had been divided among their citizens out of *Attica*, to their ancient proprietors, and offered ſuch reaſonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing a ſenate, which was to conſiſt of one deputy from each city of *Athens*, that they preſently drew over a great number to their ſide, and exceedingly alarmed the *Lacedæmonians*. The fame alſo of the *Athenian* generals was of no ſmall ſervice to their country, for *Timotheus* was exceedingly eſteemed on account of his father *Conon*'s merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; *Chabrias* was reputed one of the firſt generals of his age, and *Calliſtratus* was a man of great worth and high accompliſhments; as for *Iphicrates*, the king of *Perſia* had begged him of the *Athenians*, and they were befriended by that prince, in conſideration of the great ſervices he received from that experienced general.

The Athenians *prepare for war.*

Their generals.

IN the mean time the *Lacedæmonians* invaded *Bœotia* under the command of their king *Ageſilaus*, who with a mighty army braved the *Thebans* and their allies in the neighbourhood of their own city. *Chabrias*, who commanded them, took poſt along the deſcent of a hill; and when *Ageſilaus* led the

The Lacedæmonians *invade* Bœotia.

Spartan

Spartan army in battalia towards them, *Chabrias* ordered his ſoldiers to lean one knee on the ground, to let their ſhields hang careleſly on their arms, but to keep their ſpears extended as if they intended to continue in their poſts, and to expect the *Spartans* without putting themſelves into any hurry. *Ageſilaus* having weighed within himſelf the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. Afterwards the *Athenians* obtained ſome advantages, and in conſequence of them obliged *Cleombrotus*, king of *Sparta*, to retire without entering *Bœotia*.

The Lacedæmonians *defeated at ſea by* Chabrias.

Chabrias in the interim was recalled to take upon him the command of the *Athenian* fleet, which was to go againſt *Naxus*; he beſieged the capital of that iſland, but in vain; *Pollis*, the *Lacedæmonian*, coming with a great fleet to its relief, *Chabrias*, deſirous to regain the honour of his country, reimbarked his forces, and offered the *Lacedæmonians* battle; the engagement was long and obſtinate, at laſt however he gained an abſolute victory, though with the loſs of eighteen gallies, the *Lacedæmonians* loſing twenty-four, beſides eight that were taken with all their men. But *Chabrias* did not purſue this victory as he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the ſix generals who had ſuffered for not ſuccouring the wounded, and burying the dead; as it was, he recovered the *Athenian* reputation at ſea, for this was the firſt naval victory which with their own proper forces the *Athenians* had acquired ſince the *Peloponneſian* war. Afterwards he ſailed againſt the *Thracians*, and delivered the *Abderites*, whom they had treated with great cruelty; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city, and providing againſt the return of the barbarians, he was, as ſome ſay, aſſaſſinated, none knew by whom, or for what reaſon.

Chabrias *aſſaſſinated.*

Timotheus *commands in his room, and defeats the* Athenians *in a ſea-fight.*

THE *Athenians* ſent *Timotheus* to ſupply his place, which he effectually did, proving more formidable to the *Lacedæmonians* in his ſingle perſon, than all their enemies beſide; for by his eloquence, affability, and juſtice, he drew many of their allies to forſake them, and by his great ſkill in maritime affairs, he vanquiſhed them in a ſea-fight at *Leucades*, ſo that all things went proſperouſly for the *Athenians* on this ſide. *Artaxerxes*, king of *Perſia*, endeavoured all this time to reconcile the *Grecians* among themſelves, becauſe he wanted mercenaries to be employed in a war he intended againſt *Egypt*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* themſelves were weary of war, and therefore ſuffered themſelves to be the more eaſily intreated; beſides they were both apprehenſive that the *Thebans* would at length ſeize on that authority for which they had ſo long contended; they therefore concluded a ſudden peace, which was

ill kept, upon theſe terms, that all cities ſhould be free; to which the *Thebans* would by no means yield, for they would never conſent that all the little cities of *Bœotia* ſhould be freed from their dominion.

Iphicrates much about this time quitted the *Perſian* ſervice, where he had been entruſted with the command of twenty thouſand *Greeks*, eſcaping with a ſingle ſhip to *Athens*. The reaſon of this was, that *Pharnabazus* and he differed, upon the *Athenian* fearing that the *Perſian* general would ſerve him as he had done *Conon*, that is clap him into a priſon, and put it out of his power to defend himſelf, choſe rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner beforementioned; he was quickly followed to *Athens* by *Perſian* embaſſadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earneſtly deſired that he ſhould be puniſhed; to which the *Athenians* anſwered, that they would puniſh him when he was proved guilty, but in the mean time having occaſion for his ſervice they made him admiral of their fleet. *Iphicrates quits the Perſian ſervice, and why.*

THE late peace having given the *Grecian* cities a juſt title to freedom, diſputes aroſe in many of them, whether ariſtocracy or democracy ſhould prevail, and theſe diſputes not being accommodated by words, ſedition and civil war enſued in ſeveral places, eſpecially in *Zacynthus* and *Corcyra*; the *Lacedæmonians* notwithſtanding the peace aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power ſuch as were for oligarchy, and the *Athenians*, according to their old practice, befriended every where the democratic government. *Meneſippus* the *Lacedæmonian* general blocked up *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; *Timotheus*, who had been ſent to their aſſiſtance, having found it neceſſary to ſail to *Thrace*, preferred the ſervice of his own country, to the neceſſities of its allies, for which the *Athenians* rewarded him and *Iphicrates* after the old manner, that is to ſay, they condemned them both; but when the former brought along with him many embaſſadors who deſired to renew the ancient leagues between their conſtituents and *Athens*, and alſo proved that he had encreaſed the fleet with thirty gallies, and brought mighty ſums into the publick treaſury; the *Athenians*, in regard to his own and his father's merit, who by rebuilding their walls, had made *Athens* once more a city, reſcinded their former decree, and reſtored *Timotheus* to his command. In the mean time *Cteſides* was ſent with five hundred men to *Corcyra*, where he was ſo fortunate as to kill the *Lacedæmonian* general, and to leave very little to be done by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who came at length with the fleet. *Artaxerxes* ſtill labouring to reconcile the *Grecian* ſtates, and the *Athenians* having conceived a violent antipathy againſt the *Thebans* *Diſputes in the Greek cities about the form of government.* *Timotheus condemned unjuſtly, but reſtored to his command.*

A peace concluded between the Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians. Year of the flood 1977. Before Chriſt 371.

Thebans for deſtroying *Platæa* and *Theſpis*, ſent deputies to *Sparta* with *Calliſtratus* at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the cities ſhould be ſet at liberty, to which as before the *Thebans* refuſed to conſent; this happened in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond olympiad, *Alciſthenes* being archon at *Athens* [u].

The Athenians *declare for and aſſiſt the* Lacedemonians *againſt the* Thebans.

THE *Athenians* now perceiving that they were become very inconſiderable, endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves, by propoſing an oath to the cities of *Greece*, that they would obſerve the truce eſtabliſhed by the king, and in caſe any injury was offered to one city, that ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted by all; this was readily yielded to by all except the *Eleans* and *Thebans*: between the latter and the *Spartans* a new war broke out, in which the latter were ſo diſtreſſed, that they demanded aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition loſt ſome part of his reputation. Some negotiations for a general peace being ſet on foot at the court of the *Perſian* king, the *Athenians* amongſt the reſt ſent deputies, and amongſt them one *Timagoras*; the *Thebans*, who now aimed at the dominion of *Greece*, ſent *Pelopidas*, a man of ſuperior abilities, who drew to himſelf the confidence of the *Perſian* king, and having found a way to bring over *Timagoras* to his party, he concluded a peace, whereby it was agreed that *Meſſene* ſhould be exempted from the *Lacedæmonian* government; that the *Athenians* ſhould no more pretend to the ſovereignty of the ſea; that the cities ſhould be governed by their own laws, and the *Thebans* be eſteemed the king's chief friends and allies. *Timagoras* on his return was accuſed to the *Athenian* people of having betrayed his truſt, upon which he was condemned, and put to death. The *Argives* falling upon the *Phliacians* on account of their remarkable fidelity to the *Lacedæmonians*, and bringing them to great ſtreights, the latter deſired aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent *Chares* to their aſſiſtance, who behaved himſelf with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories againſt the *Argives*.

Negotiations for a general peace.

Timagoras *condemned at* Athens, *and put to death.*

A league between the Athenians *and* Arcadians

AFTER this the *Athenians* entered into a ſtrict league with the *Arcadians*, for they were now forced to temporize, and to take ſuch opportunities as the times offered for maintaining themſelves in any ſhew of power. *Timotheus* their laſt great commander gave, however, ſome degree of credit to their arms, by reducing *Torone* and *Potidea*, in *Macedonia*, under their obedience, and raiſing the ſiege of *Cyzicum*. The war ſtill continuing between the *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Epa-*

The battle of Mantinea.

[u] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vi. DIODOR. lib. XV. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Timoth. JUSTIN.

minondas desiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at *Mantinea*, against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, *Eleans* and *Athenians*; of the latter there were six thousand, who behaved very well in the left wing, where they were posted, but were at last put to flight by the *Thebans*; however, they rallied again, and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the *Thebans* had the victory, but it cost them very dear; for they lost here *Epaminondas* their glorious general, who first inspired them with the thoughts of attaining the sovereignty of *Greece*, both by land and sea. Some stirs in *Arcadia* engaged the *Athenians* to send thither a great army, under the command of *Pammenes*, who performed what he was sent for, and returned home with honour. *Alexander*, prince or tyrant of *Phærea*, having undertaken an expedition against the *Cyclades*, met with some opposition therein from *Leosthenes* the *Athenian*, whereupon he attacked some gallies belonging to that state, and took them; upon which the *Athenians* being angry with *Leosthenes*'s bad success, condemned him, and sent *Chares* with a fleet into those parts, who was so far from repairing the disasters which had already fallen out, that by his ill management he greatly increased them, plundering the confederates of the *Athenians*, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions where-ever he came, and seeming to have nothing else in view but to enrich himself [x].

Year of the flood 1985. Before Christ 363.

Epaminondas *killed.*

At this time a war broke out between the *Athenians* and *Philip* of *Macedon*, of which we shall speak in the history of that kingdom. The *Macedonian* was followed by the *social war*. The *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, growing weary of the *Athenian* yoke, resolved to throw it off, and set themselves free. The *Athenians* on the first notice thereof sent *Chares* with a land army to besiege *Chios*, while *Chabrias* was to block up the place by sea (A). The *Athenians*

The social war.

Year after the flood 1990. Before Christ 358.

[x] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vii, viii. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. & Corn. Nep. ubi supra. Justin. lib. vi.

(A) *Diodorus* supposes *Chabrias* to have been slain long before. But *Cornelius Nepos*, who expressly wrote the life of that general, says, that he was no more than a private man in this expedition, but that the soldiers and seamen having a better opinion of his skill, than of their generals, in a manner forced him on the command, which respect of theirs proved his destruction; for endeavouring first to enter the haven, where he had broke in, nobody followed him; so that being encompassed by the enemy, his galley was sunk, out of which casting himself he might easily have escaped, as others did, but preferring a glorious death to a life without honour, he continued fighting till he was slain.

doubting

doubting whether *Chares* with his fleet of ſixty ſail would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, diſpatched away ſixty other ſhips, under the command of *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, making them all equal in commiſſion. In the mean time the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infeſted *Imbros* and *Leſbos*, taking all ſhips that fell into their hands, and raiſing contributions where-ever they landed their troops, ſo that by theſe methods they acquired mighty ſums of money, wherewith they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards beſieged *Samos* both by land and ſea. The *Athenian* generals, to conſtrain them to abandon this deſign, went and beſieged *Byzantium*, which had the effect they propoſed, for immediately the confederates raiſed the ſiege of *Samos*, and with their utmoſt force bore away for *Byzantium*.

The confederates beſiege Samos, *and the* Athenians Byzantium.

WHEN they came before the port, they offered the *Athenians* battle; but a great ſtorm ariſing, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* thought it improper to fight, tho' *Chares* vehemently preſſed it; and becauſe he could not carry his point, he ſent home to *Athens*, and accuſed his collegues, at which the people were ſo incenſed, that they caſhiered and fined them; *Timotheus* being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retiring to *Chelos* broke his heart. Such was the end of the great *Conon*'s ſon, a man no way inferior to his father, either in military ſkill, or love to his country; the *Athenians*, when they heard of his demiſe, remitted the greateſt part of his fine to his ſon, but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they moſt unaccountably appropriated to the reparation of thoſe walls which had been built by his grandfather.

Two of the Athenian *generals diſcharged and fined.*

Chares the *Athenian* admiral having now no-body to check him, raſhly engaged in an arduous affair, whereby he hoped greatly to ſerve his country. *Pharnabazus* having revolted from the king of *Perſia*, a mighty army was ſent againſt him by the king; *Chares*, hoping that the *Perſian* would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and together they proved an over-match for the king's generals, whom they totally routed. The *Athenians*, as their cuſtom was, ſtruck with the firſt news of the victory, cried up *Chares* as one of the greateſt patriots that could be; but afterwards, when the *Perſian* king by his ambaſſadors complained of the act, as contrary to the amity which ſubſiſted between them, and when it was reported abroad that the *Perſians* intended to lend the confederates a great fleet, the *Athenians* treated *Chares* as a traitor, and cried out vehemently againſt that action, which they had as vehemently commended, and in the firſt tranſports of fear, reſolved to make a peace with the ſtates which had

Chares *joins* Pharnabazus *in his revolt from* Ochus.

had revolted from them, almoſt upon their own terms; accordingly peace was concluded, though little to the honour of the *Athenians*, after the war had laſted four years [z]. *A peace concluded.* Year of the flood 1992. Before Chriſt 356.

THE *Phocian* war broke out the ſame year, in which the *Athenians* made peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them; this war concerned all *Greece*, and particularly the *Athenians*, and therefore, though they had nothing to do with the beginning of it, yet it is requiſite we ſhould give an account thereof here. The *Phocians* had plowed ſome of the lands dedicated to the *Delphic Apollo*, for which they were fined by the *Amphictions*, or ſtates general of *Greece*, but in ſtead of ſubmitting to the judgment of that court, the *Phocians* at the motion of *Philomelus*, a bold and daring ſpeaker, carried their inſult on *Apollo* yet farther, and ſeized on the temple, and all its riches; this put all *Greece* into a flame, the *Locrians* and *Bæotians* made ware on the *Phocians*, and to countenance their cauſe ſtyled it *ſacred*; the *Phocians* on the other hand pretended that they were far from being ſacrilegious perſons; for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple, but only reſumed the honour of protecting it, which had belonged to their anceſtors; but knowing that an army could better ſupport their pretenſions than fine ſpeeches, they applied themſelves to the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war laſted a long time, and with various ſucceſs, ſometimes the *Phocians*, and at other times the *Thebans* prevailing; however, it was conceived that the *Athenians* acted unworthily in ſending ſuch great ſupplies as they did to the *Phocian* commanders; at one time no leſs than five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, becauſe it was certain that the chief reaſon that induced them thereto, was the high pay given to their troops; and as the money expended on this occaſion, was raiſed either by the coinage or ſale of the dedicated things in the temple of *Delphos*, it was conſidered as a ſacrilege to receive any part of this theft, eſpecially for defending the robbers (B). *Phocian war.* *The occaſion of this war.*

THE

[z] DIOD. PLUT. CORN. NEP. JUST. ubi ſupra.

(B) But, indeed, the *Athenians* were much degenerated in their manners, of which their inclinations to theſe ſort of proceedings may paſs for a manifeſt proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wiſe and free people to run, as the *Athenians* had formerly done, into groſs and cruel ſuperſtitions, yet it has been in all times accounted a certain ſign of corruption and degeneracy, when people loſe all ſenſe of religion, and openly affront thoſe powers they pretend to worſhip. It is true, the *Athenians* pretended to colour the aſſiſtance afforded by them to the *Phocians*,

THE *Phocian* chiefs had nothing elſe to ſupport their cauſe but money, and that they parted with it very freely, we may gueſs from what *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* tells us; that in a few years they ſquandered ten thouſand talents, which falls little ſhort of two milions of our money. The orators, as the *Athenians* ſtiled them, the *Demagogues*, that is, ſuch as led the people by their ſpeeches, were moſt of them retained by ſome or other of theſe parties. *Demoſthenes* himſelf, who was by far the moſt worthy of that number, was not unimpeached of accepting *Perſian* gold. He became about this time eminent, and therefore, according to our cuſtom of giving the characters of *Athenian* ſtateſmen, it is neceſſary that we ſhould here draw his, ſince he was the *Pericles* of his time, and in right of his eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow-citizens.

Demoſthenes. *His birth, parts education*, &c.

HE was the ſon of an eminent *Athenian*, who had raiſed a great fortune from the manufacture of ſword-blades, but was far from being a blackſmith, as *Juvenal* would have us believe. *Demoſthenes* himſelf ſeemed leaſt of all deſigned for an orator; his perſon was far from being handſome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and geſture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young, and his own conſtitution being weak, his mother indulged him, to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians taking advantage of his tender years, impoſed on him, to the prejudice of his fortune; theſe unforeſeen accidents led *him* to commence orator, for being engaged by *that time* he was

Phocians, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured to raiſe up their power, to ballance that of the king of *Macedon*; but even at this diſtance of time we may conclude, that theſe were merely pretences, ſince it is certain, that when *Iphicrates* intercepted ſome ſtatues of gold and ivory, ſent by *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian*, they ſent him orders to ſell them publicly, notwithſtanding they were dedicated to the *Olympian Jupiter*, and to the *Delphian Apollo*. But it muſt be owned, that not *Athens* only, but all *Greece*, was at this time governed by money; the *Perſian* king, who had always made uſe of gold to preſerve himſelf from the unwelceme viſits of the *Greeks*, and to purchaſe their aſſiſtance when he found it neceſſary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater ſums in *Greece* than any of his predeceſſors, becauſe bribery, like other vices, riſes higher by degrees; and when men have been accuſtomed to take money, they require larger wages than thoſe which contented them at firſt. *Philip* of *Macedon* having found a way to render the gold mines in *Thrace* infinitely more beneficial to him than they had been to the *Athenians*, openly practiſed the ſame art, maintaining penſioners in all the ſtates of *Greece*, and in *Athens* among the reſt.

ſeventeen

ſeventeen years old in ſeveral law ſuits, he pleaded his own cauſe, which no law forbid, and having from thence attained an ability of ſpeaking, he attempted when of a proper age, to harangue the people, in which he ſucceeded ſo ill, that it had like to have diſcouraged him from ſpeaking more; but his paſſion from becoming an orator, enabled him to get the better of nature, and the people; to render his tongue flexible, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſpeak with ſtones in his mouth; to raiſe his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the ſea-ſhore; to repreſs a habit he had got of ſhrugging his ſhoulders, he hung a ſword drawn in his chamber, at ſuch a height, that when he practiſed his orations, it pricked his ſhoulders whenever he pulled them up: long practice ſupplied him with all things, and knowing he had nothing to truſt to but his merit, he by ſtudy and patience acquired a manly ſolid eloquence, not only ſuperior to that of his co-temporaries, but alſo excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our hands, demonſtrate beyond a queſtion. He declared himſelf in loud terms, againſt the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their fickleneſs, faithleſſneſs, and want of the true regard for the public intereſt. He exclaimed againſt their vanity, in attributing to themſelves the merit of their anceſtors, and fancying that the reputation of the ancient *Athenians* would ſupport the vices of their poſterity. He expatiated on the neceſſity of purſuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he adviſed them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occaſions to aſſiſt them, whereby they might keep war at a diſtance, enure their ſubjects to martial toils, and revive the glory of the *Athenian* name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the *Perſians*, becauſe it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will, to think of conquering them; but on the contrary, it was his intereſt to preſerve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preſerve the independency of all the ſtates of *Greece*.

He cautions the Athenians chiefly againſt the power of the Macedonians.

ABOVE all, he cautioned them againſt the growing power of the *Macedonian*, and when *Philip* had got poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, he then exerted all his eloquence to rouſe the *Athenians* to a proper ſenſe of their danger, and to that end compoſed the firſt of thoſe orations which bear the title of *Philippic*, and which to this day are held inimitable in their kind. The *Athenians* liſtened, as they were wont to do, attentively to his diſcourſe, and came to ſome reſolutions which were ſuitable thereto; but contented themſelves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution.

Phocion's *character.*

To say the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was *Chares*, a man of great vices, and small abilities; it is true, *Phocion* was then in their service, but they employed him in a trifling war in *Cyprus*, where it was not in his power to do them much good; besides he was so modest, that he never sought command, nor promoted wars, that he might raise his authority by them, though, taken as a soldier, and an orator, as a statesman and a general, he was by far the greatest *Athenian* of his time. As he was a most disinterested patriot, he could have no great affection for *Philip*, but as he perfectly well knew the disposition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to support long such *measures* as were necessary to pull down the *Macedonian* power, *he did not* express himself vehemently, but chose rather to cultivate the esteem which on all occasions *Philip* shewed for the state of *Athens*, as a means of preserving her, when things should be in that state which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will easily discern that *Demosthenes* and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his designs vast and surprizing; *Phocion* on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himself in very few words, and proposed things at once fit and easy to be done; yet he seldom or never concurred with the people, but spoke as poignantly against their vices as *Demosthenes* himself; insomuch that this orator once told him, *The* Athenians, Phocion, *in some of their mad fits will murder thee. The same*, answered he, *may fall to thee*, Demosthenes, *if ever they come to be sober* (C).

(C) At this season, such of the *Athenians* as had a competent share of eloquence and knowledge in state-affairs, applied themselves to the management of the assemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters; such again as had spent their time in the army, addicted themselves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain such commands as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meddled little with the civil polity, seldom aspiring to the supreme magistracy, but confining themselves wholly to what they conceived their sphere. *Phocion* was too wise not to discern how dangerous such a conduct must in the end prove to the state; he saw that their speakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers become soldiers of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank and their pay. He applied himself therefore alike to both, he spoke frequently in the assemblies, but in few, plain, and significant words; he refused no commands that were assigned him, never canvassed for any, and lived and died poor.

WHEN *Philip* made war on the *Olynthians*, *Demosthenes* exerted all his eloquence to engage the *Athenians* to aid that people to the utmost of their power, and there are still remaining three excellent orations on this subject. The reasons offered by him appeared so clear, and the necessity of sending succours to *Olynthus*, was made so evident, that relief was decreed. The supplies sent were small, but they came so opportunely, that the *Olynthians* received great advantages from them, which being reported at *Athens*, the people became insolent at their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the *Athenians* had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the side they favoured; but *Demosthenes* shewed them the vanity of these light conceits in his third oration on the *Olynthian* war, wherein he told them that there was indeed some merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of losing even this, if they did not proceed with the same spirit, and enable their confederates not only to repulse the invasion of *Philip*, but also to invade him in their turns, and to carry that terror into *Macedon*, which of late years *Philip* had struck through all his neighbours [z].

THE *Phocian*, or, as the friends of *Philip* affected to call it, the sacred war, was open yet, and the *Bœotians* and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, intreated the king of *Macedon* to come down into the heart of *Greece*, and put an end to it; which he did accordingly by his presence only. Some time after, *Philip* having sent a body of troops to surprize *Byzantium*, the *Athenians* dispatched *Chares* with a good fleet to the assistance of the *Byzantines*; but they knowing *Chares* to be no better than a pyrate with a commission, refused to let him enter their harbour. Their conduct greatly provoked the *Athenians*, and caused many of them to say in the assembly, that it was a pity they had assisted the *Byzantines* at all; upon which *Phocion* rising up, addressed them in the following concise terms: *My masters, you ought not so much to blame the jealousy of your allies, as the base behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you suspected even to those who are unable to support themselves without your assistance.* Upon this the people, with their usual inconstancy, dropped their former opinion, and unanimously chose *Phocion* general, who immediately sailing to the *Hellespont*, received the command of the fleet from *Chares*, and again appeared before *Byzantium*, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the *Byzantines* would by no means permit it, setting open their gates,

Phocion the Athenian gains great advantages over Phi-

lip.

[z] DIODOR. l. xvi. PLUT. in vit. DEMOST. & PHOCION. JUST. lib. ix. DEMOST. Olynth. & Philip.

gates, and joyfully receiving the *Athenians*, when they had *Phocion* for their general, who quickly obliged *Philip* to return to his own dominions, took many of his ſhips, recovered ſeveral places into which he had put garriſons, and exceedingly haraſſed the frontiers of his kingdom, ſo that it appeared that the *Macedonian* was not invincible when oppoſed by a man of probity as well as of abilities [a].

He perſuades the Athenians *to conclude an alliance with the* Megareans

SOME time after this the *Megareans* privately ſought the friendſhip of the *Athenians*. *Phocion* being apprehenſive that the *Bœotians* would exert themſelves to prevent this union, cauſed an aſſembly to be called very early in the morning, where having preſented the petition from *Megara*, and backed it with great warmth, the *Athenians* came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all ſuch as would go on this expedition ſhould immediately aſſemble in arms, and a great number preſenting themſelves very readily, he without more ado put himſelf at their head, and marched directly away to *Megara*, where he was very joyfully received. He reedified the long walls, joining that city to its port *Nicæa*, and thereby effectually ſecured it to the *Athenians*; after this he was ſent again among the iſlands to regulate all things for the intereſt of his country.

Philip *enters* Phocis *with a deſign to invade* Attica.

Philip in the mean time neglected nothing which might either tend to the raiſing of his own power, or depreſſing that of the *Greek* ſtates; but above all, deſiring to humble the *Athenians*, he came ſuddenly down to *Phocis*, and having ſeized *Elatæa*, he there aſſembled a mighty army with a reſolution to invade *Attica*, for which purpoſe there was an abſolute neceſſity of paſſing through *Bœotia*, and thither he ſent *Python* to perſuade the people of that country to ſtand neuter; to him the *Athenians* oppoſed *Demoſthenes*, whoſe eloquence prevailing, the *Bœotians* joined their utmoſt force with the *Athenians*, and reſolved to hazard all in a general engagement. *Demoſthenes* magnified this at *Athens* as a mighty ſtroke of policy, becauſe he put the war at a diſtance from *Attica*; to which *Phocion* ſhrewdly replied, *Let us not be ſo careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a diſtance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worſt of calamities will ſoon be at our doors.* *Phocion* had the reſolution alſo to expreſs at the ſame time a diſlike of the war, and a doubtfulneſs of its event, nay even to propoſe an accommodation, and the renewing the peace with *Philip*, when an *Athenian* of very bad character cried out, *Dareſt thou*, Phocion, *think of diſſuading the* Athenians *from the war, now the ſword is drawn?*

The Bœotians *perſuaded by* Demoſthenes *to join the* Athenians.

[a] DIODOR. PLUT. JUST. ubi ſupra.

Yes,

Yes, I dare, returned he, *though I know that in time of war I shall always be thy master, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine.*

The Athenians *and* Thebans *defeated at* Cheronza.

THE event shewed how just a notion *Phocion* had of things, for *Philip* coming down at last with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* met him at *Cheronæa*. In this battle, which began at the rising of the sun, *Alexander* commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it consisted, the *Athenians* having the right, and the *Bœotians* the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon *Stratocles* an *Athenian* commander cried out, *Come on, brother soldiers, let us drive them back to* Macedon; which king *Philip* hearing, said very coolly to one of his officers, *These* Athenians *do not know how to conquer*. Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be streightened, and drawing his men up very close, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the *Athenians* were eager in their pursuit, he came down like thunder, broke and routed them with prodigious slaughter.

Demosthenes *betrays want of military courage.*

Demosthenes acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deserted his post, and was one of the first that fled; nay, we are told, that a stake catching hold of his robe, he, not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, *Alas, spare my life* [b].

Philip's *indecent behaviour after the victory.*

Philip did not preserve that wisdom after his victory which he had shewn in the fight, for he danced about like one distracted with joy, and coming up to the band of *Athenian* prisoners, treated them with scoffs and ill language; upon which *Donades*, who was one of them, could not help reproving him: *Since fortune, O* Philip, said he, *seems to have assigned thee the part of* Agamemnon, *why wilt thou play* Thersites? At which *Philip* blushing, ordered him to be immediately released, and discharged likewise the rest of the *Athenian* captives, who sending afterwards to demand their baggage, *Philip* said laughing, *I believe these people don't think we beat them in earnest*. He ordered their baggage however to be given them; he likewise sent embassadors to *Athens* to renew the peace, which was done. After this *Philip* convoked a general assembly of the *Greeks*, into which *Demades* persuaded the *Athenians* to insist on being received.

Phocion *advises the* Athenians *not to assist at the general assembly convened by* Philip.

Phocion opposed it, alledging that they ought first to be informed what *Philip* would demand in that assembly; however it was carried against him; but when it afterwards appeared that the *Athenians* were by this rash step obliged to furnish the king with a body of horse, and a squadron

[b] PLUT. in vit. Dec. Orat.

dron of ships, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the assembly *Demades* and the other orators, who were so forward in the business, expressing at the same time a doubt whether they ought to comply with articles so unworthy of the *Athenian* state. *Phocion* upon this stood up again, *I foresaw*, said he, *what would happen, and therefore I was against this step, when it was first proposed; but since it is once taken, I am for it, and advise you to bear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your ancestors, who suited their behaviour to their fortune; sometimes giving laws, sometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preserved their own city, but also all* Greece.

Philip's kindness to the Athenians *not sincere.*

THE kindness expressed by the king towards the *Athenians* was not over sincere, since he doubted so far of them, as to require on the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra*, that a deputy should be sent from them with a gold crown, as from the rest of the cities, which was accordingly done, and presented to him in the midst of the marriage solemnities, with this remarkable compliment, That if any conspirator against *Philip* fled to *Athens*, he should be delivered up. At this marriage, however, *Philip* was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at *Athens*; *Demosthenes* and his party making great rejoicings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory, which *Phocion* reprehended, bidding them remember *that the army which had beat them at* Cheronæa *was lessened but by one.*

He is murdered.

His son Alexander *despised by the states of* Greece.

THIS reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put *Lisicles* their general to death, merely because he was so unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed *Demosthenes* to exalt the memory of those who fell therein, in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to these measures had just now flattered the king, by sending him a crown of gold, ran again into the same extravagancies, and heard with pleasure all the harsh things the orators could say of the young *Alexander*, whom they represented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to grasp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing; but he soon gave them occasion to understand that they were mightily mistaken, by his quick dissolution of that confederacy, which they formed not only for depriving him of the command of *Greece*, but even of his hereditary dominions; for *Demosthenes* taking pains to inspire all the states with high notions of liberty, the *Ætolians* first of all made a decree to recal the exiles whom *Philip* had driven out of their country. The *Ambrociots* drove out the *Macedonian* garison, the *Thebans* cast out that which had been established in the citadel,

Who enter into a confederacy against him.

the

the *Arcadians*, as they had refuſed to give their votes for *Philip*'s becoming general of *Greece*, ſo they now rejected *Alexander*; the *Argives*, *Elians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and others in *Peloponneſus*, all ſpoke the ſame language, and all determined to throw off that yoke, which the *Macedonians* had impoſed.

THEY likewiſe treated with *Attalus*, *Alexander*'s uncle, who aſpired to the kingdom, to favour his pretenſions; ſo that if the ſon of *Philip* had really been as weak as the *Athenian* orators would have repreſented him, he muſt have been cruſhed by ſuch a load of oppoſition; but he, far from being diſmayed, came firſt into the council of the *Amphictions*, where he procured himſelf to be recognized general of *Greece*. He then marched immediately towards *Thebes*, with a numerous army, ſacked and plundered it, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt of the confederates, that no-body durſt oppoſe him.

But notwithſtanding their oppoſition is acknowledged general of Greece.

Takes Thebes.

WHEN that conqueror had occaſion for gallies to complete his fleet, he ſent to demand thoſe which had been promiſed him by the *Athenians*; the orators, as they were wont, oppoſed this as derogatory to their freedom; at laſt, *Phocion* being required to ſpeak, delivered his ſentiments freely, which were, that the gallies ſhould be immediately ſent; *For*, ſaid he, *till you can put yourſelves at the head of* Greece, *I would have you the friends of thoſe who are at the head of it* (D).

Phocion *adviſes the* Athenians *to comply with the demands of* Alexander

THE

(D) *Harpalus*, one of *Alexander*'s commanders, having in ſeveral reſpects failed of his duty, and dreading the reſentment of his prince, fled with an immenſe quantity of treaſure, which he had amaſſed together out of the ſpoils of *Aſia*. *Athens* was the city of *Greece*, he thought the moſt proper place for his retreat, and therefore thither he went, and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that ſince he came laden with wealth, he ſhould meet with friends enough to be purchaſed. Accordingly, moſt of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be ſerviceable, and upon what terms: as for *Demoſthenes*, his good ſenſe engaged him to make a warm oration againſt receiving a perſon who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the common-wealth in a war at once dangerous and unjuſt; but a few days after, when the treaſure was publickly brought on ſhore, and laid up, *Demoſthenes* being preſent, took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon *Harpalus* deſired him to poize it in his hand, and conſider its weight; which he did, and then asked the price of it: *To you, Sir*, (ſaid *Harpalus*) *it ſhall come with twenty talents*; at night accordingly it was ſent, and *Demoſthenes*, when he was called upon the next day in the aſſembly to deliver his opinion, ſhewed his neck, which was ſwathed round with ſeveral rollers,

The Greeks make war upon the Macedonians.

THE death of *Alexander* cauſed a great alteration in the affairs of *Greece*; the orators unanimouſly concurred in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all *Greece* was in commotion, ſo that, at length, it was carried by a great majority, that the *Athenians* ſhould take upon them the defence of the common liberty, ſhould free all the citizens from the *Macedonian* gariſons, ſhould fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail, and that all men under forty years old ſhould take up arms. *Leoſthenes* was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched againſt the *Macedonians*. *Antipater*, then governor of *Macedon*, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, ſent to *Craterus* in *Cilicia*, to come to his aſſiſtance, but in the interim he marched into *Theſſaly* himſelf with 13000 foot, and 600 horſe. The *Theſſalians* joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when *Leoſthenes* approached, and it appeared that the *Athenians* and their confederates were by far more numerous, the *Theſſalians* deſerted to them; yet *Antipater* had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himſelf conſtrained to fly; but he ſhewed himſelf a great general in his flight; for arriving with ſome foot at *Lamia*, a city in *Theſſaly*, he cauſed the place to be fortified, and received into it all his troops, as faſt as they came up, ſo that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obſtinate reſiſtance.

Defeat Antipater.

lers, and made ſigns, that he was unable to ſpeak; upon which ſome of the wits ſaid, *The orator had got a ſilver quinſey*. As for *Phocion*, *Harpalus* knew well that he was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſent him no leſs than ſeven-hundred talents, and offered to commit himſelf, and all his affairs, to his diſpoſal; but *Phocion* treated thoſe who came to him very roughly, and threatned not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the laſt time in the aſſembly, thoſe who had received his money, railed moſt at *Harpalus*, to conceal their own guilt, whereas *Phocion* expreſſed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in ſuch gentle terms, that *Harpalus* again offered him money; but he was impregnable, and in the end the *Athenians* expelled the *Macedonian* the city, and ordered the court of *Areopagus* to take cognizance of ſuch as were impeached of bribery; which court dealt very ſeverely with them, and particularly fined *Demoſthenes* fifty talents, and ordered him to be impriſoned, till it was paid; but he ſhortly after made his eſcape from thence, and fled to *Ægina*, where he remained till after the death of *Alexander*, which was no very long time*.

* *Diodor. lib.* xvii. *Plut. in vit. Demoſth. & Phocion. Juſtin. lib.* xi. *&* xii.

Leoſthenes

Leoſthenes coming up with the confederate army, inveſted and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by ſtorm, he was conſtrained to make a regular ſiege: *Antipater* watching his opportunity, tho' he was every day attacked by freſh troops, made a ſally upon the workmen, and put them in great diſorder. *Leoſthenes* coming to encourage them, was unfortunately killed with a ſtone, which greatly diſpirited the *Greeks*; however, they choſe *Antiphalus* their general, and continued the war, notwithſtanding *Antipater* had eſcaped out of *Lamia*; not long after they routed the *Macedonians*, under the command of *Leonatus*, which victory was their ruin; for ſlighting the *Macedonians*, many returned home to their reſpective cities. *Antipater* having joined the remains of *Leonatus*'s army, and being joined afterwards by *Craterus*, who yielded to him the command, he ſoon after fought and routed the *Greeks*, under the command of *Antiphalus* and *Memnon*; though there were but five hundred men ſlain in this battle, yet the confederates were ſo diſpirited, that they ſent to *Antipater* to treat of peace; but *Antipater* refuſed to treat at all of a general peace, profeſſing at the ſame time, that he was willing to hear and receive embaſſadors from each of the cities, and to conſider their reſpective demands.

They beſiege Lamia.

The Athenian *general killed.*

The Athenians *defeated ſue for a peace*

At firſt the *Grecians* rejected this with ſcorn, but when ſeveral of the *Theſſalonian* cities were taken by ſtorm, they were glad to treat upon the terms preſcribed, upon which *Antipater* received the embaſſadors very kindly, and granted almoſt every thing they deſired; thus the *Athenians* were deprived of all their confederates, and in a ſhort time reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this diſtreſs, *Phocion*, with ſome of the orators was deputed to go to *Cadmæa*, where *Antipater* was encamped, to procure from him, if poſſible, an honourable peace; when they came there, *Phocion* intreated, that the terms might be adjuſted there, whereas *Craterus* was for marching into *Attica*, and treating with the *Athenians*, as it were, at their own doors; ſaying, it was unreaſonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. *Antipater* replied, that what he ſaid was juſt; but yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to *Phocion*. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather *Antipater* impoſed upon the *Athenians* theſe conditions; that *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* ſhould be delivered up, that the ancient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored, that they ſhould receive a garriſon into *Munichia*, defray the charges of the war, and ſubmit to ſome other taxes. *Phocion* was very deſirous that they might be ſpared the gariſon; but *Antipater* anſwered, *I will deny thee*, Phocion, *nothing but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own.* In conſequence of this treaty,

They are reduced to great ſtraits.

They obtain a peace upon very diſadvantagious terms.

treaty, *Menyllus*, a man of great ſweetneſs of temper, and one of *Phocion*'s friends, was ſent to command the garriſon, which entered *Munichia*; *Demoſthenes* in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to *Antipater*; and being purſued by ſome perſons in that nobleman's ſervice, poiſoned himſelf (E).

Demoſthenes *poiſons himſelf.*

THE

(E) As to the character and eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, we have ſpoken at large in the text; as to his works, the greateſt part of which have eſcaped the injuries of time, the reader is to expect an account of them elſewhere. In this note we have nothing in view, but his misfortunes and death, which to have related at length, would have broke in on the thread of our hiſtory, and to have paſſed over in few words, muſt have offended the peruſer. When he was baniſhed, that is voluntarily, by flying from priſon, ſome of his enemies followed him out of the town; from theſe he endeavoured to hide himſelf, but they having him in view, kept cloſe to him, and at laſt coming near, called him by his name; and when he came out, exhorted him to bear his misfortunes patiently, and preſented him with a ſum of money for his ſupport; whereupon *Demoſthenes* broke out into a louder lamentation than ever, crying out, Alas, how ſhall I ſupport myſelf under ſo heavy an affliction, ſince I am forced to leave a city, where one's very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elſewhere? To ſay the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greateſt part of which he ſpent either in *Ægina* or *Træzene*, from whence he could ſee the coaſt of *Attica*, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes. He had a juſt ſenſe, however, of the danger to which wiſe men are expoſed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; O *goddeſs*, Minerva, *whence comes it, that thou delighteſt in three ſuch fierce and untractable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people.* When *Leoſthenes* led the *Greeks* againſt *Antipater*, and endeavoured to prevent ſlavery from being introduced by all the commanders of *Alexander* the great, *Demoſthenes* exerted his eloquence again, and was indefatigable in ſtirring up all the little ſtates to remain firm in their confederacy for ſupporting the *Grecian* liberty. Amongſt the reſt, he travelled to the *Arcadians*, among whom one *Pytheas*, an agent of the *Macedonians*, was very buſy: this man ſeeing the *Athenian* embaſſadors, and *Demoſthenes* with them at a public aſſembly, could not help crying out, That as it is a certain ſign there is ſome diſeaſe in the family, where aſſes milk is bought; ſo the coming of an *Athenian* embaſſy was a never-failing indication, that the city to which they came was indiſpoſed. *Demoſthenes* immediately retorted this compariſon. As aſſes milk, ſaid he, is never carried into a houſe, but with intent to reſtore the health of thoſe who dwell therein; ſo the *Athenians* never ſend their embaſſadors to any city, but with a view to cure it of thoſe diſtempers

THE *Macedonian* garriſon being ſettled in *Athens*, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchiſed, and ſent into *Thrace*, where *Antipater* aſſigned them a place to build a city and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political affairs were managed by men of the better ſort, and eſpecially by *Phocion*, who was in very high credit with *Antipater*, and the *Macedonians*. He was for proceeding ſtill on his old maxim

The Athenians diſcontented with the ſituation of their affairs.

tempers with which it is afflicted. On the report of this, the *Athenians* inſtantly recalled him, found a means to ſatisfy his fine, and paid him the higheſt honours they could invent, but his proſperity was of a very ſhort continuance; for in *September* the *Greeks* loſt the battle of *Cranon*; in *October* the *Macedonian* gariſon entered *Athens*; in *November Demoſthenes* fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him the ſame month; for one *Archias*, a player, having undertaken to *Antipater* to find him out, receiving intelligence that he had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Neptune*, in the little iſland of *Calauria*, he paſſed over thither with a ſmall detachment of *Thracian* guards. When he found *Demoſthenes*, he would fain have perſuaded him to go with him to *Antipater*, aſſuring him, that he would receive no harſh treatment, which was very improbable, becauſe moſt of his friends were already murdered. To theſe fine ſpeeches therefore the orator anſwered, *O* Archias, *I was never much pleaſed with you as a player, and now I am as little moved with you as a negotiator.* *Archias* beginning at this to grow angry, and to threaten him: *Now*, ſaid *Demoſthenes*, *thou ſpeakeſt like the oracle of* Macedon; *before thou didſt but act a part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family.* Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew himſelf farther into the temple, and taking ſome paper, as if he meant to write, he put the quill into his mouth, and biting it, as he was wont to do, when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for ſome time. Then he bowed down his head, and covered it. The ſoldiers who ſtood at the door, ſuppoſing all this to proceed from puſillanimity, in deriſion, called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. And *Archias* drawing near, deſired him to riſe up, and repeating the ſame kind things he had ſaid before, he, once more promiſed to make his peace with *Antipater*. But *Demoſthenes* perceiving, that now the poiſon had pierced and ſeized his vitals, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon *Archias*, *Now*, ſaid he, *as ſoon as you pleaſe, you may act the part of* Creon *in the tragedy, and caſt out this body of mine unburied: but*, continued he, turning towards the altar, *O gracious* Neptune, *I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, ariſe and depart out of this ſacred place, without profaning it; but* Antipater *and the* Macedonians *have not left ſo much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death.* After he had thus ſpoken, he deſired to be held up, becauſe already he began to tremble and ſtagger, as he was going forward, and paſſing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghoſt (3).

(3) *Plutarch. in vit. Demoſthen. prope fin.*

of

of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the *Athenians*, if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually rejoicing at the loſs of that power, which they knew not how to manage, abhored the ſight of the *Macedonian* garriſon, which they knew not how to remove, and earneſtly longed for an alteration of circumſtances, there was no reaſon to hope that ſuch an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually preſſing *Phocion* to apply to *Antipater* for removing the garriſon, and at laſt finding all their ſollicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on *Demades*, the orator who was alſo in the *Macedonian* intereſt, and had been greatly favoured by *Antipater*.

Demades *the orator his character.*

THIS man, willing to do the people a pleaſure, and at the ſame time to make a diſplay of his intereſt, readily undertook the propoſed embaſſy. This *Athenian* was a man of parts and eloquence, but probity and diſintereſtedneſs were not among the number of his good qualities, as we may gueſs from this ſaying of *Antipater*'s, *That he had two friends at* Athens, Phocion *and* Demades, *the former a man who would receive no ſatisfaction for the ſervices he did him, and the latter who would never be ſatisfied, how much ſoever he received.* Whether *Antipater* had lately left off his liberality towards this orator, or whether *Demades* had reaſon to hope greater appointments from *Perdiccas*, who was *Antipater*'s mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but ſo it was, that *Demades* had entered into a correſpondence with *Perdiccas*, and had put him upon invading *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and aſſuming the government of them himſelf, making uſe in one of his letters of this expreſſion, *That at preſent they leaned on an old rotten ſtaff*, meaning *Antipater*. It ſo happened that all theſe tranſactions and particularly this very letter, were found out, while *Demades* and his ſon *Demias* were ſolliciting the call of the garriſon; upon which *Antipater* ordered the ſon to be put to death, not only in the preſence of the father, but in ſuch a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this *Demades* himſelf was put to death, and the *Athenians* left without hopes of ever ſeeing this bit taken out of their mouths [b].

Demades *and his ſon put to death by* Antipater.

Caſſander *ſeizes* Athens. Year after the flood 2030. Year before Chriſt 318.

ON the death of *Antipater*, two factions ſprung up in *Macedonia*, the one headed by *Polyperchon*, who had the cuſtody of the perſons of the kings, and the other by *Caſſander*, the ſon of *Antipater*. The latter ſent *Nicanor* to command the garriſon in *Athens*, a man of great art, and a good ſoldier; with him *Phocion* often converſed, labouring all he could, to

[b] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Demoſth. & Phoc. JUSTIN. lib. xxvi.

perſuade

perſuade him to uſe the citizens kindly, and to leave the government in the ſame condition in which he found it; *Polyperchon*, on the other hand, deſiring to recover the *Greek* cities from his rival *Caſſander*, publiſhed a decree in the king's name, reſtoring them all the freedom, particularly *Athens*, directing the garriſon immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be reſtored; this had its effect, for it put the *Athenians* all into confuſion; *Nicanor* refuſed to obey the decree, and becauſe *Phocion* correſponded with him afterwards, the people accuſed him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he deſired nothing more than to ſee their liberty reſtored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unſupported by arms, *Nicanor* paying no reſpect to *Polyperchon*'s orders.

Phocion accuſed.

NOT long after, *Polyperchon* came with the kings, and a great army into *Attica*, or at leaſt to the borders of *Attica*, whither *Phocion* was ſent, and deputies from the *Athenians* to accuſe him; *Polyperchon*, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree which he had publiſhed, ſent back *Phocion* and his friends chained in carts, with this meſſage, *That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the* Athenians, *as a free people.* As ſoon as there was ſilence made, that he could be heard, *Phocion* demanded whether they intended to proceed againſt him by form of law; and ſome crying out that they would, *Phocion* demanded how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no ſuch thing was to be expected, he cried out, *As for myſelf, I confeſs the crime objected to me, and ſubmit myſelf to the judgment of the law; but conſider, O ye* Athenians, *what have theſe poor innocent men done, that they ſhould be involved in the ſame calamity with me?* The people at this cried aloud, They are your accomplices, and that is enough. Then the decree was read, adjudging them all to death, *viz. Phocion, Nicocles, Aheudippus, Agamon*, and *Pythocles*; theſe were preſent; *Demetrius, Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles*, and others, were condemned in their abſence; ſome moved that *Phocion* might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the aſſembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to death, for which the decree was carried unanimouſly; ſome putting on garlands of flowers, when they gave their votes; as he was going to die, a perſon who was his intimate friend, aſked him, if he had any meſſage for his ſon? *Yes*, replied Phocion, *tell him it is my laſt command, that he forget how ill the* Athenians *treated his father.*

Condemned and put to death.

His generous behaviour.

THE

The hatred of the Athenians *to this excellent patriot.*

THE ſpleen of his enemies was not extinguiſhed with his death, they paſſed a decree, whereby his corpſe was baniſhed the *Athenian* territories, they likewiſe forbad any *Athenian* to furniſh fire for his funeral pile. One *Conopian* took up the corpſe and carried it beyond *Eleuſina*, where he borrowed ſome fire of a *Megarian* woman and burned it. A *Megarian* matron who attended with her maid, raiſed on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the ſame time thus to the *Penates*: *To you, O ye* gods, *guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the moſt excellent* Phocion; *protect them, I beſeech you, from all inſults, and deliver them one day to be repoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, when the* Athenians *ſhall become wiſer.* It was not long before this came to paſs, when the *Athenians* began to cool a little, and remember the many kindneſſes they had received from *Phocion*; they decreed him a ſtatue of braſs, ordered his bones to be brought back at the publick expence, and decreed that his accuſers ſhould be put to death; *Agnonides*, who was principally concerned, ſuffered; but *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, who were alſo concerned in it, fled; however *Phocion*'s ſon met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almoſt the only good action he ever did, he having a very ſmall ſhare of his father's *abilities*, and none at all of his *virtues*.

The honours they afterwards paid him.

IT was not long, however, before *Caſſander* came with a great fleet into the port of *Athens*, and by the help of *Nicanor*, who commanded in the fort *Munichia*, reduced this city into ſuch ſtreights, that the *Athenians* were content to ſubmit to him upon theſe terms: That he ſhould leave a garriſon in the fort, and appoint ſome *Athenian* to preſide over the city. He accordingly placed *Demetrius Phalereus* in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being deſcended from *Conon*, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had ſtudied under the philoſopher *Theophraſtus*, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as contemplative philoſopher; he treated the *Athenians* with the utmoſt kindneſs, and made uſe of that power which he might eaſily have improved into tyranny, to do thoſe things for them which their factions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themſelves. He encreaſed their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent ſtructures, reſtored ſuch as were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other reſpect gave ſuch ſignal teſtimonies of his tender affection for them, that the *Athenians* ſet up no leſs than three-hundred ſtatues to his honour, moſt of them equeſtrian; but becauſe he derived his power from *Caſſander*, and they were not able to depoſe him at their pleaſure,

Demetrius Phalereus *appointed by* Caſſander *governor of* Athens.

His kindneſs to the Athenians

pleaſure, they ſecretly hated him[c], of which we ſhall ſee many inſtances hereafter.

Antigonus, the moſt magnanimous of *Alexander*'s captains, and his ſon *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, *i. e.* the city-taker, having reſolved to free *Greece* from the yoke of *Caſſander*, determined to begin with *Athens*. The young prince *Demetrius*, who was the handſomeſt, and at the ſame time one of the braveſt men of his time, took upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility; for hoiſting falſe colours, he ſailed without the leaſt oppoſition into the port of *Athens*, where a multitude of people were aſſembled on the ſhore, who, when they diſcovered their miſtake, armed themſelves in haſte; but *Demetrius* quickly diſarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he cauſed a cryer to make proclamation, that he was come, by the command of his father, with no other deſign than to deliver them from the oppreſſion of *Caſſander*, to expel the gariſon, which he had placed in the fort, and to reſtore to them their ancient laws and government. The people immediately welcomed him with loud ſhouts, beſtowing on him the title of deliverer and benefactor. As for *Demetrius Phalereus*, he was in a moment deſerted, and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of ſuffering death. He thereupon ſent one *Ariſtodemus* to *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Antigonus*, to intreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to *Thebes*: *Demetrius* received this meſſenger very reſpectfully, ſaid, he came not to injure perſons of worth, and granted *Demetrius* both his requeſts; after this he blocked up the fortreſs of *Munichia*, and then departed for *Megara*, where *Caſſander* had alſo a garriſon; having ſet this place at liberty, he returned to *Athens*, and attacked *Munichia* ſo briſkly, that he took it by aſſault; after which, at the earneſt entreaty of the *Athenians*, he entered the city in great pomp, and having ſummoned an aſſembly, he therein publickly declared, that he did not only freely reſtore them to their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to beſtow on them fifteen thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ſuch a quantity of timber as would enable them to build an hundred gallies for the defence of their city[d].

Demetrius Poliorcetes *frees* Athens. Year after the flood 2042. Before Chriſt 306

THESE mighty favours the *Athenians* repaid with moſt unmanly flattery, for they beſtowed on *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* not only the title of kings, which hitherto they had not taken, but alſo ſtiled them tutelar deities and deliverers; they appointed a prieſt to them; and whereas they had till

Extravagant honours beſtowed on Antigonus and Demetrius by the Athenians.

[c] DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. [d] DIODOR. & PLUTARCH. ibid. & DIONYS. HALICARNAS. in Dinarcho.

this

this time marked the year by the name of the firſt archon, they decreed, that for the future it ſhould be deſigned by the name of this prieſt. They cauſed the portraits of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* to be placed among the number of their gods, they erected an altar where *Demetrius* firſt alighted from his chariot, and ſtiled it the altar of the deſcent of *Demetrius*; they added two new tribes to the ten which already ſubſiſted, and called them *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*. To ſum up all, *Stratocles* propoſed, and had it decreed, that as often as they ſent embaſſadors to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, they ſhould be ſtiled embaſſadors of the gods; they changed the name of the month *Munichian* into *Demetrian*. It would be tedious to dwell on the reſt of the follies of this degenerate people, who, at the ſame time that they paid all this court to *Antigonus* and his ſon, paſſed a decree, whereby they adjudged *Demetrius Phalereus* to death, ordered all his ſtatues to be thrown down, and even ſent perſons to execute, as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him; a practice which could not but give thoſe whom they now flattered to underſtand that they would be ſure to deſert them, when they were deſerted by fortune.

Their ingratitude to Demetrius Phalereus.

Evil effects of the democratical government in Athens.

THE democratic government was no ſooner reſtored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt; accuſations were frequent, condemnations common; to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of *Sophocles* the people decreed, that no philoſophers ſhould teach unleſs licenſed by the ſenate and people, which occaſioned *Theophraſtus* the ſucceſſor of *Ariſtotle*'s breaking up his ſchool. It is likely that they were diſpleaſed with this great man, becauſe he was ſo much in favour with *Caſſander* king of *Macedon*, and becauſe their late governor *Demetrius Phalereus* had been his ſcholar; however, their reſentment did not laſt long, for they afterwards reſcinded this decree, and recalled the philoſophers; but their protector *Demetrius* being engaged with all his force in the ſiege of *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* took this opportunity of vindicating his title to *Greece*, and coming with a powerful army to ſupport it, many of the cities revolted to him, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he penetrated as far as *Attica*, and laid ſiege to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, thus diſtreſſed, ſent for aid to *Demetrius*, who came ſpeedily to their relief, and after obliging *Caſſander* to raiſe the ſiege, ſtript him in a very ſhort time of all his conqueſts. After this ſucceſs he put various cities under the power of the *Athenians*, and multiplied his good turns as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits.

Athens *beſieged by* Caſſander. *But relieved by* Demetrius.

THE

THE *Athenians* in return racked their wits to devise new compliments, and acts of flattery, still superior to those which they performed before. They assigned *Demetrius* lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her service; this was a scandalous insult on religion, because *Demetrius* was remarkably intemperate with respect to women. But the *Athenians* were so corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural lusts, which afforded an instance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to latest times (F).

He is scandalously flattered by the Athenians.

IT would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on such particulars as these in any other period of the *Athenian* history; but the *Athenians* having now forgot to act, we are constrained to entertain the reader with what they said, and having no more victories to speak of, we are forced to record their flatteries (G).

THE pride with which the *Athenians* inspired *Demetrius* and his father, drew upon them first the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the rest of the successors of *Alexander* against them; this obliged *Demetrius* to quit *Greece*, and go in the month of *August* following; but when *Demetrius* signified his desire, it was the month of *March*. *Stratocles* furnished them with an invention, which set all things to rights, and which ought everlastingly to be remembered to the dishonour of this servile flattering people. He proposed a decree, and procured it to be passed, that the month of *March* should become *November*; in consequence of which, *Demetrius* was admitted to the lesser mysteries: when this was over, *Stratocles* had it decreed, that the month before called *November*, should now be called *August*; and by virtue of this decree, *Demetrius* assisted at the greater mysteries. *Philippedes* the comedian, could not help stigmatizing these mean compliances in the following distich:

Their ingratitude to him in his adversity.

What miracles by flatt'rywrought are here,
Which in one month have crowded all the year!

(F) There now lived in *Athens* a young gentleman so remarkably handsome, that he was stiled the beautiful *Damocles*; him *Demetrius* pursued whereever he appeared, so that the poor young man was constrained to avoid the public bathing-places, and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither *Demetrius* came, and surprized him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never to be enough commended, threw off the cover of the chaldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it, was stifled in a moment.

(G) After all his mighty victories, *Demetrius* had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the priests of *Ceres*, and admitted to all the mysteries. Now the constant practice in this case was, that he who desired such admission, was introduced as a novice in the lesser mysteries in the month of *November*, and afterwards admitted to the greater

into *Asia*, where in one battle his father *Antigonus* lost his empire and his life, and *Demetrius* was constrained to sail with a small squadron of ships from *Ephesus* towards *Athens*, where he had left his queen *Deidamia*, and great part of his navy; but in the islands called *Cyclades*, he met with embassadors from that city, who informed him, that the *Athenians* had made a decree that no crowned head should enter their city; a most grateful decree indeed, towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for their saviour and their god! *Demetrius* did not, however, resent this usage with that warmth which might have been expected; he only desired that his ships and his queen might be delivered to him, which was done; however, the *Athenians* were shortly after severely punished, for their seditions among themselves encouraged one *Lacharis* to seize the sovereignty, and to reduce the people to submit to him, who was but an obscure person, rather than live under the protection of so great princes; but when the affairs of *Demetrius* were a little restored, he began to think of humbling this insolent and inconstant people, who, to shew their ingratitude and contempt, passed a decree in full assembly, whereby they made it death for any person to propose a treaty or intercourse with *Demetrius* on any pretence whatsoever.

Demetrius lays siege to Athens.

THIS rather irritated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aside his first design. He therefore first began to interrupt the trade of *Athens*, and to ruin its territories, at last he closely besieged the city; *Lacharis* in the mean time applied to *Ptolomy*, beseeching some relief, for the *Athenians* were almost starved, *Demetrius* punishing capitally such as attempted to bring them provisions; by degrees their distress grew so great, that a bushel of salt was sold for forty drachms, and a bushel of wheat for three hundred. At last a hundred and fifty ships laden with corn came from *Egypt*, and anchored at *Ægina* in sight of *Athens*; but *Demetrius* being at the same time reinforced with three hundred sail from *Cyprus*, and other places, the *Egyptians* cut their cables in the night, and steered away.

Which he reduces to great straits, and takes.

Lacharis as soon as he was acquainted with this misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the *Athenians*, who had no choice but starving or yielding, surrendered at discretion to *Demetrius*, who immediately entered the place with all his forces. He first of all commanded that the *Athenians* should all instantly assemble in the public theatre, which when they had done, he surrounded it without with his guards, and so brought in a body of armed men, who were posted round the stage.

His clemency to the inhabitants.

The people, trembling with fear, expected every moment when the signal should be given for putting them to the sword, when through the door made for the actors, *Demetrius* came upon

upon the ſtage, where in a ſhort oration he gently reprehended their ingratitude, and told them at the ſame time, that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour, as an inſtance of which he preſented them with an hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, and named ſuch magiſtrates as were agreeable to the people.

THE *Athenians* immediately relapſed into their old ſtrain of flattery, their orators were all at work in contriving fine ſpeeches to celebrate the generoſity, and extol the clemency of this great prince, whoſe valour had acquired, whoſe abilities deſerved, and whoſe gentleneſs adorned the diadem he wore. *Dromoclides*, one of the ſpeakers on this occaſion, did him a much more acceptable ſervice than the reſt; for he beſides his compliments preferred a decree, whereby the haven of *Pyræum*, and the caſtle of *Munichia*, were given to the king, who was far from ſlighting ſo acceptable a preſent: he knew too well the fickleneſs of that people, to truſt them again without taking ſome ſecurity for their behaviour; in *Pyræum* and *Munichia* therefore he placed garriſons by virtue of the decree, and in *Muſæum*, becauſe it was convenient and fit for his purpoſe; thenceforward the *Athenians* were exceedingly faithful, eſpecially when *Demetrius* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Macedon*; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into ſuch circumſtances that he did not preſume to wear the habit of a king, the *Athenians* exerted their old ingratitude, degraded the prieſt of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. Sometime after their old maſter getting together an army, came and beſieged them, and reduced them to great ſtreights; they had then recourſe to *Craterus* the philoſopher, who went out to *Demetrius*, interceded with him, and ſo fully perſuaded him, that it would be more for his intereſt to paſs over into *Aſia*, that he left them in the full enjoyment of their liberties [d].

Their ingratitude to him when again in diſtreſs.

And his kindneſs to them.

WHILE *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Soſthenes* held by turns the *Macedonian* kingdom, the *Athenians* remained free indeed, but without making any great figure; when the *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus* threatned the deſtruction of the *Greeks* in general, the *Athenians* for a time exerted ſomewhat of their ancient magnanimity, and under their general *Callippus* did great things; for then the common danger united all the *Greeks*, and even the king of *Macedon* himſelf, they had nothing to fear but the common enemy; but theſe dangers over, and the affairs of *Antigonus Gonatus* the ſon of *Demetrius* once in a proſperous way, the *Athenians* felt the

Their various fate under the Macedonian *kings.*

Are ſubdued by Antigonus Gonatus.

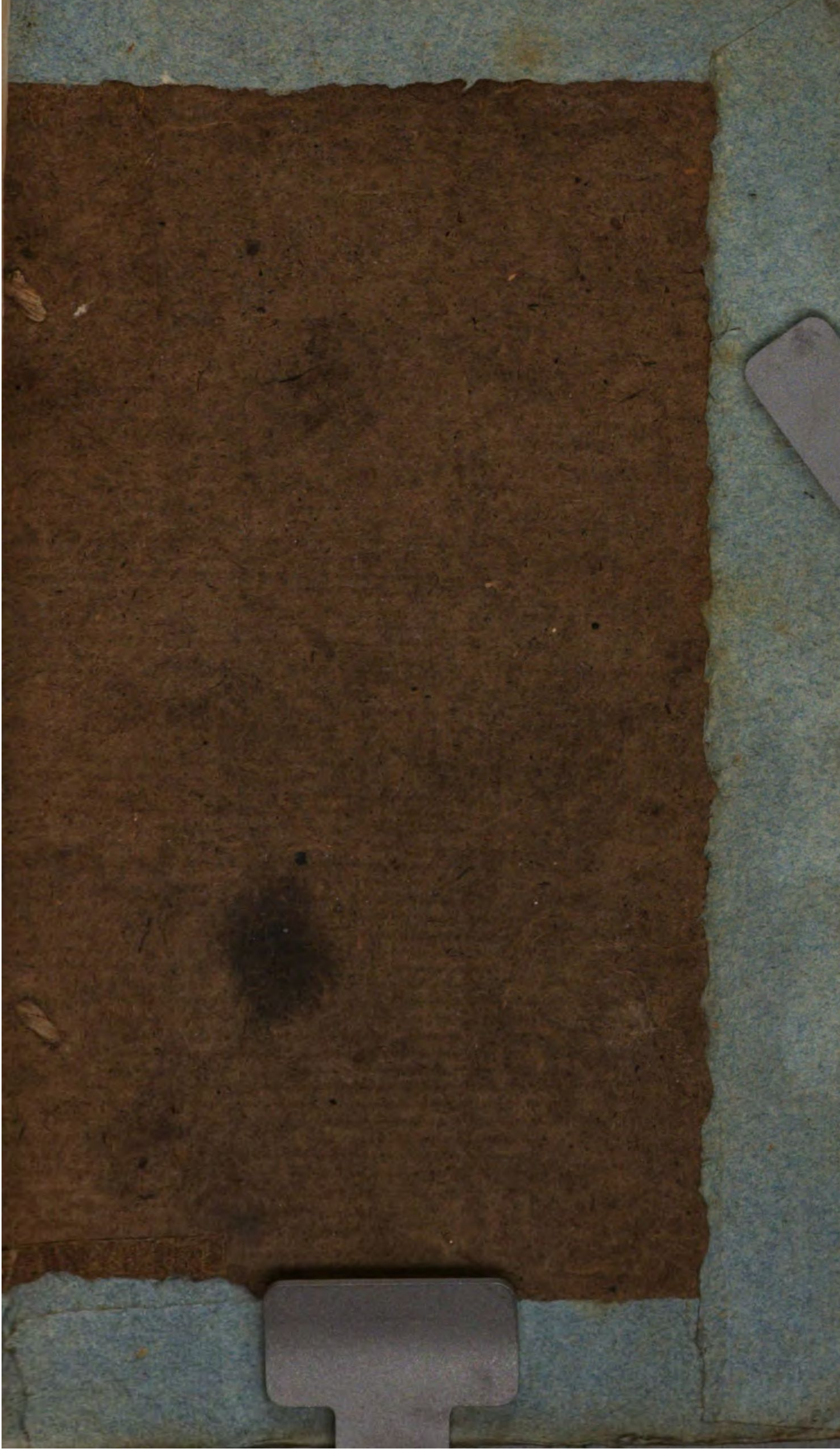
[d] PLUT. in vit. Demet. DIOGEN. LAER. in vit. Theoph. Epic. & Crat. ATHEN. in Deipnoſoph.

weight of his power: for he remembring how they had dealt with his father, resolved to punish them for their former behaviour; and to make sure of them for the future, he first wasted their territories, and afterwards closely besieged *Athens*; at last, unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the best treaty with him they could, and in consequence thereof admitted a garrison, whereby, though they flattered themselves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his subjects, and after his death were left as such to his son *Demetrius*. About this time a spirit of liberty revived in *Greece*, and the *Achæans*, who were far from being a considerable people, not only defended their freedom, but made it their business to free others, in which they were exceedingly assisted by the mighty genius of *Aratus*, whose great exploits we shall have occasion to relate at length in the history of *Achaia*. To him the *Athenians* were indebted for their liberty; for having prevailed on *Diogenes* the *Macedonian* governor to give up the three fortresses, *Pyræum*, *Munichia*, and *Musæum*, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them himself, and then left the *Athenians* absolutely free, having also the protection of the *Achæans* to guard their freedom. But of the *Achæans* and their league we shall speak at length in the following volume.

The End of the SIXTH VOLUME.

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